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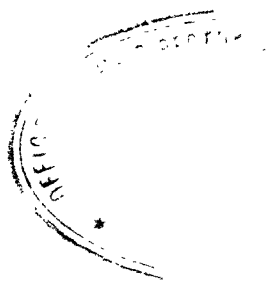
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES



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The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

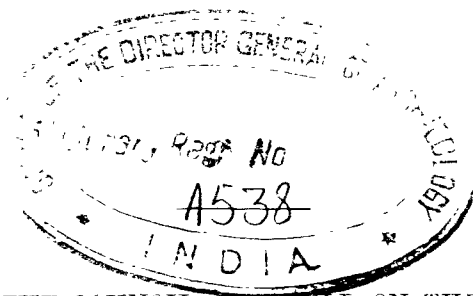
# THE JOURNAL

OF

# HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XV. (1895)

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J. H. S.



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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

---

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside



4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22. ALBEMARLE STREET

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within three months of their coming into the Library.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

---

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*Assistant Librarian*, MISS HUGHES, to whom, at 22, Albemarle Street, applications for books may be addressed.

---

SESSION 1895—1896.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1896.

Monday, February 17.

Monday, April 6.

Monday, June 15 (Annual).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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 The College Library, *Dulwich, S.E.*  
 The City Library, *Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 The Bibliothèque Universitaire, *Palais Saint Pierre, Lyons.*  
 The Library of the University of Wisconsin, *Madison, U.S.A.* (E. F. Riley, Esq.).  
 The Whitworth Institute, *Manchester.*  
 The Chetham's Library, *Hunts Bank, Manchester.*  
 The Royal University Library, *Marburg.*  
 The Public Library, *Melbourne, Victoria* (c/o Messrs. Melville. Mullen & Co.).  
 The Library of the University of Milan, *Milan.*  
 The Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster, I.W.*  
 The Royal Library, *Munich.*  
 The Archæological Seminary, *Munich.*  
 The University of Nebraska, *Nebraska, U.S.A.*  
 The University Library, *Münster.*  
 The Newberry Library, *Newberry, U.S.A.*  
 The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven.*  
 The Astor Library, *New York.*  
 The New York State Library, *Albany, New York.*  
 The Library of Columbia College, *New York.*  
 The Free Public Library, *Jersey City, New Jersey, U.S.A.*  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York.*  
 The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York.*  
 The Sachs Collegiate Institute, *New York.*  
 The Library of All Souls College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Worcester College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Balliol College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Christchurch, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Exeter College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of St. John's College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of New College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Oriel College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Queen's College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Trinity College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of University College, *Oxford.*  
 The Union Society, *Oxford.*  
 The University Galleries, *Oxford.*  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Paris.*  
 The École Normale Supérieure, *Paris.*  
 The Library Company, *Philadelphia.*  
 The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*  
 The Archæological Seminary, *The University, Prague* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).  
 The Library of Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*  
 The American School of Classical Studies, *Rome, Italy.*  
 The Rossall Library, *Rossall, Fleetwood* (the Rev. W. H. E. Worship).  
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*, care of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.  
 The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*  
 The Royal Library, *Stockholm* (Messrs. Samson & Wallin).  
 The Archæological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis).  
 The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*  
 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 The University Library, *Toronto.*  
 The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*  
 The Boys' Library, *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 The Public Library, *Winterthur.*  
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.*

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE  
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Transactions of the American School, *Athens*.  
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*)  
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens*.  
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, Corneliusstrasse No. 2  
 II., *Berlin*.  
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).  
 The Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour  
 l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.  
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.  
 The Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, published by the French School at *Rome*.  
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*  
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.  
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.  
 The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.  
 The American Journal of Archaeology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, *Cathedral Street*,  
*Baltimore, U.S.A.*  
 The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*  
 Mnemosyne (*cave of Mr. E. J. Brill*), *Leiden, Holland*.  
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (*c/o Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buch-*  
*handlung, Göttingen*).  
 The Revue Byzantine.  
 The American Journal of Philology (*c/o Messrs. Macmillan & Co., New York*).  
 The Mittheilungen and Abhandlungen of the Archaeolog. Epigraphisches Seminar of  
 the University of Vienna.

JOURNALS, &c., SUBSCRIBED FOR.

- Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.  
 Neue Philologische Rundschau.  
 Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.  
 The Classical Review.  
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift.  
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.

# LIST OF BOOKS, PAMPHLETS & PERIODICALS

ADDED TO THE

## LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

1894-5.

- American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. X. Nos. 1-2.  
American Journal of Philology. Vol. XVI. Nos. 1-2.  
Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben von d. Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Institut. Band II. Heft II. Fol. Berlin (1893-94). 1895.  
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- Hermes. Vol. XXX.
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- Jannaris (Dr. A. N.). *Dictionary of English and Modern Greek*. Eng.-Greek. Post 8vo. London. 1895.
- Journal of Philology. Vol. XXI. No. 41.
- Messina. *Rivista di Storia Antica e Scienze Affini*. Anno I. Fasc. I. 2.
- Mnemosyne. Vol. XXIII.
- Monuments Grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France. 2<sup>ème</sup> Volume. Nos. 21-22. 4to. Paris. 1895.
- Murray (A. S.). *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum*. Fol. London. 1894. (Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.)
- Navarre (O.). *Dionysos. Étude sur l'Organisation matérielle du Théâtre athénien*. 8vo. Paris. 1895.
- Neue Philologische Rundschau. 1895. Pts. 1-24.
- Numismatic Chronicle. 1895. Pts. 1-2.
- Paris (Pierre). *Polycèle*. 8vo. Paris. 1895.
- Parry (O. H.). *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*. 8vo. London. 1895.
- Pauly. *Real-Encyclopädie A—Ar*. 8vo. Stuttgart. 1895.
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- Revue Archéologique. Tome XXVI. Jan.-Fev., Mars-Avril, Mai-Juin, Juillet-Août, Sept.—Oct. 1895.
- Revue des Études Grecques. Tome VI. Nos. 27-28, 29, 30.
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- Rivista di Storia Antica e Scienze Affini. Messina, 1895.
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## SESSION 1894-95.

THE First General Meeting was held on November 19th, 1894, Mr. F. C. Penrose, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper 'On Primitive Pictographs and a præ-Phœnician Script from Crete and the Peloponnese.' Following up a clue obtained in Greece during the preceding year, Mr. Evans had last spring explored the central and eastern parts of Crete, his researches resulting in the discovery of a whole series of objects, mostly seals of Mycenæan and earlier date, bearing witness to the existence in the island of an independent hieroglyphic system analogous to that of the Hittites, and also of linear forms which evidently represented a syllabic script closely approaching, and in many respects identical with, that of Cyprus. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. 270.)

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. L. Myres, while holding that it was premature to judge yet of the discovery in all its bearings, expressed general agreement with Mr. Evans in his interpretation of the symbols the true significance of which had at first escaped himself when he had seen some of the objects in Crete. Mr. Myres referred to a correspondence in art character between these signs and the ornaments found on pottery and other manufactures in Crete. He reserved detailed criticism until the paper was published.

Sir H. Howorth expressed warm approval of the paper, and said that the symbols in question were certainly written characters, though probably ideographs rather than syllabic or alphabetic. The fact of such a rude system existing side by side with the fully developed system in Egypt pointed to complete isolation of Crete in early times. As to date, it seemed almost certain that the signs were earlier, and possibly much earlier, than the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, when Egypt and Philistia were alike invaded by 'men from the sea.' The fact of similar symbols being found at Lachish confirmed the view that Philistia had been settled by people of Cretan origin. And the finding of such objects so near Greece seemed to give greater weight to the Greek traditions of an early empire of the sea, associated with the name of Minos. Crete was probably to be regarded as the home of Mycenæan art, and evidence from Egypt and elsewhere pointed to its introduction not later than the eleventh century B.C.

Sir J. Evans summed up the main points established by the paper, dwelling particularly on the evidence it afforded that the Hebrew names of letters were due to their pictographic origin, not to degeneration from a hieratic alphabet.

Mr. Cecil Smith expressed his sense of the great importance of the paper, but reserved detailed criticism. It was difficult, he thought, to reconcile the theory that linear symbols had been derived from pictographic with Mr. Petrie's discovery in Egypt of linear symbols which he placed much earlier than the Mycenæan remains in Crete.

The Second General Meeting was held on January 23rd, 1895, Professor Jebb, President, in the chair.

The Chairman delivered an address on the life and work of the late Sir Charles Newton. After speaking of him as 'one of the chief founders of the Society, whose presence and influence did more than anything else to carry it successfully through the earliest days of its existence,' Professor Jebb proceeded to sketch the three periods of Newton's life: (1) the preparatory stage, ending in 1852; (2) his work as traveller and discoverer in the Levant, closing with his appointment in 1861 as head of his department at the British Museum; (3) his work as 'organiser and administrator; the recognised head of classical archæology in this country; the active supporter of all enterprises, whether originating at home or abroad, which could extend the knowledge of antiquity.' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. xlix.)

In the absence of the author, the Hon. Secretary read a paper by Mr. A. G. Bather 'On the Problem of the "Bacchæ,"' suggesting a new interpretation of the Pentheus myth mainly based on the well-known folk-custom of the ancient and modern world, in which a figure embodying the dead spirit of the old year is carried out of the town, and the new deity of the spring-time is brought in from the woods. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. 244.)

An animated discussion followed.

Mr. A. J. Evans thought that, however much difference of opinion there might be on questions of detail, the paper unquestionably followed a right instinct. The connexion of Dionysus with tree-worship had already been brought out by Frazer and others. As a parallel instance, Mr. Evans mentioned the old custom still observed in the Balkan peninsula of cutting down a tree at Christmas and carrying in the log to renew household life for the year to come. There was further the custom of decking the Christmas tree like a woman. The origin of the myth in question might not be wholly barbarous, but the cutting of the sacred tree might have actually suggested the cutting in pieces of the victim.

Dr. Verrall, while hesitating to express an opinion offhand, thought that a fair test of the proposed explanation of the Pentheus myth, so far as Euripides was concerned, was to see whether there was anything in the

story as told by him which, as being inconsistent with itself, might conceivably be due to a background of old myth misunderstood. The only point, in his opinion, of which this could be said was that of Pentheus being put up in the tree, which had always seemed to him unintelligible. Otherwise the story was quite consistent and could not be used to support Mr. Bather's theory of the origin of the myth. Mr. Bather had passed over the very important religious novelties in Dionysus worship, which were certainly importations, probably from Thrace. The notion of Dionysus as an invader could hardly be due merely to the suggested incoming of the new god, or bringing back of the old one. In many parts of the play the whole level of thought was different from that of earlier times in Greece, and it was more natural to suppose that the mysticism had been brought in by foreign missionaries.

Mr. Cecil Smith, looking at the theory from the artistic point of view, suggested a comparison with the Zagreus story, of which a striking representation occurred on a pyxis recently acquired by the British Museum.

Miss Harrison mentioned as further evidence of the Thracian origin of much of the Dionysus worship the mesmeric condition of the women who took part in it. At the same time, while not wholly accepting Mr. Bather's theory, she felt the value of looking at Greek literature with the folk-lorist's eye. It was interesting to see how Greek art took these myths and treated them in a poetical way. Dionysus was not the only tree-god. Athene also had that character, as shown in certain ceremonies of the Panathenaic festival. And yet the idea of Athene being a foreign god had not therefore sprung up.

Professor Lewis Campbell thought that much caution must be used in applying folk-lore to the mature fruits of Greek art and literature. Thus this paper dealt with the story as told in Euripides only, without reference to the Orphic and other earlier literature. Certain features of folk-lore might survive in the finer literature, but it would be well to avoid the exaggerations of the solar mythologists of a generation ago.

Dr. Sandys expressed grave doubts as to the identification of Pentheus with Dionysus. As to the late introduction of the worship of Dionysus, in the early cult Dionysus would naturally be a deity of vegetation in general, and his special connexion with the vine would come later. The idea of a new god coming in might, therefore, mean merely the development from the old Dionysus of cultivation in general to the later Dionysus, the God of the Vine. The paper was, however, too elaborate to discuss in detail offhand.

The Third General Meeting was held on February 18th, 1895, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. Dyer laid on the table the official programme of the International Olympic games to be held in Athens in April, 1896.

Mr. J. L. Myres read a paper on researches in Caria undertaken by Mr.

W. R. Paton and himself in 1893 and 1894. The area under review is bounded by the Gulf of Miletus on the north, and that of Ceramus on the south, and extends from the peninsula of Myndus to the neighbourhood of Moughla (Mobolla) and Giova (Idyma). (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. 373.)

The Chairman commended the skill with which the paper had presented the processes of investigation in a district of very great interest.

In the subsequent discussion, Sir E. Ommanney, Mr. A. J. Evans, Mr. G. F. Hill, Dr. Walker, and others took part, Mr. Hill contributing some particularly interesting remarks about coins in the British Museum which were attributed to the part of Asia Minor under discussion.

The Fourth General Meeting was held on May 27th, 1895, Rev. Dr. Holden, V.P., in the chair.

Professor P. Gardner described and discussed the famous sarcophagi found at Sidon some years ago, and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. The plates of the magnificent work now being issued by Hamdy Bey and M. Theodore Reinach were exhibited by way of illustration. After describing the circumstances of the discovery, and dwelling upon the extreme beauty and interest of the sarcophagi, Professor Gardner proceeded to describe in detail the four principal examples: (1) The Lycian Sarcophagus, which the lecturer was inclined to attribute to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The subjects, in high relief, were chiefly hunting scenes, and in the horsemen there was undoubted resemblance to those on the Parthenon frieze. (2) The Tomb of the Satrap, which probably belonged to the same period. The subjects included a funeral banquet, a hunting scene, and the start of some warlike expedition. These latter were probably episodes in the life of the person commemorated. In style the tomb might be compared to the Nereid monument of Xanthus. (3) The Tomb of the Mourning Women. In this work, which probably belonged to the middle of the fourth century B.C., and which was singularly beautiful and restrained in feeling and execution, eighteen women were represented, between pillars, in various attitudes of grief. The whole was an artistic triumph, and had been well described as 'a dirge in eighteen stanzas.' From its similarity in style to the well-known sepulchral reliefs at Athens it might almost certainly be attributed to an Attic artist. It was possibly the tomb of Strabo II., King of Sidon. (4) The so-called Great Sarcophagus, usually, though erroneously, connected with the name of Alexander. It was more probably the tomb of a king of Sidon, though scenes in the life of Alexander, and his figure, undoubtedly occurred on the monument. It was difficult to name anything quite comparable to this magnificent work of art, though perhaps the nearest analogy was presented by the Amazon Sarcophagus at Vienna. The vigour and variety of the battle and hunting scenes, and the richness of the colour, which was not, apparently, a mere coat of paint, but actually worked into the texture of the marble, were unique. As to

the style, there was not sufficient evidence to connect it with the School of Scopas, of Lysippus, or any other known artist, and it was better to wait for further light before pronouncing a definite opinion. On historical grounds Professor Gardner was inclined to believe that it might be the tomb of a king of Sidon, Abdalonymus, who is known to have been a friend and *protégé* of Alexander.

Professor Waldstein drew attention to the resemblance between the sarcophagus last mentioned and hunting scenes by Lysippus and Leochares of which descriptions have come down to us. He also compared the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women with the reliefs of Apollo and the muses found at Mantinea.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 17th, 1895, Professor L. Campbell, V.P., in the chair.

The Secretary read the following Report on behalf of the Council :—

The Council may again congratulate the Society upon a Session of steady progress and good work. The fourteenth volume of the Journal is well up to the average of its predecessors. The General Meetings have been well attended and have in most cases led to interesting discussions.

In the course of the year the Society has had to regret the loss by death of several distinguished members. Among these the first mention is due to Sir Charles Newton, who took so active a part in the early organization of the Society, and contributed so largely to its success. An eloquent memorial address was delivered by the President of the Society, Professor Jebb, on January 23rd, 1895, and was printed in the last number of the Journal. Professor Heinrich von Brunn has also disappeared from the list of honorary members, to which have been added the names of Professor Furtwängler and Professor Petersen. More recently Professor Gustav Hirschfeld, of Königsberg, who was in charge of the excavations at Olympia when the Hermes of Praxiteles was discovered, and who has a special claim to the grateful recollection of English scholars as the joint editor of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, has passed away in the prime of life, after more than a year's heroic struggle with a painful disease. Sir Henry Layard, Sir James Lacaita, Professor Stuart Poole, Professor A. C. Merriam, of Columbia College, one of the most accomplished of American archæologists, Professor H. C. Goodhart of Edinburgh, and Dr. Greenwood, formerly Principal of the Owens College, Manchester, must be added to the list of the year's losses.

As in former years, the Council has been called upon to support various projects of excavation and exploration. The most important was a scheme for excavations in Alexandria, conducted under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth, and in concert with the authorities of the Egypt Exploration Fund. After careful consideration the Council voted the sum of £100 towards the experimental excavations which, it was thought, would serve to show whether any substantial results were to be expected. After some months' trial Mr. Hogarth came to the conclusion that for all practical purposes ancient Alexandria does not exist. As soon therefore as he had

proved the ruinous state of the scanty remains Mr. Hogarth held his hand, and about a quarter of the grant will be returned. It is very disappointing that the result of this experiment on so interesting a site should be purely negative, but the expenditure seems to be justified if future explorers are thereby deterred from spending money to no purpose. Smaller grants of £25 each were voted to Mr. J. A. R. Munro for exploration in Asia Minor, and to Mr. J. L. Myres for exploration in the island of Amorgos, though in the event the latter was not applied for.

The usual grant of £100 has been made to the British School at Athens, two of the students of which institution, Mr. E. F. Benson and Mr. Bevan, worked under Mr. Hogarth at Alexandria. It may be of interest to members to know that a determined effort is now being made to place the School upon a sounder financial basis. The Council sincerely hope that the effort may be successful, feeling convinced that the maintenance of the School is of vital consequence to the promotion of Hellenic Studies in this country.

It will be noticed from the accompanying accounts that a considerable sum has again been spent upon the Library, partly in the acquisition of books, partly in binding. Among important books added to the Library during the past year may be mentioned Schreiber's *Hellenistische Relief-Bilder*, Welcker's *Alte Denkmäler*, the English edition of Furtwängler's *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, Volume vi. of Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, the English edition of Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Archaeology*; a set of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, of the Proceedings of the Rheinland Verein, and Winckelmann's *Monimenti* presented by Sir A. W. Franks; the fourth volume of Freeman's *Sicily*, and Jowett and Campbell's edition of Plato's *Republic* presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press; Michaelis' *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* presented by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. It has been thought advisable to add to the Library editions of the principal Greek and Latin authors and especially of those, such as Pliny, Pausanias and Strabo, that bear upon the study of archæology. Some valuable works also were acquired at the sale of the library of the late Sir Edward Bunbury.

Within the last few months a scheme has been laid before the Council for publishing from time to time illustrated Catalogues of the numerous private collections of Greek antiquities which exist in this country, and arrangements have been made for carrying the scheme into effect as opportunity may offer. It is thought that such Catalogues will be of immense value to students and of general interest to many members of the Society. Probably a first instalment of these Catalogues, which will be uniform with the Journal, though independent of it, will appear in the course of the coming year.

The collection of lantern-slides, formed for loan to members, has rapidly grown. In the course of the year a new catalogue of them has been issued. They are in great demand, showing this part of the Society's activity to meet a widely felt need.

On the interesting occasion of the unveiling in the Museum at Olympia of a bust of Professor Ernst Curtius, the prime mover of the excavations on that site, the Society was represented by one of its Vice-Presidents, Professor Percy Gardner, who presented a wreath on its behalf.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts during the year of £910, against £1,034 during the financial year 1893-94. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £692, against £715. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £50, against £79, a falling off of £29, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £122, against £229, a decrease of £107. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

Since the entrance fee was imposed in January, 1894, about £50 have been received from this source, a very substantial addition to the Society's income.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £730, against £894 in the previous year, there is an increase of £7 in respect of rent, while the Stationery, Printing, and Postage remain, as last year, at £49. The expenditure on the Library has been £96, against £75 in the preceding year. The cost of the *Journal*, Vol. XIV., Parts I. and II., has amounted to £441.

Besides the Annual Grant of £100 to the British School at Athens, £125 have been granted for other purposes, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £169 7s. 6d., against £214 10s. 7d. at the close of the preceding year.

Forty-one new members have been elected during the year, while twenty-six have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of fifteen, and brings the total number of members up to 784.

Two new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 117.

In conclusion, the Council feel that the Society is in a thoroughly healthy condition. The number of new members, if not so great as in some years, is yet fairly satisfactory. The work done or in contemplation is such as fully to maintain the Society's reputation for enlightened zeal in the cause of Hellenic Studies. The only word of warning that seems called for is once more to remind members that, if the efficiency of the Society is to be maintained or increased, the inevitable gaps caused by death and resignation must be filled, and more than filled, by the introduction of new members. It should therefore be regarded as the duty of all to make the Society more widely known, and to insure a steady flow of new candidates for admission into its ranks. If this duty is realized and carried into effect the prosperity of the Society can never be a matter of doubt.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Chancellor Christie, the Report was unanimously adopted.

Professor Pelham and Mr. J. H. Middleton were added to the list of



Vice-Presidents; and Mr. J. Adam, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. W. Loring, Mr. J. L. Myres, and Miss E. Penrose were elected Members of Council.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth, referring to his experimental excavations in Alexandria, said that it was not a grateful task to have to confess failure to discover, but that at the same time a good deal had been effected when a question so important and recurrent as that of the exploration of Alexandria had been settled even negatively. He stated that, owing to the great size and overbuilt nature of the site of the ancient city, it had been necessary to confine the inquiry to broad preliminary considerations as to depth of deposit, height of water level, and general condition of remains underground. To test these questions, shafts had been sunk in several localities in the east and centre of the site, and inquiries made diligently as to the result of previous excavations. Mr. Hogarth described his shafts and the galleries driven under the mound of Fort Kom el Dikk, and summed up the results. It appeared that everywhere the deposit was of great thickness and very unremunerative, the present water level up to or above the Roman strata, the whole coast very damp, and the condition of such remains as were found ruinous in the last degree. The speaker then alluded to the prospects of the greater monuments of ancient Alexandria being ever discovered in any good condition, and concluded by saying that although, under the circumstances, a foreign society could not be recommended to undertake excavations on such a site, he trusted that local archæologists, whose point of view was so different and whose interest so much more particular, would not be discouraged from prosecuting the researches on which they were engaged at present.

“THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES” ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1895.

To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1895, to June 30, 1894	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
„ Balance, to Cash Account	55	8	3	356	4	7
	440	12	1	104	17	0
				35	19	0
				42	4	9
				6	15	0
	£	496	0	4	£	496
					0	4

By Vol. XIV. Pls. I. and II. Printing (including Carriage)	£	s.	d.
„ Plates	356	4	7
„ Drawing and Engraving	104	17	0
„ Paper	35	19	0
„ Contribution	42	4	9
	6	15	0

CASH ACCOUNT.

To Balance at 31st May, 1894	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Members' Subscriptions, 1894-1895	635	5	6	214	10	7
„ „ Life Subscriptions	50	8	0			
„ „ Subscriptions, 1893-1894	42	1	0	685	13	6
„ „ Arrears	13	13	0			
„ „ Library Subscriptions, 1894-1895	119	14	0	55	14	0
„ „ Back Volumes	2	2	0			
„ Dividends on New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock, Oct. 1, 1894	19	3	8	121	16	0
„ „ April 1, 1895	19	3	8			
„ „ Corporation of Nottingham 3 per cent.—Nov. 1, 1894	2	6	3			
„ „ May 1, 1895	2	6	3			
Loan of Lantern Slides	42	19	10			
Royalty on Sales of Photographs	2	8	7			
	18	0	0			
	£	1,124	0	6	£	1,124
					0	6
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1895	£	169	7	6		

By Rent, one year to Dec. 1894	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
„ Insurance	25	0	0	80	0	0
„ Salary, Asst. Librarian, one year to 31st May, 1894	24	0	0	15	9	0
„ „ Asst. Secretary, one year to 31st May, 1894						
„ Library Account—Books and Furniture	4	0	0	4	0	0
„ Stationery, Postage, &c.	96	1	10	30	3	6
„ Sundry Printing, Notices, &c.	28	0	0	18	0	0
„ Cheque Book, and Commission	100	0	0			
„ Grant to The British School at Athens	25	0	0			
„ „ for Excavations at Asia Minor	160	0	0			
„ „ for Excavations at Alexandria						
„ Balance of Journal Account	225	0	0			
„ Balance at Bankers	440	12	1			
	169	7	6			

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct. (DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } Auditors.  
JOHN B. MARTIN, Hon. Treasurer. (ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, }  
13th June, 1895.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1886	31 May, 1887	31 May, 1888	31 May, 1889	31 May, 1890	31 May, 1891	31 May, 1892	31 May, 1893	31 May, 1894	31 May, 1895
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545	£ 532	£ 535	£ 554	£ 564	£ 571	£ 573
Arrears . . . . .	12	25	41	32	26	39	16	13	44	14
Life Compositions . . . . .	10	95	79	47	47	79	126	95	72	50
Libraries and Back Vols . . . . .	126	156	112	122	96	113	233	161	126	122
Dividends . . . . .	17	20	30	33	34	35	27	29	43	43
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Cohen (Library) . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . . . .	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . . .	...	...	53	31	11	37	...	...	...	...
Loan of Lantern Slides . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	4	2
Royalty on Sales of Photographs . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	2	2	1
Loan from Bankers . . . . .	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
Donations—James Vansittart, Esq., E. H. Egerton, Esq . . . . .	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	5	...
	677	533	561	910	246	393	976	572	1,034	910
Balance from preceding year . . . . .	272	622	489	255	42	151	255	239	259	214
	1,576	1,519	1,350	1,165	892	1,044	1,231	1,117	1,293	1,124

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1886	31 May, 1887	31 May, 1888	31 May, 1889	31 May, 1890	31 May, 1891	31 May, 1892	31 May, 1893	31 May, 1894	31 May, 1895
Rent . . . . .	£ 12	£ 42	£ 15	£ 70	£ 59	£ 70	£ 35	£ 50	£ 73	£ 20
Insurance . . . . .	3	2	3	5	15	11	11	11	11	15
Salaries . . . . .	23	41	46	9	39	39	44	49	49	49
Library . . . . .	...	4	41	15	2	16	8	41	75	96
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	62	63	54	61	55	62	41	71	49	49
Cost of Journal (less sales) . . . . .	412	412	525	373	397	440	610	552	475	441
Grants . . . . .	150	179	350	100	100	150	125	100	135	225
Investments . . . . .	220	300	...	...	...	46	100	...	151	...
Loan Repaid . . . . .	...	...	...	...	101	...	...	...	...	...
Photo Enlargements, Albums, Lantern Slides, &c. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	4	4	...
Sundries . . . . .	2	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	654	1,001	1,085	1,123	727	724	1,122	858	1,079	955
Balance . . . . .	222	419	255	42	151	255	239	259	214	160
	1,576	1,519	1,350	1,165	892	1,044	1,231	1,117	1,293	1,124

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

† The grant of £100 to the School at Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up; see Cash Account.

## THE BEE IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

‘Apes...ego divinas bestias puto.’

• PETRONIUS 56.



THE illustration which heads this paper shows a gold ornament in the form of a bee purchased in 1875 by the British Museum. It is a neat specimen of early granulated work; but, beyond the fact that it came from Crete,<sup>1</sup> nothing is known as to the circumstances of its discovery. Similar finds have, however, been made elsewhere. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* vol. 41, col. 274, notices among the acquisitions of the Berlin Museum for the year 1882 ‘sundry small plates of gold from the Crimea representing a head of Dionysus, Bees, and a Gorgoneion.’ Our own national collection possesses fourteen bodies<sup>2</sup> of bees in gold of late Etruscan workmanship, and also a bee stamped in gold leaf of the same date. With these may be compared the three hundred golden bees found along with an ox-head of gold in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless other examples could be cited;<sup>4</sup> and it seems worth while to attempt some investigation of their significance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 829, Fig. 592, erroneously say *Cumiro*s.

<sup>2</sup> So described by Mr. H. B. Walters, who adds: ‘Curiously enough the head is in each case missing.’ It has been suggested to me that they may be intended to represent larvae or chrysalids. In favour of this is the fact that no sign of fracture is visible where the head would have been joined to the body.

<sup>3</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.* ii. ed. 1854. p. 659. De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*. ii. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*. Pl. XVII.

figs. 336 and 337, shows two small models of bees or perhaps flies, but gives no clue to their meaning.

<sup>5</sup> The present essay was substantially complete before W. Robert-Tornow's tractate *de apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* (Berlin, 1893) came into my hands. That lucid and interesting author gives an exhaustive digest of passages, from which I have borrowed sundry illustrations. He has not, however, led me to modify in any essential point the opinions which I had independently formed.

The provenience of the trinket above depicted may furnish us with a point of departure. Crete was, according to Nicander,<sup>6</sup> the original home of bees, which appear repeatedly in its traditions. Antoninus Liberalis, on the authority of Boios, tells the following tale.<sup>7</sup> 'In Crete there is said to be a cavern sacred to bees, where the story goes that Rhea gave birth to Zeus; and it is unlawful for any—be he god or man—to enter therein. Moreover, at a certain season year by year a flood of light streams forth from the cave; and tradition says that this takes place when the birth-blood of Zeus overflows.' Antoninus proceeds to relate that four men attracted by the honey encased themselves in bronze and ventured into the cave. Here they saw the swaddling-bands of Zeus; upon which their bronze armour split, and the god was minded to slay them with his thunderbolt. The Moirai and Themis intervened on the ground that it was unlawful for any man to die in the cave. Zeus relenting transformed the intruders into birds. An illustration of the legend occurs on a black-figured amphora from Vulci,<sup>8</sup> which represents 'four male figures stung by bees, all nude and bearded; they are Laios, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios.' The vase-painting gives the moment after the bronze has fallen from the men and before their metamorphosis. The whole story is to some extent based on fact. According to Aelian,<sup>9</sup> 'Antenor in his *Tales from Crete* states that by divine instigation a swarm of those bees which are known as *χαλκοειδείς*<sup>10</sup> attacked the town of the Raukioi and caused acute pain by their stings. The townsfolk unable to endure the plague quitted their native territory and migrating elsewhere founded through love of their mother-land (to adopt a Cretan phrase) a second town Raukos in Crete itself; for, though heaven drove them from their home, at least they could not brook being entirely robbed of their name. Further, Antenor relates that on Mount Ida in Crete are still to be found some few of these bees, endued with all the old ferocity of the race.' This narrative, I think, affords a partial explanation of the legend recorded by Antoninus. If a whole village was actually dispossessed<sup>11</sup> by bees, it may well be that a cavern tenanted by such fierce insects was regarded as an abaton<sup>12</sup> throughout the country side. Again, if the local name for the redoubtable bees was *χαλκοειδείς*, the myth-maker would be bound to arm his human marauders in bronze to match the mail of their opponents. But, conceding so much to rationalism, we have yet to account for (1) the associ-

<sup>6</sup> As quoted by Columella, *de re rustica* ix. 2. On the other hand Euphronius, *ibidem*, said that they appeared first on Mount Hymettus in the days of Erechtheus: Euhemerus gave his verdict for Ceos, others again for Thessaly. Eutuknios, *metaphr. Nicand. Alce.* 450. claims the honour for Nemea.

<sup>7</sup> Ant. Lib. xix.

<sup>8</sup> *Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus.* vol. ii. p. 122, B 177.

<sup>9</sup> Aelian, *de nat. an.* xvii. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Diodorus, *Biblioth.* v. 70, says that Zeus,

in memory of his early connexion with the Cretan bees, ἀλλάξει τὴν χρῶαν αὐτῶν καὶ ποιῆσαι χαλκῶ χρυσοειδεῖ παραπλησίαν.

<sup>11</sup> Cases were on record of horses and boys being stung to death by bees. W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* pp. 60-61.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Pliny, *N.H.* xxi. 46: 'aliud in Creta miraculum mellis. mons est Carina ix M. passuum ambitu: intra quod spatium muscae non reperiuntur, natumque ibi mel nusquam attingunt.'

ation of sacred bees with Rhea and the birth of Zeus, (2) the statement that the four Cretans were metamorphosed into birds.

On both points fresh evidence is obtainable. Lactantius<sup>13</sup> in answer to the question—Who was the first to worship the gods?—replies: ‘Didymus in his *Notes on Pindar* states that Melisseus a king of Crete was the first to sacrifice to the gods, and to introduce novel rites and religious processions. He had two daughters, Amalthea and Melissa, who nourished the infant Jupiter with goats’ milk and honey.<sup>14</sup> Hence arose the poets’ tale<sup>15</sup> that bees flew up and filled the child’s mouth with honey. Melissa was by her father made the first priestess to the Magna Mater; and from this fact the representatives of the goddess are still termed Melissae...The date of Melisseus must have been exceedingly early as he had the bringing up of Jupiter.’ It will be seen that Antoninus is here confirmed by Lactantius. The former made Rhea give birth to Zeus in a Cretan cave and spoke of its *ἱεραὶ μέλιτται* as *τροφοὶ τοῦ Διός*. The latter says that the original priestess of the Magna Mater was the Cretan princess Melissa, who fed the infant Jupiter with honey, and that in memory of her office subsequent attendants of the goddess were also named Melissae. Why bees should be selected as fitting nurses of the godhead, is not at once obvious. Possibly it was because ‘in Graecia infantes primum melle alebantur, quod ex Paulo et Aetio monstrat Is. Vossius ad Barnabae Epist. p. 311: cui rei ollulam cum spongia adhibuerunt.’<sup>16</sup> The custom still survives in the Greek Archipelago. Rennell Rodd<sup>17</sup> states that, in the island of Rhodes, the child eight days after birth is placed for the first time in a cradle where ‘its lips are touched with honey by another child, who must according to prescribed usage be the eldest of a family, saying “Be thou sweet as this honey.”’ The ceremony with which this rite is performed rather points to some underlying superstition connecting the bee with birth. But for the present it will suffice to remember that Zeus Kretagenes has intimate relations with the bee. Columella<sup>18</sup> mentions ‘mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Iupiter in apem convertit.’ Hesychius quotes *Μελισσαῖος* as an epithet of Zeus. And the bee is his emblem on the coins of several Cretan cities.<sup>19</sup> There is, moreover, another tale told by Antoninus<sup>20</sup> which connects the bees as nurses with Zeus. It is an excerpt from Nicander’s *Ἑτεροειδισμένων β’*. ‘Zeus had by a nymph of Othrys a son afterwards named Meliteus. The mother through fear of Hera exposed the babe in the woodlands. But, in accordance with the will of Zeus, so far from perishing he thrived upon nourishment supplied by bees. Now Phagros the son of Apollo and this same Othryan

<sup>13</sup> Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Callim. *hymn. in Iov.* 48 ff. Diol. *Bibl.* v. 70. Apollod. *Bibl.* I. i. 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> Verg. *Georg.* iv. 152. Colum. *de re rust.* ix. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Boeckh on Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 36-47: cp. W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* pp. 119-122. The *Μέλιττα* *ἡρώθ* of the *C.I.G.* 208 is a mere

coincidence.

<sup>17</sup> *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 107.

<sup>18</sup> Columella, *de re rustica* ix. 2.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Elyrus (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 393), Hyrtacina (*ibid.* p. 397), Praesus (*ibid.* p. 404).

<sup>20</sup> Antoninus Liberalis xiii.

nymph, the mother of Meliteus the child in the wood, while feeding his flock chanced to fall in with the boy. Astonished at his healthy looks and still more so at the attendant bees, he picked him up and carrying him off home reared him with the greatest care. He gave the lad the name Meliteus because he had been fed by bees. Further, he called to mind the oracle in which God had told him once on a time to preserve as his brother the boy fed by bees. As soon as Meliteus grew to man's estate he proved himself worthy of his noble birth, and became king over many neighbouring tribes: he also founded a town in Phthia and called it Melite.<sup>21</sup>

To deal next with the transformation of Laios and his comrades. Roscher<sup>22</sup> thinks it probable that the whole myth arose from the observation that certain species of birds prey upon bees. But, apart from the fact that the birds specified by Antoninus have no known antipathy to bees, this suggestion would not account for the alliance between bees and birds which we find elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> It seems safer to recall the variant tradition that birds as well as bees fed the infant Zeus in his Cretan cavern. Moiro the Byzantine poetess<sup>24</sup> wrote:

Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα τίς νιν  
 ἡείδει μακάρων· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι.  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄνθρω,  
 ἀμβροσίην φορέουσai ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων·  
 νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων  
 γαμφηλῆς, φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιόεντι.  
 τὸν καὶ νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 ἀθάνατον ποίησε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἐγκατένασεν.  
 ὥς δ' αὐτῶς τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ὥπασε τιμὴν,  
 αἱ δὴ τοι θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἄγγελοι εἰσίν.

Possibly, then, the intruding Cretans were so to speak pressed into the service of Zeus under the form of birds. At any rate it is noteworthy that *πελειάδες* as well as *μέλισσαι* were his chosen attendants.

There were other localities besides Crete where the officiating priestess was termed a *μέλισσα*. Pindar's<sup>25</sup> lines are notorious:—

ὦ μάκαρ νιὲ Πολυμνάστου, σέ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ  
 χρησμὸς ὄρθωσεν μελίσσης Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ.

This we can hardly fail to connect with the singular statement of Pausanias:<sup>26</sup> 'the Delphians affirm that their second temple was built by bees

<sup>21</sup> Coins of Melitaea in Phthiotis (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 256) have a head of Zeus on the obverse side, and on the reverse a bee with ΜΕΛΙ or ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕΩΝ. This is not merely, as Prof. Ridgeway (*Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 323) contends, a *type parlant*; it alludes in all probability to the local legend given above.

<sup>22</sup> Roscher, *L. r.* col. 154, s. c. *Argolios*.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. the legend of Ibrāhīm Ibn Edhem in the *Tuti-Namē*, which tells how a bee carried crumbs of bread away from the king's table to take them to a blind sparrow (De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* ii. 217).

<sup>24</sup> *Ap. Athen. Deip.* 491 B.

<sup>25</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 59-60.

<sup>26</sup> Paus. X. v. 5.

of the bees' wax and of wings (ἀπό τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν):<sup>27</sup> it was sent, they say, by Apollo to the Hyperboreans. Again, another legend has it that the temple was founded by a Delphian named Pteras—the builder's name being transferred to the building: from this same Pteras, so the story goes, the Cretan town of Apteraioi derives its name by the addition of a single letter.' In short we have a tolerably broad hint that the second temple at Delphi, a pre-historic structure, was dedicated to a joint worship of bees and birds. Prof. Middleton<sup>28</sup> seems right in referring to this double cult the line quoted by Plutarch<sup>29</sup> as the earliest example of heroic metre:

συμφέρετε πτερὰ οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλισσαι.

A trace of the bees persisted in the name μέλισσαι still given to Apollo's priestesses.<sup>30</sup> Whether the birds had similar ministrants, corresponding to the πέλειαι or πελειάδες at Dodona,<sup>31</sup> we have no means of determining: but it is conceivable that a relic of the cult should be found in the famous omphalos, which on ancient works of art is repeatedly represented as a large egg standing on end and occasionally flanked by a couple of birds.<sup>32</sup> Another point to be noticed is that, according to local tradition, the second temple at Delphi had been built by one Pteras who had affinities with the Cretan Apteraioi. This is not our only warrant for supposing that in primitive times the Cretans had helped to colonize Delphian territory. Dr. Verrall infers from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 388—end) that the 'possessors of the oracle from the earliest memory down to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. were in origin partly Cretan.'<sup>33</sup> Consequently it is tempting to conjecture that the cult of μέλισσαι and πελειάδες (?) at Delphi was derived from the sanctity attached to μέλισσαι and πελειάδες in Crete.

If we now ask ourselves—How came these dissimilar creatures to be the objects of a united worship?—we recur to the legend which domiciled both bees and birds in the Cretan cave. Nothing could be more natural than that the animals which haunted this cave, the traditional birthplace of Zeus, should be regarded as his attendants. Entitled thus to a common reverence they would together cross the sea to Delphi. It is at least clear that in both localities they were essentially *chthonian*. On the one hand

<sup>27</sup> The odd collocation of wax and wings occurs again in the story of Icarus. Did the Sun-god destroy Icarus for presuming to employ substances peculiar to his own cult at Delphi? For the sun represented as a bee *vide infra*.

<sup>28</sup> *J.H.S.* ix. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Plut. *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν κ.τ.λ.* § 17. If πτερῶν in Paus. *loc. cit.* denoted the bees' wings, it would have had the article. Philostrat. *vit. Apoll.* vi. 10 (quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 191) says *ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὕρνιθες*.

<sup>30</sup> The author of a work on Delphi (known to Tzetzes, *chil.* vi. 90, 936, and the Schol. on Hesiod, p. 29) was named Melissens—again no more than a coincidence.

<sup>31</sup> Herodot. ii. 55, 57. Soph. *Trach.* 172, with Schol. *ad loc.* Paus. VII. xxi. 1, X. xii. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *J.H.S.* ix. 14 ff. Sometimes the omphalos is covered by 'strings of what look like small eggs': but these are probably to be interpreted as woollen taeniae.

<sup>33</sup> *J.H.S.* xiv. 7.



the Cretan birds and bees occupied a sacred cave,<sup>34</sup> where they ministered to the child of Rhea. On the other hand the Delphian<sup>35</sup> egg-stone with its guardian birds marked the centre of the earth, while the oracular functions appropriate to chthonian powers were discharged by the Delphian 'bees.'

Further proof that the bee was a chthonian animal is afforded by its connexion with Dionysus. According to Apollonius Rhodius<sup>36</sup> this deity was in his infancy fed with honey by Makris, a daughter of Aristaeus:

ἄνθρωπ' ἐν ἡγαθέῳ, τόθι δὴ ποτε Μάκρις ἔναιεν,  
κούρη 'Αρισταίῳ μελίφρονος, ὅς ῥα μελισσέων  
ἔργα πολυκμήτοίό τ' ἀνεύρατο πῖαρ ἐλαίης.  
κείνη δὲ πᾶμπρωτα Διὸς Νυσήιον νῖα  
Εὐβοίης ἔντοσθεν 'Αβαντίδος ᾧ ἐνὶ κόλπῳ  
δέξατο, καὶ μέλιτι ξηρὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἔδευσεν.

Ovid,<sup>37</sup> however, regards Bacchus as himself the discoverer of honey:—

Melle pater fruitur: liboq̄ue infusa calenti  
Iure repertori candida mella damus.

Dyer in *The Gods in Greece* (p. 143) remarks that Euripides, whose *Bacchants*<sup>38</sup> draw milk, wine, and honey from the soil, was probably familiar with the legend of Makris. Diodorus<sup>39</sup> tells at length a tale which makes Dionysus the son of Ammon and Amalthea. The father from fear of Rhea carried the child to a cave near Mount Nysa in an island formed by the Cretan river Triton. Here he was entrusted to the care of Nysa, another daughter of Aristaeus: ἐπιστάτην δ' αὐτοῦ τάξαι τὸν 'Αρισταῖον, ἄνδρα συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα.<sup>40</sup> Daremberg and Saglio (*Dict. Ant.* I. i. p. 621 s.v. Bacchus) state: 'L'abeille appartient naturellement à Dionysos *Brisaios*, comme dieu du miel.' But to this we must return later on. Meantime his affinity with the insect is illustrated by an engraved gem,<sup>41</sup> which represents him crowned with vine leaves and wearing a beard composed of four bees'-wings. Finally, 'Dionysus after having been torn to pieces in the form of a bull was born again, according to those who were initiated in the Dionysian mysteries, in the form of a bee.'<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to observe that the foregoing *παλιγγενεσία* belongs to Dionysus in his character of Zagreus,<sup>43</sup> and that as Zagreus he was worshipped by both Cretans and Delphians. 'The conception of Zagreus,'

<sup>34</sup> The details relating to this cavern—the glare emitted and the red stream that 'boiled over'—perhaps point to volcanic phenomena.

<sup>35</sup> In Crete too there was an Ὀμφαλός, about which a story was current connecting it with the birth of Zeus (Diod. *Bibl.* v. 70).

<sup>36</sup> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* iv. 1129–34.

<sup>37</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 735 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 142. 710. Himerius, *Or.* xiii. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Diod. *Bibl.* iii. 68 ff.

<sup>40</sup> With this agrees Oppian, *Cyneg.* iv. 271 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Lenormant, *Pierres gravées d'Orléans* i. Pl. 59; Chabouillet, *Catalogue général des monnaies, &c., de la bibliothèque impériale*, No. 1625. See E. Thraemer in Roscher, *Lex.* col. 1153 s.v. 'Geflügelter Dionysos.'

<sup>42</sup> De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* ii. 217. I do not know on what authority the statement rests.

<sup>43</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 710 ff.

says Mr. A. S. Murray,<sup>44</sup> 'or the winter Dionysus, appears to have originated in Crete, but it was accepted also at Delphi, where his grave was shown.'

In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* we get a seeming personification of mantic bees in the neighbourhood of Delphi. Apollo thus addresses the son of Maia: <sup>45</sup>—'There be certain Fates, sisters born, virgins who delight them on swift wings, three in number; and, their heads sprinkled with white meal, they have their home beneath the fold of Parnassus, distant teachers of prophecy, which I too practised in childhood's days when tending kine, all unnoticed of my father. Starting hence they flit now hither now thither, feeding on honey-combs and bringing each several thing to pass. When they dart along full-fed with yellow honey, they declare the truth with a willing heart; but if they be robbed of the gods' sweet sustenance, then they lie as they hurry to and fro.' Some details of this description call for comment. Hermann's conjecture *Θριαὶ* for the MSS. *Μοῖραι* has been generally accepted, though Lobeck relying on a variant *Σεμναὶ* suggests *Ἴραι* as an alternative.<sup>46</sup> To me the manuscripts' reading commends itself more than either of the proposed changes. Then again the phrase *κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκὰ* perhaps describes the pollen-covered bees in terms which are meant to recall the *ἀλφιτομάντις*.<sup>47</sup> In any case we have here bees endowed with prophetic powers, a trait which reappears elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> Of the bee-Dionysus we have already spoken; it may be added that, according to the Scholiast on Pindar,<sup>49</sup> he was the first to mount the Delphic tripod and foretell the future. Iamos, son of Apollo by Euadne, from whom the prophetic Iamidae traced their descent, was fed by two snakes *ἰμεμφεῖ ἰὼ μελισσῶν*.<sup>50</sup> And the oracle of Trophonios was made known to the Boeotians by means of a swarm of bees.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that the prophetic talent attributed to bees was based on the observation that *προγινώσκουσι καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ ὕδωρ αἱ μέλιτται· σημεῖον δέ, οὐκ ἀποπέτονται γὰρ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ εὐδρίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνειλοῦνται, ᾧ γινώσκουσιν οἱ μελιττουργοὶ ὅτι χειμῶνα προσδέχονται*.<sup>52</sup> Those who were possessed of supernatural shrewdness, in particular singers and sages, are said to have been fed by bees, commonly

<sup>44</sup> *Enc. Brit.* ed. 9, vii. 249.

<sup>45</sup> Hom. *Hymn. in Mercur.* 552-563.

<sup>46</sup> Lobeck, *op. cit.* p. 816.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p. 815, n. C. To the list there given add Hesychius' glosses *ἀλφιτόμαντις· ἀλφίτοις μαντευομένη* and *ἀλφιτοσκόποι· ἀλφιτομάντις*.

<sup>48</sup> See W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* pp. 35-39: 'de apium examine vel imperatoriae vel regiae dignitatis, omnino potestatis divitiarumque, omine'; *ibid.* pp. 43-60: 'de apium examine diro militibus portento.' The author here refutes at length the opinion of Creuzer that a swarm of bees was 'omen faustum militibus,' admitting, however, that the bees which were seen over Rollo's army in A.D. 800 possibly portended a happy issue to his expedition (why

not an *unhappy* issue to his *foes*?). He continues: 'si autem causam, cur apes symbolum terroris fuerint, quaerimus, ea in aculei vi patere videtur.' A better cause may be found in the funereal associations of the bee; *vide infra*. Its prophetic office was not confined to Greece, e.g. Josephus, *Archaeol.* V. vi. *Δεβάρᾳ προφῆτις, μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦνομα*.

<sup>49</sup> *Argum. Pyth.* quoted by Prof. Middleton in the *J.H.S.* ix. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 45 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Pausanias IX. xl. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Aristotle. *An. Hist.* x. 40, 627b 10. Cp. Aelian, *de nat. an.* i. 11, v. 13. Aratus *prognost.* 296. Philo., *de an. prop.* 567 1.

during infancy.<sup>53</sup> The story is told of Hesiod,<sup>54</sup> Pindar,<sup>55</sup> Sophocles,<sup>56</sup> Plato,<sup>57</sup> Vergil,<sup>58</sup> Lucan,<sup>59</sup> and Ambrose.<sup>60</sup> Nonnos relates that Astraea fed the infant Beroë—<sup>61</sup>

Ἀθλίδος ἡδυτόκοιο περιθλίψασα μελίσσης  
δαιδαλέην ὠδίνα πολυτρήτοιο λοχείης,  
κηρία φωνήεντα σοφῶ κέρασασα κυπέλλῳ·

the purpose of this diet being to breed in the babe wisdom and eloquence :  
ἐσήμαινε γὰρ τὸ μέλι τὴν εὐέπειαν τῆς σοφίας,<sup>62</sup> and as the poet observes—<sup>63</sup>

τοίῃ ἔην Βερόη, Χαρίτων θάλος· εἵποτε κούρη  
λαροτέρην σίμβλοιο μελίσρρυτον ἥπνε φωνήν,  
ἡδυεπῆς ἀκόρητος ἐφίστατο χεῖλεσι Πειθῶ.

In like manner the Muses as patrons of divine song are akin to bees :—

Εὐτέρπη δονάκεσσι πολυτρήτοισι λιγαίνει,  
πνεῦμα σοφῆς ὀχεταιγὼν ἐπισπείρουσα μελίσσης.<sup>64</sup>

And the bee is regarded as especially devoted to their service.<sup>65</sup> They sent bees to feed their favourite, the Sicilian Komatas, who sacrificed his master's goats to them, and was by way of punishment confined for two months in a wooden chest.<sup>66</sup> Sometimes they actually appeared in insect form. It was as a swarm of bees<sup>67</sup> that they guided the Athenian colonists to Ionia, a country which they loved. And in the case of their devotees, who *ap'is Matinac more modoque* gather poetic honey, the similitude passes into a commonplace.

We have remarked that Dionysus was fed with honey by Makris, a daughter of Aristaeus. The legend of Aristaeus himself, as told by Vergil in his fourth *Georgic*,<sup>68</sup> is instructive. This Thessalian shepherd, son of the

<sup>53</sup> Cp. *Anth. Pal.* ii. 312 of Homer; *ibid.* ix. 187 of Menander.

<sup>54</sup> See the author of Lucan's life quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 116.

<sup>55</sup> Pausanias IX. xxiii. 2. Aelian, *V. H.* xii. 15. Philostrat. *Im.* ii. 12. Cp. Porphyri, *de abst.* iii. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Philostrat. jun. *Im.* xiv. 1. W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 110, compares a gem described by Winckelmann, which represents a mask with a bee about to fly into its open mouth.

<sup>57</sup> Cicero, *de divinatione*, I. xxxvi. 78, II. xxxi. 66. Valer. Max. I. vi. 3. Pliny, *N. H.* XI. xviii. Aelian, *V. H.* x. 21, xii. 45. Olympiod. *cit. Plot.* p. 583. Cp. Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. xi. Σκελικὴ τῷ ὄντι μέλιττα, προφητικὸν τε καὶ ἀποστολικὸν λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος.

<sup>58</sup> *Vit. Verg.* 25 *ap.* Reiffersch. Sueton. pp. 68-72, quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 116.

<sup>59</sup> Reiffersch. Sueton. pp. 76-79. quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 116.

<sup>60</sup> *The Golden Legend*, ed. Th. Graesse, p. 250, quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 117.

<sup>61</sup> Nonnos, *Dion.* xli. 218 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Artemidorus, *Oneirocrit.* v. 83.

<sup>63</sup> Nonnos, *Dion.* xli. 250 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *Anth. Pal.* ix. 505, 5-6.

<sup>65</sup> Aelian attributes to the bee φιλοφθίαν καὶ φιλομουσίαν. Philes, *de an. prop.* 589, says καὶ φιλόμουσός ἐστιν, ὥς ὄρνις τάχα. And Varro, *de re rustica* III. xvi. 7 'apes musarum esse dicuntur volucres.'

<sup>66</sup> Theocr. *Id.* vii. 78 ff., *Syr.* 3.

<sup>67</sup> Philostrat. *Im.* II. viii. 5. Himerius, *Orat.* x. 1, xxviii. 7, ed. Dubner.

<sup>68</sup> Verg. *Georg.* iv. 317-558. Ovid, *Fasti* i. 363-380, has an epitome of the tale. The various sources are collected by K. Blondel in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* I. i. p. 424, s.v. 'Aristaeus,' and still more fully by Schirmer in Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 547-551.

Thymbraean Apollo, finding his bees perish from disease appealed to his mother Cyrene, who dwelt with her sister nymphs at the bottom of the river Peneus. At her invitation he descended into the flood till he reached the fountain-head of all rivers, a subaqueous cavern of surpassing beauty. Here he was told that he must capture Proteus in Pallene and learn from him the cause of the disease. Helped by Cyrene he succeeded in surprising the god, who informed him that the trouble was due to the vengeance of Orpheus. Eurydice in her endeavours to escape from the shepherd's embraces had been bitten to death by a serpent; and thus Aristaeus' sin had led to Orpheus' fruitless quest and ultimate doom. It was the Napaeian nymphs, the former playmates of Eurydice, who had destroyed his bees. To appease them he must sacrifice four choice bulls and four cows, leaving their bodies in a shady wood. After eight days had elapsed he should return and complete the expiation. He did so, and found to his surprise—

‘liquefacta boum per viscera toto  
stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis,  
immensasque trahi nubes, iamque arbore summa  
confluere et lentis uvam demittere ramis.’

This is the mythical prototype of the method actually recommended by Vergil<sup>69</sup> for the procreation of bees. It is given more in detail by Florentinus,<sup>70</sup> who professes to follow Democritus and Varro. A fat bullock, thirty months old, is confined in a narrow chamber measuring ten cubits every way and pierced by a door and four windows. He is then beaten till bones and flesh are alike crushed, though blood must not be drawn. Next, every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags, and he is laid on a heap of thyme. The door and windows are closed with mud so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is thrown open, but care must be taken not to admit wind. When aired enough the body is fastened up as before and left for ten days longer. On the eleventh day clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing remains but horns, bones, and hair. The central idea of this singular superstition is that the life of the bull is perpetuated in the life of the bees, which are as Porphyry<sup>71</sup> calls them *βουγενεῖς*. Ovid<sup>72</sup> emphasizes the point:—

‘fervent examina putri  
De bove : mille animas una necata dedit.’

The pluralization of the soul implied by this process was not likely to prove a stumbling-block to primitive imagination. ‘The savage,’ says Mr. Frazer,<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 295–314. See further the authorities quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* pp. 19–29, from Philotas of Cos in the fourth century B.C. to ‘Rabusium quendam,’ who in his book *Von dem Feldbau* (Strassh. 1566) has a chapter entitled ‘Von den Bynen und wie sie aus einem todten Rindt wachsen.’ To his list should be added Philos, *de an. prop.*

1198.

<sup>70</sup> *Geopon.* xv. 2

<sup>71</sup> Porphyry, *de ant. Nymph.* 18. Theocritus, *Syr.* 3 ταυροπάτωρ = μέλισσα (Jo. Pedias. and Max. Hol. *ad loc.*). Varro, *de re rustica* II. v. βουγόνας = ‘apes.’

<sup>72</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* i. 379 f.

<sup>73</sup> *The Golden Bough* ii. 339.

'unshackled by dogma, is free to explain the facts of life by the assumption of as many souls as he thinks necessary.' The directions given above are so many precautions to prevent the soul of the bull from escaping, and can in every case be paralleled from savage custom. He is confined in a narrow chamber, the door and windows of which are closed with mud; and entombment, to the early mind, serves the purpose of prisoning the spirit of the deceased. When he is beaten to death, no blood must be drawn; and primitive peoples frequently 'abstain in the strictest manner from eating the blood of any animal, as it contains the life and spirit of the beast.'<sup>74</sup> Every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags; and 'the soul is commonly supposed to escape by the natural openings of the body...The Itonamas in South America seal up the eyes, nose, and mouth of a dying person, in case his ghost should get out and carry off other people.'<sup>75</sup> He is laid on a heap of thyme, probably to attract the new-born bees:<sup>76</sup> just so the soul is sometimes 'conceived as a bird ready to take flight...Amongst the Battas of Sumatra, when a man returns from a dangerous enterprise, grains of rice are placed on his head, and these grains are called *padiruma tondi*, that is, "means to make the soul (*tondi*) stay at home."<sup>77</sup> When the chamber is aired, no wind must be allowed to enter; by it the soul might easily be carried off. Finally, the soul leaves the body in the form of bees; and similar transformations into lizard, raven, mouse, fly, or butterfly, have been widely believed.<sup>78</sup>

It is very possible that this superstitious method of producing bees was attributed to Aristaeus merely because he was the pastoral deity who first taught men *τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν σμηνῶν*.<sup>79</sup> He was in his infancy fed by the Horai on nectar and ambrosia.<sup>80</sup> He invented the mixture of honey with wine.<sup>81</sup> He kept the flocks of the bee-loving Muses on the plain of Phthia; and possessed foreknowledge of the future. Tradition relates that he came to Ceos in obedience to Apollo's orders and there stayed an oppressive drought by a sacrifice to Zeus Ikmaios. He has indeed been identified with Zeus in this island under the name of Zeus Aristaios: in favour of the identification K. Blondel<sup>82</sup> adduces Zeus Melissaios and Zeus Meilichios. Aristaeus is also fabled to have visited Boeotia, Euboea, Crete, Sardinia and Sicily. The bee occurs as his symbol on the coin-types of Carthaea, Coresia, and Ioulis, in the island of Ceos<sup>83</sup>; also on coins of the neighbouring islands Címolos and Cythnos.<sup>84</sup> The mintage of Hybla and Camarina in Sicily<sup>85</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *The Golden Bough*, i. 179.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* i. 123.

<sup>76</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* XI. xv., says of honey: 'in aestimatu est e thymo, coloris aurei, saporis gratissimū.' Cp. XXI. xxxi. Vergil, *Ecl.* v. 77; *Georg.* iv. 112, 169, 181, 241, 270; *Aen.* i. 436.

<sup>77</sup> *The Golden Bough* i. 124.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* i. 126-7.

<sup>79</sup> Diod. *Bibl.* iv. 81. Cp. Oppian, *Cyneg.* iv. 269 ff. Nonnos, *Dion.* v. 232 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Pindar, *Puth.* ix. 107.

<sup>81</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* XIV. vi.

<sup>82</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* I. i. p. 424: 'il semble aussi avoir plus d'un rapport avec Zeus *Akraios* du Pélion.'

<sup>83</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 411.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* p. 413.

<sup>85</sup> Ch. Morel in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* I. i. pp. 304-5. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 129. Pausanias V. xxiii. 5 mentions the temple of a goddess *Ἰθλαία*, who is represented in connexion with a bee on the obverse of a coin of Hybla Magna.

has perhaps a similar import, if the bee is not a mere token of the prevailing industry. However, enough has been said to prove that Aristaeus was closely connected with bees, and with bees as emblematic of a fresh incarnation.

The same meaning must be assigned to the bees which play a part in the legend of Glaucus, the son of Minos and Pasiphae. Hyginus<sup>86</sup> gives the following version of the tale. 'Glaucus, while playing at ball, fell into a jar full of honey. His parents sought for him and inquired of Apollo concerning the boy. Apollo made answer:—"A monstrosity has been born to you; whoso can detect its meaning shall restore your son." On receiving this oracle Minos began to seek among his people for the monstrosity. They told him that a calf had been born, which thrice a day—once every four hours—changed its colour, being first white, then red, and lastly black. To get this portent interpreted Minos called together his augurs. They failed to find the solution, but Polyidus the son of Coeranus explained the portent by comparing the calf to a mulberry tree, the fruit of which is at first white, afterwards red, and when fully ripe black. Then said Minos to him:—"According to the word of Apollo, 'tis thou who must restore my son." Hereupon Polyidus, while taking the auspices, saw an owl perched upon a wine-bin and frightening away some bees. He welcomed the omen, and took up the lifeless lad from the jar. Minos then said to him:—"Thou hast found the body—now restore the life." Polyidus protested that this was an impossibility; but Minos ordered him to be shut up in a tomb along with the boy, a sword being laid ready to his hand. When this had been done, suddenly a snake glided out towards the boy's body. Polyidus, thinking that it was intent on food, promptly struck it with a sword and killed it. A second snake in search of its consort saw the dead beast, crept out with a certain herb, and by means of its touch restored life to the snake. Polyidus followed its example. The boy helped him to shout inside the tomb, and a passer-by told Minos of what had happened. He bade the monument be opened up, recovered his child safe and sound, and sent Polyidus back home laden with gifts.' In this curiously complex myth the bees, which were kept from entering the wine-bin by the owl, apparently symbolize the soul of the deceased endeavouring to regain the body within—an omen which was likely to direct Polyidus' attention to the jars in the bin.

Among the examples of primitive gold-work brought from Camiros in Rhodes by Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti were two oblong plaques embossed with the design here reproduced<sup>87</sup>—a winged female, who from the waist downwards has the body of a bee. Similar pendants from the same place<sup>88</sup> represent the so-called Persic Artemis, a winged female with a lion on either side of her.<sup>89</sup> This affords some ground for taking our figure to be that of a bee-goddess, perhaps a bee-Artemis. I am not aware that other evidence is forthcoming for the existence of such a cult in Rhodes.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Hyginus cxxxvi. p. 115, ed. M. Schmidt.

<sup>87</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* vol. 27, p. 111.

<sup>88</sup> Salzmann, *Necropole de Camiros*, Pl. I.

<sup>89</sup> Cp. Roscher, *Lex.* col. 564; Micali, *Mon.*

*Ined.* Pl. I. 3, 23; Baumeister, *D. nkm.* fig. 139;

'*Eφ.* 'Αρχ. 1893, col. 213 ff. Pl. 8-10.

<sup>90</sup> At the same time the Rhodian superstition mentioned *supra* perhaps indicates that on this

But it is not a far cry from Rhodes to Ephesus, and it is known that something of the sort obtained among the Ephesians. Aeschylus in his tragedy of *The Priestesses* <sup>91</sup> says :

εὐφραμείτε· μελισσονόμοι δόμον Ἀρτέμιδος πέλας οἶγειν.

‘Hold your peace! The bee-keepers are at hand to open the house of Artemis.’ On this Mr. Merry <sup>92</sup> observes: ‘It is difficult to decide whether the word is connected with μέλεσθαι, *curare*, or μείλισσω, *propitiare*, or whether there is some mystical or symbolic allusion to bees.’ That the latter is the case seems to me certain from the Ephesian use of the word ἐσσήν. Wood at the end of his *Discoveries at Ephesus* gives a selection of local inscriptions, one of which (No 16) is a decree relating to certain persons



resident in Rhodes; they are to be accounted as benefactors, and admitted into a tribe and a thousand by the Essenes (τοὺς Ἑσσηνας); the temple-wardens are to inscribe the decree on a pillar of stone and set it up in the temple of Artemis. This is cleared up by the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* who has the following note: <sup>93</sup> Ἑσσην· ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίους· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ μελισσῶν βασιλέως. For a parallel usage he cites Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, line 66,

οὗ σε θεῶν ἐσσηνα πάλιν θέσαν,

where ἐσσην is the equivalent of βασιλεύς. The Ephesian ‘king’ was of course the *rex sacrificulus*, and it is perhaps owing to the religious associations of the word ἐσσην that it was employed by Callimachus. <sup>94</sup> Some further points of interest are told us by Pausanias. In speaking of the temple of Artemis Hymnia near Orchomenos he says: <sup>95</sup> ‘The priestess and the priest

island honey was considered especially attractive to the soul of the infant. For the time when the babe is first placed in the cradle is a critical moment, and at such moments the soul must be retained by guile. ‘Thus in Java when a child is placed on the ground for the first time, it is put in a hen-coop, and the mother makes a clucking sound as if she were calling hens’ (*The Golden Bough* i. 124).

<sup>91</sup> *Frogs*, 84, quoted by Aristoph. *Frogs* 1283.

<sup>92</sup> Ed. *Frogs*, p. 122.

<sup>93</sup> *Etym. Mag.* 383, 30. See further Hicks *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* iii. p. 85.

<sup>94</sup> Callimachus, *Frag.* 508 Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσηνα tells against this. From evidence collected by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* pp. 34–35, it appears that in Egypt and other countries the bee was a royal symbol.

<sup>95</sup> Pausanias VIII. xiii. 1.

must throughout their lifetime preserve purity not only with regard to sexual intercourse, but also in other respects; their ablutions and their mode of sustenance differ from those of the people at large, nor may they enter the home of a private citizen. I am aware that similar restrictions are practised for a year, not for a lifetime, by the Ephesians who feast in honour of Artemis and are called by the citizens 'Ἐσσηνες.' If a conjecture may be hazarded, the peculiar diet enjoined upon the devotees of Artemis at Orchomenos and at Ephesus comprised abstinence from animal food and the consumption of honey. However that may be, there are bees carved on the sides of the Vatican statue which represents the many-breasted Artemis.<sup>96</sup> Also the bee occurs as an emblem of that goddess<sup>97</sup> on Ephesian coins from the sixth century onwards.<sup>98</sup> And, unless coin-types were borrowed in a purely arbitrary fashion, the cult of the bee-Artemis must have prevailed elsewhere. For we meet with the same symbol on moneys of Smyrna, Erythrae, Aradus and Parium:<sup>99</sup> even Elaeous in the Thracian Chersonese has coins with a head of Artemis on the obverse, and a bee on the reverse side.<sup>100</sup> Apollonius Rhodius<sup>101</sup> makes Medea command Jason to sacrifice honey to Hekate, that is, to the chthonian Artemis. Μέλιττα in the *C.I.G.* 155 dedicates robes to Artemis; but this proves nothing, since the word used as a proper name is fairly common.

The worship of Artemis Ephesia brings into prominence a new feature of the bee symbolism. Hitherto that insect has come before us simply as a chthonian creature, typifying at most the *παλιγγενεσία* of the soul. At Ephesus our evidence points to ceremonial ablutions and continence<sup>102</sup> as the main characteristics of the cult, though doubtless chthonian relations, which in the case of Artemis are never very far to seek, were not altogether absent. We are reminded of the beautiful words spoken by Hippolytus:<sup>103</sup>

χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ καλλίστα,  
καλλίστα τῶν κατ' Ὀλυμπον  
παρθένων, Ἄρτεμι·  
σοὶ τόνδε πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου  
λειμῶνος, ὃ δέσποινα, κοσμήσας φέρω,  
ἐνθ' οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοὶ φέρβειν βοτὰ

<sup>96</sup> Baumeister, *Denk.* i. 131, Fig. 138.

<sup>97</sup> Winckelmann and others explained the bee on coins as an appropriate emblem of a colony—a much less probable view, at any rate in the case of Ephesus.

<sup>98</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 494.

<sup>99</sup> Ch. Morel in Daremberg and Saglio, *Diet. Ant.* I. i. pp. 304–5. I suspect that the coin of Abdera, described by F. Osann in the *Arch. Zeit.* vol. 10, col. 457 ff., is only another example of this type.

<sup>100</sup> Imhof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 15, No. 40; p. 46, No. 41.

<sup>101</sup> Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* iii. 1035, quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 144.

<sup>102</sup> Riess in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* ed. 2, col. 68, 52: 'Die Bienen. verlangten auch keusche und reine Warter' (Pallad. i. 37, 4; iv. 15, 4). W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 12 ff., rightly derives this from the notorious fact that 'apinum .. coitus visus est numquam' (Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 16); he cites Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 197 ff., Petronius, p. 878, Quintilian, *Decl.* xiii. 16, &c. According to Aristotle, however, 761a 7 *ἔπται* πολλὰκίς ὁ συνδυασμὸς αὐτῶν.

<sup>103</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 70 ff.



οὐτ' ἡλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον  
 μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἡρινὸν διέρχεται·  
 Αἰδῶς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπευεὶ δρόσοις.

But there were other members of the Greek pantheon with whom the bee was associated. Hesychius interprets μέλισσαι to mean αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες. He is apparently referring to a passage in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, lines 110—112 :

Διοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει  
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς, ἄκρον ἄωτον.

Here we find certain Μέλισσαι performing a hydrophoria<sup>104</sup> in honour of bee Deo or Demeter, purity and sanctity being essential features of the rite. They reappear in a scholiast on Pindar,<sup>105</sup> who informs us that 'μέλισσαι is a term used primarily of the priestesses of Demeter, and by a misuse of language applied to all priestesses, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζώου καθαρόν.' A second scholion on the same line has more to tell: 'Women initiated into the sacred rites go by the name of μέλισσαι. Hence our author says elsewhere<sup>106</sup> ταῖς ἱεραῖς μελίσσαις τέρπεται. The nymphs also that haunted holy places were called Μέλισσαι—a fact explained by Mnaseas of Patara, who says that they caused mankind to cease from eating flesh and persuaded them to make use of vegetable food; and in those days one of them, Melissa by name, found bees' honey-combs, and was the first to eat of them and mixing them with water to drink; she taught her fellows to do the same, and called the creatures μέλισσαι after herself, treating them with the greatest care: he says, moreover, that all this happened in the Peloponnese. Nor would the temple of Demeter be honoured were it not for the nymphs, who first brought crops to light and forbade cannibalism and devised woodland clothing.' This scholion, then, combines two statements, (a) that the μύστιδες of Demeter were called μέλισσαι, (b) that the same title was given to certain non-carnivorous nymphs of the Peloponnese. It will be advisable to collect any further evidence that may be cited concerning both classes of 'bees.'

(a) Servius in commenting on Vergil, *Aeneid* i. 430, recounts a legend which involves an intimate connexion between Demeter and the bee. 'There was once,' he says, 'at the Isthmus a certain old dame called Melissa. She was taught by Ceres<sup>107</sup> the secrets of her ritual, and warned not to disclose to any one the mysteries which she had learnt. But when the womenfolk came and entreated her first by means of flattering words, then by prayers and promises, to reveal to them what Ceres had confided to her, and she persisted in holding her peace, then they became infuriated and tore

<sup>104</sup> Aelian, *de nat. an.* v. 49: the king bee τὰς μὲν προστάττει ὕδροφορεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἔνδον κηρία διαπλάττειν, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Philes, *de an. prop.* 553.

<sup>105</sup> Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 104.

<sup>106</sup> *Frag. incert.* 26.

<sup>107</sup> Eutecnios, *Metaphr. Nicand. Alex.* 450, makes Demeter teach the bees how to construct their honeycombs in hollow trees.

her asunder. Ceres avenged her fate by sending a plague upon these women and upon the whole neighbourhood; moreover, she caused bees to be born from the body of Melissa.' Again, Persephone is called *Μελιτώδης* in Theocritus xv. 94 :

μὴ φύη, Μελιτώδες, ὅς ἀμῶν καρτερὸς εἴη,

and *Μελίβοια* in a verse of Lasos of Hermione, quoted by Athenaeus :<sup>108</sup>

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοιο ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν.

One ancient commentator on Theocritus' line has the following note :<sup>109</sup> ' *Melitodes* like *Kore* is a euphemistic name for Persephone due to the fact that the priestesses of Persephone and Demeter were known as *μέλισσαι*.'<sup>110</sup> Another subjoins an explanation of the euphemism : ' Because Persephone, being a subterranean goddess, brings bitterness rather than honey into the lives of men.' Disson understands the fragment of Pindar quoted above as an allusion to Persephone. And it is possible that we should refer to the same deity the obscure statement of Porphyry :<sup>111</sup> ὅταν δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ (τῇ Περσεφόνῃ Barnes) προσάγωσι μέλι ὡς φύλακι καρπῶν, τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἐν συμβόλῳ τίθενται.

(b) Passing now to *μέλισσαι* in the sense of non-carnivorous nymphs, we must take account of several scattered hints. The daughters of the Cretan King Melisseus—Amalthea and Melissa—who fed the infant Zeus, are sometimes<sup>112</sup> regarded as Dodonaean or Naiad nymphs : hence Diodorus<sup>113</sup> states that Zeus was nourished in the cave by *nymphs* on honey and milk. Homer (*Odys.* xiii. 104 ff.) describes a stalactitic grotto as—

ἱρὸν νυμφάων, αἱ Νηϊάδες καλέονται.  
ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασιν  
λαῖνοι, ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι.

Again, the title *Brisaios* or *Briseus* borne by Dionysus in Lesbos, as also *Βριτώ*, *Βριτόμαρτις*, Cretan names for Artemis, connects etymologically with *βλίπτειν* 'to remove the honey from the comb'<sup>114</sup> and in fact with *μέλι*, *μέλισσα* : to the same circle undoubtedly belong the nymph *Brisa* mentioned by Cornutus<sup>115</sup> and the *Βρίσαι* whom Hesychius takes to denote *Νύμφαι*. Aristaeus, according to a fragment of Aristotle,<sup>116</sup> learnt the art of bee-keeping from the Nymphs : Heraclides Ponticus<sup>117</sup> and the *Etymologicum*

<sup>108</sup> Athen. 624 E. On *Μελιτώδης* as an anti-phrastic name for Hekate or Empousa see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 818 n.

<sup>109</sup> Ed. Dubner, p. 91.

<sup>110</sup> W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 169, condemns as guilty of 'maxima...interpretandi licentia' Stieglitz' conjecture that the bee which figures occasionally on Athenian coins refers to the rites of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis.

<sup>111</sup> Porphyry, *de ant. Nymph.* 16.

<sup>112</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* 182.

<sup>113</sup> Diod. *Bibl.* v. 70. Columella, *de re rust.* IX. ii., rings the changes yet further : 'Euhemerus poeta dicit, crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas *nympharum Phrygonides* educaverunt, mox Dictaeo specu Iovis exstitisse nutrices,' &c.

<sup>114</sup> Creuzer, *Symbolik* iii. 353, 355.

<sup>115</sup> Cornut. on Pers. *Sat.* i. 76.

<sup>116</sup> Aristot. *Frag.* 468, 1555a 15.

<sup>117</sup> *Exc. pol. Heraclid.* p. 13, 16, ed. Schn.

*Magnum*<sup>115</sup> further specify his instructors as the *βρίσαι*. How the nymphs helped him to recover his bees has been already related. Oppian<sup>119</sup> makes him rear Dionysus in his cave *σὺν Δρυάσιν...μελισσοκόμοισί τε Νύμφαις*. Lastly, a tale told by the scholiast<sup>120</sup> on Theocritus iii. 13, seems to be apposite: 'A certain Cnidian named Rhoikos saw at Nineveh a fine tree leaning over and like to collapse altogether from old age. So he supported it on props and thereby lengthened its lease of life. Upon this the nymph acknowledged her gratitude to him: for "I am its coeval (*ἡλικιώτις τοῦ φυτοῦ*)," she said, and bade him ask what he would of her. He requested her embraces. But she replied, "A bee will come and tell you the right season for wedlock."' Mr. H. B. Walters sends me the description of a fifth century vase from the van Branteghem collection,<sup>121</sup> now in the British Museum, which represents three ladies in a garden of whom one is inscribed ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ. This may or may not illustrate the foregoing account of the bee-nymphs: personally I should not attach any religious meaning to the scene.

Both these classes of *μέλισσαι*, the devotees of Demeter and the flesh-abstaining nymphs, found a place in the system of the latter-day mystics. A glance at Porphyry's tractate on *The Nymphs' Cavern in the Odyssey* will prove the assertion. We may feel disposed to agree with Aug. Nauck's verdict<sup>122</sup> on that work—'interpretationem loci Homerici a Porphyrio propositam tanquam absurdam respuimus'; but we must not close our eyes to the fact that it is representative of a distinct stage in the history of Greek mythology, and as such has a claim upon our attention. Porphyry's point of view will be best reached by the aid of a sequence of short extracts:—

*De antr. Nymph.* 7: 'Demeter rears Kore in a cavern along with nymphs.'

*Ibid.* 10: 'By Naiad nymphs we mean the powers that have special charge of the waters; and the same term was used generally of all souls that came down<sup>123</sup> to be born. For it was thought that the souls hovered over the inspired water.'

*Ibid.* 12: 'Hence also it is customary to call wedded wives *νύμφαι*, since they are united to us for purposes of child-bearing, and to bathe them with lustral water taken from wells or streams or ever-flowing fountains.'

*Ibid.* 18: 'Wells and streams are akin to Hydriad nymphs; and still more so to nymphs<sup>124</sup> in the sense of souls, which our forefathers called by

<sup>115</sup> *Elym. Mag.* 213, 55, s.v. *βρίσαι*.

<sup>119</sup> Oppian, *Gen.* iv. 275.

<sup>120</sup> Ed. Dübner, p. 28 f. Cp. the gloss of Hesychius: *δροδεμνιάδες* *νύμφαι*, [καὶ] αἱ Με-  
λιτται.

<sup>121</sup> See Froehner's *Catalogue* (large ed.).

<sup>122</sup> Ed. 1886, Praef. xii.

<sup>123</sup> This is the Orphic doctrine of the *συνι-  
στα-  
rum descensus*, or descent of the unborn soul  
through the heavenly spheres; see Lobeck.

*Aglaophotus*, p. 932 ff.

<sup>124</sup> So I translate *νύμφαις ταῖς ψυχαῖς*, com-  
paring the Schol. on Eur. *Hipp.* 77: *βοτὰ δὲ  
λέγει τὰ ποίμνια, μέλισσαι δὲ ἀλληγορι-  
κῶς αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν καθάρων γὰρ τι  
ζῶον ἢ μέλισσα. ἔνθεν τὰς ἱερείας μελίσσαι  
καλοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταί.* W. Robert-Tornow, *op.  
cit.* p. 155, strangely paraphrases 'Nympharum  
animae.'

the special term *μέλισσαι* since they were producers of pleasure. So that Sophocles was not far wrong in saying of the souls—"The swarm of the dead hums and rises upwards."<sup>125</sup> Moreover, the ancients gave the name *μέλισσαι* to the priestesses of Demeter who were initiates of the chthonian goddess, and the name *μελιτώδης* to Kore herself; the moon too whose province was to bring to the birth they called *μέλισσα* because, the moon being a bull and its ascension the bull, bees are begotten of bulls. And souls that pass to the birth are bull-begotten.'

*Ibid.*: 'However, they did not apply the term *μέλισσαι* to all souls coming to the birth without further qualification, but only to such as should live a life of righteousness and return whence they came after doing the will of heaven. For the bee is fond of returning to its hive, and above all other creatures affects justice and sobriety...Wherefore honey-combs and bees fitly symbolize not only Hydriad nymphs but also souls that play the nymph for purposes of birth.'

In the haze of neo-Platonism it is hard to recognize familiar land-marks. But the gist of the matter seems to be this. The soul was conceived as a water-nymph, because before birth it had hovered over the divine ocean: here the use of *νύμφη* to denote *bride* offered more or less shadowy support. The pure and undefiled soul was further represented as a bee, not only because it was productive of honey-sweet pleasure and a lover of order and sobriety, but also because it had come down from the horned moon as ordinary bees from the carcase of a bull. This Orphic doctrine is somewhat clumsily combined with the older mythology, which called Demeter's priestesses *μέλισσαι*, Kore *μελιτώδης*, and the moon<sup>126</sup> (Artemis) *μέλισσα*.

Having now passed in review the main passages relating to the bee-symbolism among the Greeks, we are in a position to make some general reflexions upon its character and development. The whole story becomes readily intelligible if we bear in mind the natural habits of the insect in question. Left to itself it chooses as its abode some crevice in cliff or stone. Wilkinson, writing of Egypt, says<sup>127</sup>—'The wild bees live mostly under stones or in clefts of the rock, as in many other countries; and the expression of Moses and of the Psalmist, *honey out of the rock*,<sup>128</sup> shows that in Palestine their habits were the same.' What applied to Egypt and the Levant held good for Greece,—witness the following lines from the *Iliad*:

ἥντε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,  
πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομένων  
βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν.<sup>129</sup>

Or again—

οἱ δ', ὥς τε σφήκες μέσον αἰόλοι ἡὲ μέλισσαι  
οἰκία ποιήσονται ὁδῶ ἔπι παιπαλοέσση.

<sup>125</sup> Soph. *Fræg.* 693.

<sup>126</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 15: 'mel plenilunio uberius capitur.'

<sup>127</sup> Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, ii.

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<sup>128</sup> Deut. xxvii. 13, P-a. lxxvi. 16.

<sup>129</sup> Hom. *Il.* ii. 87 ff.

οὐδ' ἀπολείπουσιν κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μέροντες  
 ἄνδρας θηρητῆρας ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων, κ.τ.λ.<sup>130</sup>

Similarly Soranus<sup>131</sup> relates that in the tomb of Hippocrates *μεχρὶ πολλοῦ σμήνος ἦν ἐργαζόμενον μέλι*. In the absence of a suitable rock, a hollow tree-trunk would serve their purpose. Thus Hesiod<sup>132</sup> says of the oak-tree

ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·

and F. A. Paley *ad loc.* quotes several parallels from the Latin poets. The Scholiast on Nicander<sup>133</sup> remarks that 'before bees had been domesticated, they used to construct their combs in the hollows of oak-trees, and they do so still on occasion.' Also the pseudo-Phocylides<sup>134</sup> writes:

κάμνει δ' ἡεροφοῖτις ἀριστοπόνος τε μέλισσα  
 ἢ πέτρης κοίλης κατὰ χηραμὸν ἢ δονάκεσσιν  
 ἢ δρυὸς ὠρυγίης κατὰ κοιλάδος ἐνδοθι σίμβλων  
 σμήνεσι μυριότρητα κατ' ἄνθεα κηροδομοῦσα.

If neither cave nor hollow tree were at hand, the carcase of any large beast would be utilized. In *The Book of Judges* we read: 'Samson turned aside to see the carcase of the lion: and behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion.'<sup>135</sup> Herodotus narrates that the Amathusians cut off the head of Onesilaus and hung it up over their gateway, *κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ οὐσης ἥδη κοίλης, ἐσμός μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων ἐνέπλησε*.<sup>136</sup> This seems to me a more probable explanation of the *βουγενεῖς μελίσσαι* than M. de Pauw's view that they are derived from the custom of raising young swarms in the warmth of a stable.<sup>137</sup> It certainly tallies better with Nicander's words:

ποτὲ δ' ἔργα διαθρύψαιο μελίσσης  
 ἄμμιγα ποιπνύων Ὑμήττιδος· αἶψ' ἀπὸ μόσχου  
 σκήνεος ἐξεγένοντο δεδουπότοιο ἐν νεμέεσσιν.<sup>138</sup>

And again:

ἵπποι γὰρ σφηκῶν γένεσις, ταῦροι δὲ μελισσῶν,  
 σκήνεσι πυθομένοισι λυκοσπαῖδες ἐξεγένοντο.<sup>139</sup>

Starting from these simple facts of the natural kingdom we obtain at once a three-fold classification. Bees may be regarded as issuing from *caverns*, or *trees*, or *carcasses*. Under each of these heads they have given rise to a more or less complicated symbolism, the development of which it remains to sketch. I shall do so in the briefest manner possible.

The bees associated with Zeus Kretagenes were occupants of the cave

<sup>130</sup> Hom. *Il.* xii. 167 ff.

<sup>131</sup> Quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>132</sup> Hes. *W. & D.* 233.

<sup>133</sup> Ed. Bussemaker, p. 214b 5.

<sup>134</sup> Ed. Bergk, vv. 171-4.

<sup>135</sup> Judges xiv. 8.

<sup>136</sup> Herod. v. 114.

<sup>137</sup> Wilkinson, *op. cit.* ii. 416, agrees with De Pauw, and Birch his reviewer does not dissent.

<sup>138</sup> Nic. *Alc.* 445 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Nic. *Ther.* 741 f.

where he was born. Hence they were invested with chthonian characteristics, on the one hand ministering to chthonian divinities such as Demeter, Dionysus Zagreus, Persephone, Rhea, and the Ephesian Artemis: on the other hand practising the chthonian gift of prophecy as the Delphic priestesses or the Parnassian Moirai or the Muses who inspired a Pindar and a Plato.

Secondly, the bees that haunted hollow trunks<sup>140</sup> originated the bee-nymphs. Pollux<sup>141</sup> states that bees when their wings are grown are called *νύμφαι*. In the tale of the Cnidian Rhoikos the nymph who sends the bee as her messenger is *ἡλικιώτις τοῦ φυτοῦ*. The *ὀροδεμνιάδες* of Hesychius are identified with *αἱ Μέλιτται*. The *βρίσαι* of Heraclides teach the art of bee-keeping. In fact, the nymphs generally and Pan<sup>142</sup> as their leader are recognized protectors of the hive.

Thirdly, from the discovery of bees swarming in a carcass came the belief that they represented the life of the defunct animal, and the consequent attempt to create bees with all its superstitious formulae. The prescribed method was fathered upon the pastoral deity Aristaeus, and did much to foster the conception that the soul might take the form of a bee.

Finally came the mystic school which in its rationalizing tolerance blended all three elements of the symbolism, and presented us with the bee as emblem of the nymph or unborn soul. The chthonian character of the rock-bee was admirably suited to their requirements. A little ingenuity sufficed to transform the tree-bee from a tree-nymph to a water-nymph. And the carcass-bee had relations with the bull which could easily be turned to good account.

The general impression produced on the mind of the average Greek must have been that the bee was a chthonian creature intimately connected with, if not actual embodying, the soul. From this standpoint it is not difficult to detect the significance of the *objets d'art* detailed in the opening paragraph of the present paper. The gold bees from Crete, the Crimea, and Etruria, were probably—as the gold bees of Childeic were certainly—tomb decorations, intended to symbolize the immortal soul. This is confirmed by a curious find made some forty years ago in a Sardinian grave: a bronze statue of a young man with braided hair and diadem came to light; on his breast were five bronze bees symmetrically arranged.<sup>143</sup> This personage has been identified—too hastily, I think—with Aristaeus. When we remember Porphyry's explanation of the *Βουγενεῖς μέλισσαι*, and Servius' story of the bees springing from the body of the priestess Melissa, it is difficult to avoid

<sup>140</sup> W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 78, draws attention to the statement of Theophrastus (p. 475): *ἔχει δὲ πῶς ἡ μέλισσα οἰκεῖσθαι τινα πρὸς τὴν ὀρεν*, 'quam ad rem liceat nobis commemorare quicquam et Rheae (i.e. Apollod. *Ergon*, p. 389, ed. Heyne sacram fuisse et Iovi.'

<sup>141</sup> Pollux, Z. 117.

<sup>142</sup> Pan as *μελισσοκόμος* was the guardian of

bee-hives and ate of the honey (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 226, 6-7). Honey was offered to him (Theoc. *Id.* v. 59), as also to the nymphs Euseb. *oracul. Apollin.* iv. 9—quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 158).

<sup>143</sup> *Bull. arch. Sardo*, 1855, p. 65; 'séance de l'Inst. arch. de Rome, 11 janv. 1856'; *Arch. Zeit.* (Anzeig.) 1857, p. 30.

the conclusion that we have here the bee as a symbol of immortality, if not of re-incarnation. Again, W. Robert-Tornow (*op. cit.* p. 134) quotes a gem 'quae Amorem urna, cui apis insidet, navigantem demonstrat.' It is aptly enough inscribed with the words ET ULTRA. A more doubtful case is a gold ornament thus described by Perrot and Chipiez in their chapter on Phoenician Jewellery:<sup>144</sup> 'un charmant bijou qui fait partie de la collection léguée par le duc de Luynes à la Bibliothèque nationale. Il a été, dit-on, découvert dans l'île de Milo; il est en or, et il a la forme d'un corymbe épanoui, d'une sorte de large fleur traitée d'une manière conventionnelle; les extrémités des pétales, que séparent de fines granulations, sont dépassées par les sépales du calice. Le milieu est formé par un saphir. Sur la surface de ce disque font saillie deux masques de femme, coiffés à l'égyptienne, et deux têtes de taureau. Plus près du centre, on voit deux abeilles, qui semblent être venues se poser sur la fleur.' The discovery of such a jewel on one of the Cyclades reminds us of the gold plaques embossed with the bee-goddess that came from Camiros in Rhodes. The female heads, Egyptian in style, support the comparison. Bee, flower, and goddess were again associated in the cult of the Ephesian Artemis whose statue was adorned with rosettes as well as with bees. And the bucrania side by side with the bees on the open flower recall the words of Lactantius:<sup>145</sup> 'quamquam apes, mellis colligendi causa circum flores volitantes, eorum ex doliolis nasci pulcherrima ac valde poetica est opinio, tamen minus vulgaris haec erat quam illa qua apes ex corpore bubulo putrefacto genitas esse putabatur.' But, in default of proof, it is safer to assume that the collocation of bee and bull was accidental, and that the trinket itself was devoid of religious meaning. The same may be said of a banded agate in the British Museum,<sup>146</sup> belonging to the Townley collection; it represents a vase upon which are a butterfly and a bee. Both these insects are emblematic of the soul at times, but here perhaps they are merely natural objects forming an artistic scene. Greater importance may be attached to an amphora of Samian ware decorated with a row of bees, which was found by Messieurs Pottier and Reinach in the necropolis at Myrina:<sup>147</sup> it had in all probability contained offerings to the dead.

The sacrificial value of honey accords well with the chthonian nature of the bee. Porphyry<sup>148</sup> tells us: *πεποιήνται ἤδη τὸ μέλι καὶ θανάτου σύμβολον, διὸ καὶ μέλιτος σπονδὰς τοῖς χθονίοις ἔθουον*. These *μελίσπονδα* are mentioned as well-pleasing to the gods by Plutarch,<sup>149</sup> who elsewhere

<sup>144</sup> Perrot Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 829, Fig. 591.

<sup>145</sup> Lactant. i. S. 8.

<sup>146</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, No. 424.

<sup>147</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, vol. 9, p. 197.

<sup>148</sup> Porphyry, *de ant. Nymph.* 18; cp. *ibid.* 16, *de abst.* ii. 20.

<sup>149</sup> Plutarch, *de colub. in.* 464c. In the *Batrachomyomachia* 39 we find mention of *χρηστὸν μελίτωμα, τὸ καὶ μάκαρες ποθέουσιν*.

Varro, *de re rustica* III. xvi. 5, calls honey 'et diis et hominibus acceptum.'

Perhaps more than a mere dietetic reform led the Pythagoreans to abjure wine and to feed on honey: Diog. Laert. VIII. i. 18 αὐτὸν δ' ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασὶ τινες ἢ κηρίῳ ἢ (leg. καὶ) ἄρτῳ, οἶνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γέεσθαι. (In support of the correction I would cite Iamblichus, *de Pyth. vit.* xxi. 97 ἀρίστῳ δὲ ἐχρῶντο ἄρτῳ καὶ μέλιτι ἢ κηρίῳ, οἶνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν

observes : "Ἐλληνές τε νηφάλια ταῦτα καὶ μελίσπονδα θύουσιν, ὡς ἀντίθετον φύσιν μάλιστα τοῦ μέλιτος πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ἔχοντος.<sup>150</sup> It must be admitted that the cause here assigned hardly carries conviction with it; Greek deities, especially those with chthonian relations, were not so averse to the vine. I suspect that this offering of honey instead of wine is rather to be considered as a survival from a primitive state of society in which wine was unknown. Plutarch *loc. cit.* had previously remarked that honey was σπονδὴ καὶ μέθυ πρὶν ἄμπελον φανῆναι. καὶ μέχρι νῦν τῶν τε βαρβάρων οἱ μὴ πίνοντες οἶνον μελίτειον πίνουσιν, κ.τ.λ. This is borne out by the Orphic myth<sup>151</sup> in which Zeus circumvents Kronos by means of honey used as an intoxicant: πλησθεῖς γὰρ μέλιτος μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὡς ὑπὸ οἶνον καὶ ὑπνοῖ ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθεῖς· οὐπω γὰρ οἶνος ἦν. φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Νύξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποτιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον—

εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μιν ἰδῇαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν  
ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσάων ἐριβόμβων—

δῆσον αὐτόν. ὃ καὶ πᾶσχει ὁ Κρόνος. Nonnos<sup>152</sup> describes the way in which honey was ousted by wine under the form of a contest between Aristaeus and Dionysus, the gods adjudging the victory to the latter. However in the ritual of certain divinities, as we have already seen, μελίσπονδα continued to be offered. And the conservatism of religion is strikingly illustrated by the fact that wine *as such* was not allowed in the temple of the Bona Dea; the jar in which it was carried was called *the honey-pot*, and the wine itself was spoken of as *milk*!<sup>153</sup>

Honey and milk together with water occur as a chthonian oblation in the Orphic *Argonautica* 570 ff.:

αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
ψυχὴν ἱλασάμην σπένδων μειλίγματα χύτλων,  
ὑδατὶ τ' ἠδὲ γάλακτι, μελισσορύτοις ἅμα νασμοῖς  
λοιβὰς ἐκπροχέων.

With this W. Robert-Tornow compares the offerings made at the tomb of Hesiod by the Nymphs:—<sup>154</sup>

οὐ μετεῖχον.) Sophocles, *O.C.* 466 ff. describes a καθαρμός in honour of the Eumenides which involved the use of honey—wine being prohibited: ὕδατος, μελίσσης· μηδὲ προσφέρειν μέθυ. Athenaeus, *Deip.* 693 F, states that in Greece οἱ θύοντες τῷ Ἡλίῳ . . . μέλι σπένδουσιν, οἶνον οὐ φέροντες τοῖς βαμοῖς; and W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 170, cites an ancient ring on which 'apis invenitur, cuius caput sol ipse videtur esse.' Suidas quotes Polemon to the effect that νηφάλιοι θυσίαι were offered in Athens to Mnemosyne, Eos, Helios, Selene, the Nymphs (cp. Paus. V. xv. 6), and Aphrodite Ourania (cp. Empedocles *op. Athen. Deip.* 510 D). See further Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 203.

<sup>150</sup> Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 6, 672 B.

<sup>151</sup> Porphyry, *de ant. Nymph.* 16. (Cp. Xenophon, *exped. Cyr.* IV. viii. 20, of the soldiers who ate poisonous honey in Asia Minor. τῶν κηρίων ὕσαι ἔφαγον . . . οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφέκσαν. Orph. *Lith.* 219 ff. σὺν δὲ μελικρήτοιο μετὰ γλυκεροῖο μίγντα | ὕρνε πινέμεται νύμφην, ἵνα νήπιον εἴα μαστοῖσιν μεθύοντα παρ' εὐναίοισι κομίζοι.

<sup>152</sup> Nonnos, *Dion.* xiii. 258-279 and xix. 228-260.

<sup>153</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* I. xii. 268. Similarly Eriphanius, *adv. her.* ii. 185 (quoted by Lobbeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 577, states that τὸ ὄξος μέλι τινὲς ἐπωνόμασαν.

<sup>154</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 55.



Νύμφαι κρηνιάδων λούσαν ἀπὸ σφετέρων.  
καὶ τάφον ὑψώσαντο· γάλακτι δὲ ποιμένες αἰγῶν  
ἔρραναν, ξανθῶ μιζάμενοι μέλιτι.

A mixture of honey and milk termed μελίκρητον is mentioned in the *Odyssey*,<sup>155</sup> though there wine has already taken its place as an additional libation :—<sup>156</sup>

ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοῆν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι.  
πρῶτα μελικρήτη, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέι οἶνω,  
τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι· ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ παλύνειν.

In Aeschylus *Persae* 609 ff. Atossa is represented—

παιδὸς πατρὶ πρευνμενεῖς χοῶς  
φέρουσ' ἄπερ νεκροῖσι μελικτήρια,  
βοός τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὐποτον γάλα,  
τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ στάγμα, παμφαῆς μέλι.  
λιβάσιν ὕδρηλαῖς παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα,  
ἀκήρατόν τε μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἄπο  
ποτὸν παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλου γάνος τόδε· κ.τ.λ.

So in Euripides *Orestes* 114—115 Hermione is bidden to come forth—

ἐλθοῦσα δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλυταιμνήστρας τάφον  
μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτος, οἶνωπόν τ' ἄχινην.

And in *I.T.* 162 ff. Iphigenia offers—

πηγὰς τ' οὐρείων ἐκ μόσχων,  
βάκχον τ' οἶνηράς λοιβὰς,  
ξουθᾶν τε πόνημα μελισσᾶν,  
ἃ νεκροῖς θελκτήρια κείται.

Again, the πέλανος which was poured upon the tomb of the deceased was a semi-liquid substance compounded of honey, oil, and meal.<sup>157</sup> Silius Italicus<sup>158</sup> makes honey and wine an offering to Dis ; honey, wine, and milk an offering to Proserpine. Apollonius Rhodius<sup>159</sup> says of Jason :—

οἶνον ἀκηρασίοιο μελισταγέας χέε λοιβὰς  
Γαίῃ τ' ἐνναέταις τε θεοῖς ψυχαῖς τε καμόντων  
ἡρώων· γουνοῦτο δ' ἀπήμονας εἶναι ἀρωγούς.

In short, honey everywhere enters into the ritual of the dead. Hence those who were initiated into the Mithraic λεοντικά, mysteries symbolizing

<sup>155</sup> Hom. *Odys.* x. 512 ff.

<sup>156</sup> Pausanias V. xv. 6 regard the sacrifice of honey as a survival (ἀρχαῖον τινα τρόπον) even where a libation of wine also was in vogue.

<sup>157</sup> Cakes of wheat soaked in honey, called ἄμραι, were offered to Demeter (Schol. on Ni-

cander, *Alci.* 459, and honey-cakes (‘ in the form of bees) to Adonis (Theocrit. *Id.* xv. 117–118).

<sup>158</sup> Silius Italicus xiii. 415 f., 434, quoted by W. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 141.

<sup>159</sup> Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1272 ff.

metempsychosis, washed the hands in honey and cleansed the tongue with the same.<sup>160</sup>

To the Greeks then, as to other branches of the Aryan stock,<sup>161</sup> the bee was a sacred animal closely associated with the birth and death of the soul. This belief is not altogether extinct in modern Europe. In the Engadine it is still thought that the souls of men emigrate from the world and return to it in the form of bees,<sup>162</sup> which are there considered messengers of death. When some one dies the bee is invoked almost as if it were the soul of the departed :

‘Bienchen, unser Herr ist todt,  
Verlass mich nicht in meiner Noth.’<sup>163</sup>

In Germany people are unwilling to buy the bees of a dead man, it being believed that they will die or disappear immediately after him : moreover, the death of the master is announced to the bees in the hive.<sup>164</sup> Similarly in some parts of France the bees must be consoled if a death occurs in the house ; otherwise they would fly off, never to return.<sup>165</sup> An equally strange custom is observed in Poitou : ‘Il est d’usage, lorsque le maître de la maison meurt, de mettre les ruches en deuil, ce qui se fait en clouant à chaque ruche un petit morceau d’étoffe noire. D’après les dires des vieux du pays, si on n’observait pas cette tradition, les abeilles mourraient le maître décédé, lorsqu’il reviendrait, la nuit, pour les visiter.’<sup>166</sup> Is it in such superstitious as these that we should seek the explanation of Moschus’ lament ?<sup>167</sup>

μάλων οὐκ ἔρρευσε καλὸν γλῆγος, οὐ μέλι σίμβλων,  
κάτθανε δ’ ἐν καρῷ λυπούμενον· οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ δεῖ  
τῷ μέλιτος τῷ σῶ τεθιακότος αὐτὸ τρυγᾶσθαι.

The *Palatine Anthology* (vii. 717) contains at least one clear reference to the custom of announcing a death in the household to the bees :—

Νηιάδες καὶ ψυχρὰ βοαύλια ταῦτα μελίσσαις  
οἶμον ἐπ’ εἰαρινὴν λέξατε νισσομέναις,  
ὥς ὁ γέρων Λεύκιππος ἐπ’ ἄρσιπόδεσσι λαγωῖς  
ἔφθιτο χειμερίῃ νυκτὶ λοχησάμενος.  
σμήνεα δ’ οὐκέτι οἱ κομέειν φίλον· αἱ δὲ τὸν ἄκρης  
γείτονα ποιμένιαι πολλὰ ποθοῦσι νάπαι.

<sup>160</sup> Porphyr. *de ant.* *Nymph.* 15.

<sup>161</sup> Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology* ii. 216 ff.

<sup>162</sup> Possibly this conception in Greece influenced the artistic representation of the soul. The minute winged forms that hover insect-like over the funeral stelai depicted on Attic *lekuthoi* are perhaps inspired by the idea that the soul appears as a bee. The same compromise between human and insect form would account for the wings attributed to the dead. In support of this it might be urged that a well-known

vase in the Munich collection shows four winged figures emptying pitchers into a large jar sunk in the earth : and winged *ύδροφόροι* at once recall Callimachus’ line—*Δηοῖ δ’ οὐκ ἀποπαιτὸς ὕδωρ φέρουσι Μελίσσαι.*

<sup>163</sup> Gubernatis, *op. cit.* ii. 218 n. 2.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 219.

<sup>165</sup> *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, 1891, p. 151.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.* 1891, p. 704.

<sup>167</sup> Mosch. iii. 36 ff.

In any case I submit that sufficient evidence has been adduced to disprove the assertion of Lobeck who, wishing to derive the *Μέλισσαι* of Delphi from the verb *μελίσσω*, writes :<sup>168</sup> 'mellis vero et apum similitudo, nisi quis longissime repetere velit, nulla apparet in vatibus et sacerdotibus.'

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

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<sup>168</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 817 f.

## SOME ANCIENT ROUTES IN THE PELOPONNESE.

[PLATES I.—III.]

THE following paper, with the accompanying plates, embodies the results of several months' travelling and surveying in the Peloponnese. I had set myself to study some of the ancient routes<sup>1</sup> in that peninsula, with a view to identifying them with more precision than had yet been attained, and to clearing up some of the topographical difficulties connected with them. The labour was much greater, and much less fruitful, than I had anticipated; for the work of previous topographers has, on the whole, been extremely well done; and, if there are numerous problems which they have failed to solve, the explanation generally lies in the absence of the data necessary for their solution. Often, however, there have been conflicting views to choose between; and not infrequently I have ventured to differ from all my predecessors, to make (though tentatively) fresh identifications, and to correct views which, though generally received, appeared to me erroneous. In order to record these results I shall be obliged to give a consecutive account of the principal routes investigated; but I shall pass lightly over those parts of them about which no difference of opinion exists, dwelling fully only on those which are matter of controversy or in connexion with which I have some new theory to put forward. The region dealt with coincides roughly with the triangle Megalópolis—Tegea—Sparta; and I shall discuss in order the routes which connected these three towns; reserving for appendices a few notes on some outlying routes, and on the topography of the Mantineian plain.

Of the Maps, that on Plate II. is original; but Plate I. is a reproduction, with omissions and additions, of the corresponding part of the map made by the members of the French 'Expédition Scientifique de Morée,' which was published at Paris in 1832. This map, though not up to date, is still by far the best, and the only *original*, map of the Morea. To bring it up to date, I have inserted the modern carriage roads and railway with such precision

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the word 'routes' in preference to 'roads' lest I should convey a wrong impression. Traces of ancient made roads in the Peloponnese are extremely rare; those which occur on the routes here investigated will be

noticed in their proper places. The large majority of ancient, as of modern, routes in the peninsula were mere mountain-tracks, identifiable only by the objects in their neighbourhood or by topographical considerations.

as I could compass, and entirely, or almost entirely, from personal observation : while the mule and foot tracks marked in the French map are omitted, except where I suppose them to coincide with ancient routes, or for other special reasons. The ancient routes are marked wherever they can be determined with tolerable certainty ; so that these Plates show fully, for the first time, their relation to those now commonly taken by the traveller or tourist.

#### A.—MEGALOPOLIS TO TEGEA.

Between the two principal Arkadian plains,—the Megalopolitan and the Mantineio-Tegean,—lies a small valley, bounded on the east by the ridge of Krávári, and on the west by that of Tsimbaroú. In this valley the chief points of interest are : to the antiquarian, the acropolis of the ancient town of Asca ; and to the traveller, the khans of Frankóvrysi (or, to adopt the more vernacular pronunciation, Frangóvryso), which are situated about half a mile from that acropolis, and form the first resting-place on the road from Tripolitsá into Messenia. To get from the Megalopolitan plain to the Mantineio-Tegean, one must cross successively Mt. Tsimbaroú, the plain of Asca (Frangóvryso), and Mt. Krávári. And since the ancient route is known to have passed through, or close by, the *town* of Asca, the principal points on it which remain to be identified are the passes by which the two mountain-ranges were crossed.

##### I.—*Megalopolis to Asca.*

The following is Pausanias'<sup>2</sup> account of the first half of the route, viz. from Megalopolis to Asca.

To complete our account of Arkadia it only remains to describe the route from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which coincide so far as the so-called 'Choma' ('Mound').

The suburb through which this route passes is called by the Megalopolitans Ladokeia, from Ladokus son of Echemus.

Beyond this there was in ancient times a town, Haemonia, whose founder was Haemon son of Lykaon. The place has retained the name Haemonia to the present day.

Beyond Haemonia, and to the right of the road, may be mentioned remains of the town of Oresthasium, including some columns of a temple of Artemis. This Artemis has the title of Hieria ('Priestess').

Keeping along the direct road from Haemonia one comes to a place called Aphrodisium, and beyond it to another, the Athenaeum. To the left of the latter is a shrine of Athena containing a marble statue.

About twenty stades beyond the Athenaeum are the ruins of Asca ; and the hill which once formed its acropolis still retains traces of a wall.

Any identifications which we may make of the site of Oresthasium and of the pass by which Tsimbaroú was crossed must necessarily be interdependent ; and our identifications of other points will be materially affected by the views we hold about these two. We must therefore consider them first.

The passes of Tsimbaroú, leading from the Megalopolitan plain to the

<sup>2</sup> viii. 44. 1—5.

Asean, are six in number; but of these the three southernmost<sup>3</sup> lie so far south of the direct line between Megalopolis and Asea that they may, for our present purpose, be disregarded. There remain

(1) The northernmost pass, near Siálesi; used by the inhabitants of Sinárou (the modern Megalopolis) and neighbourhood before the carriage road was made;

(2) The pass ascended in zigzags by the carriage road; somewhat south of the one just named;

(3) The pass which, starting from a point a little south of Rhapsomáti, descends into the Asean plain near Marmariá. This was the Turkish route from Kalamáta, and Messenia generally, to Tripolitsá, but has been almost entirely superseded by the carriage road just mentioned. A stream, which sometimes attains a considerable size, flows this way from the Asean plain to the Megalopolitan; but, whereas the stream flows<sup>4</sup> at the bottom of a deep and rocky gorge, the Turkish road necessarily climbs several hundred feet above it.

The respective heights of these three passes, taken in order, may be roughly estimated at 1,100 ft., 1,100 ft., and 1,000 ft., above the Megalopolitan plain—400 ft., 400 ft., and 300 ft. above the Asean.<sup>4</sup> (2) is naturally steep and difficult; so that, even by travellers from Sinárou (which lies south of the ancient site), the more northerly route (1) was chosen by preference until the carriage road was engineered. (1) is far more direct than (3), and not much higher; but it may possibly have been less easily accessible in ancient times than it is at present, owing to the marsh (*τὸ ἔλος*),<sup>5</sup> which lay just east of the city. (3) is considerably the longest route of the three; but it has the two advantages of being somewhat lower than the others and being easy of ascent. Further, since it is the obvious pass for travellers from *Messenia*, and was doubtless so used in ancient as well as in more recent times, there must have been a regular track across it long before Megalopolis was founded.

On the whole, it would be hard to choose on purely *à priori* grounds between this route and (1); and it is fortunate that we have some historical evidence to fall back upon. This evidence is connected with the town Oresthasium.

‘To the right of the road,’ says Pausanias, ‘may be mentioned remains of the town of Oresthasium.’ Now this Oresthasium is identical with Oresteium;<sup>6</sup> and Oresteium, besides being near the route now under discussion, was on one of the routes used in military expeditions from Sparta to Tegea and beyond.<sup>7</sup> Further, it was several miles west of Asea, for

<sup>3</sup> Of these (1) ascends left of Anemodhoúri, and descends right of Marmariá; (2) ascends right of Anemodhoúri, descends left of Papari; (3) ascends by Skoutsinrou, descends at Koutriboukhi or Papati. The last of these, which passes far south of the summit, will be further described in connexion with one of the Spartan

routes (pp. 48-9).

<sup>4</sup> These heights are obtained by averaging the results of a number of observations made with an aneroid.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. viii. 36. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. viii. 3. 1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ix. 11; Plut. *Arrest*, 10; Thuc. v. 64.

between it and Asea two places intervened,—the Aphrodisium and the Athenaeum,—and the nearer of these (the Athenaeum) was twenty stades (*i.e.* over two miles) from Asea. It follows that it was not only near the route from Megalopolis to Asea, but near the *pass*; and, if so, the pass must have been the *southernmost* of the three which I have enumerated,—viz. the pass by Marmariá. For, whether the Spartan route was *via* the Megalopolitan plain, or went directly from the Lakonian to the Asean,—(a point we shall have to consider almost immediately),—it cannot reasonably be maintained that it went farther north than Marmariá; nothing either in the passage of Mt. Tsimbaroú or in the crossing of the Asean plain would have been gained by adopting such a route. The coincidence of the two routes,—from Sparta and Megalopolis respectively,—near Oresthasium, is to my mind conclusive proof that the southernmost of the three passes was the one used by travellers from Megalopolis.

Having thus, with the help of Oresthasium, identified the pass, let us see whether we can determine the position of Oresthasium itself more precisely.

Some topographers have placed it on the eastern side of Tsimbaroú,<sup>8</sup> others on the western side,<sup>9</sup> and one (Leake in his *Travels in the Morea* <sup>10</sup>) on the summit of the mountain. The last-named theory may be discarded altogether. Leake afterwards (in *Peloponnesiaca* <sup>11</sup>) himself abandoned it; not indeed for the almost conclusive reason that there is no trace whatever of any ancient settlement or fortification on the summit of Tsimbaroú,<sup>12</sup> but because he preferred to assign that summit to a fortress not mentioned by Pausanias, to which we shall have to revert shortly,—the ‘Athenaeum near Belbina’ (τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν Ἀθήναιον).<sup>13</sup>

There remains the question whether Oresthasium lay east or west of Tsimbaroú,—in the plain of Asea or in the plain of Megalopolis; but this question need not delay us long. It is impossible to suppose that the Spartan route to Asea was *via* the Megalopolitan plain;—this would only be credible if the passes south of Tsimbaroú, leading directly from the Lakonian plain to the Asean, were exceptionally high or difficult; and they are not.<sup>14</sup> The Spartan route must have passed south and east of Tsimbaroú; Oresthasium therefore, since it was on the Spartan route, must have been east, not west, of that hill, and was therefore in the plain of Asea.

Leake's later view made the village of Marmariá the modern representative of the ancient site; partly, no doubt, for the reasons I have just enumerated, and partly on account of the name. This view is, in my opinion, very nearly correct. At Marmariá, indeed, repeated inquiries of the villagers have convinced me that there exist no traces of antiquity; but the natives

<sup>8</sup> Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 247, *sq.*

<sup>9</sup> Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, vol. II. 227 (and note 3).

<sup>10</sup> Vol. II. pp. 318, *sq.*

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> The only remains there are those of a very

small building, or enclosure, of loose stones. The peasants call it a chapel of St. Elias; but it is so rude and shapeless that it may possibly have never been anything but a sheep-pen.

<sup>13</sup> Plut. *Clcom.* 4.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 48-49.

of the neighbouring village of Pápari showed me some time ago, at a point just to the right of the path which connects this village with Marmariá, a low hill which did distinctly bear such traces; and a small excavation which I subsequently made brought yet more of them to light. This little hill not improbably marks the site we are in search of.

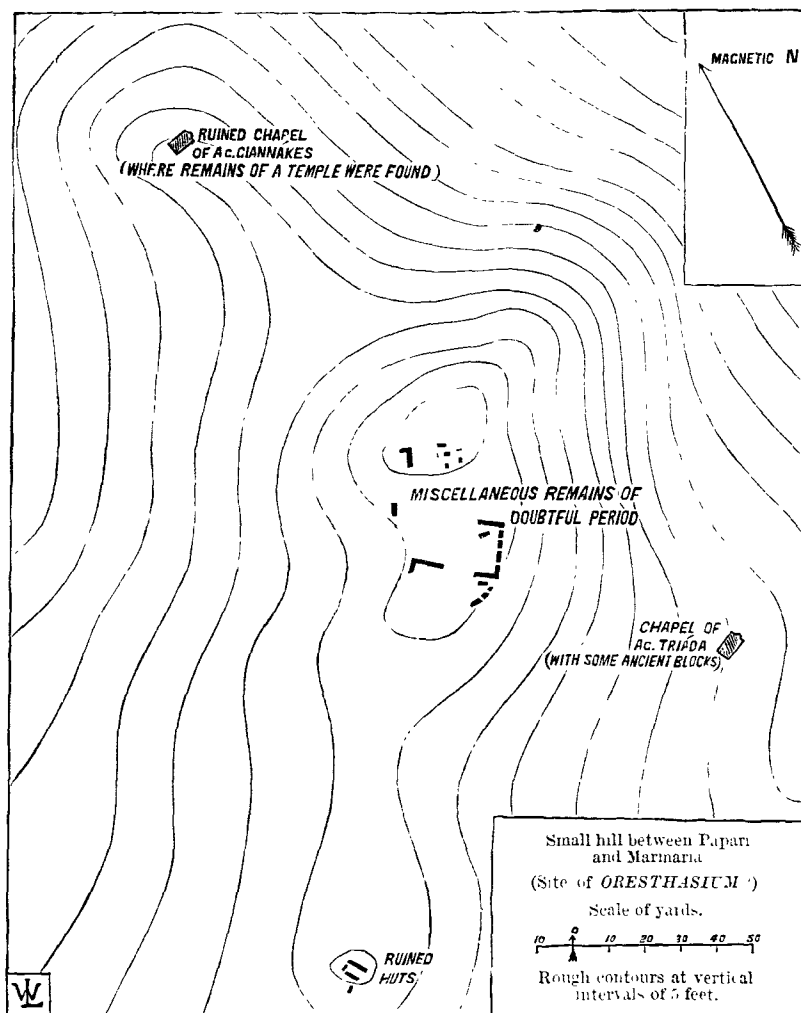


FIG. 1.

The exact position of the hill—one of the last outlying skirts of Tsimbarotí—will be best seen from the special plan of the Asean plain (Pl. II.); and a sketch of the hill itself is given in Fig. 1. On its southern slope is a chapel, still standing, of Ag. Triáda (the Holy Trinity), and on its northern slope a ruined chapel of Ag. Giannákēs (St. Johnny?). Built into the former are several hewn blocks of limestone, of Hellenic



workmanship; while built into the rude walls of the latter, but hidden by the *débris*, I found several pieces of worked marble, including among others a small fragment of a Doric column and a complete metope (unsculptured), and triglyph from a Doric frieze.<sup>15</sup> The marble must have come from a considerable distance,<sup>16</sup> and therefore the temple to which they belonged was probably of some importance.

Besides these remains of a temple, there are abundant traces of human habitation—rude walls, partially or completely buried, and coarse pottery: but to none of these can an ancient date be confidently assigned.

Here then was *certainly* an ancient temple: *probably*, but not certainly, an ancient town or village. It is just where we have been led on other grounds to look for Oresthasium,—viz. at the western border of the Asean plain, and slightly to the right of the ancient pass from Megalopolis over Tsimbaroú. The principal remains of Oresthasium, even in Pausanias' day, were the pillars of a temple,—that of Artemis Hieréia; indeed these are the only remains which he considered worthy of special mention. Further, the position of Oresthasium, if this be Oresthasium, bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Pallantium, its sister town.<sup>17</sup> For Pallantium a small hill was selected, on the western border of the Tegean plain, one of the outlying skirts of Krávari; for Oresthasium a small hill, on the western border of the Asean plain, one of the outlying skirts of Tsimbaroú.

Oresthasium was reputed to be one of the oldest towns in Arkadia, contemporary with Pallantium and Phigalia; the three towns tracing their foundation to three sons of Lykaon,—Orestheus, Pallas, and Phigalus,—respectively,<sup>18</sup> while Lykosura, founded by their father, was believed by the Arkadians to be the oldest town not in Greece only, but in the world.<sup>19</sup> An act of the greatest heroism is attributed by Pausanias to the people of Oresthasium. In 659 B.C. (Ol. 30, 2), one of its sister towns, Phigalia, was taken, and its inhabitants evicted by the Spartans. In response to an oracle, a hundred picked men of Oresthasium willingly devoted themselves to death in battle to secure the restoration of the Phigalians. The Oresthasians, says Pausanias, vied one with another for the honour of perishing in so good a cause.<sup>20</sup> Apart from this we hear of Oresthasium (Oresteium or Orestheium) on two occasions only, each time as a stopping-place of Spartan troops on their way to Tegea or (*civ* Tegea) to the Isthmus, viz. (1) just before the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.,<sup>21</sup> (2) just before the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.<sup>22</sup>

That this route, *civ* the Asean plain, was ever used by the Spartans in their military expeditions to, or beyond, Tegea, is a very remarkable fact.

The breadth of the flutes in the fragment of column is approximately 2½ inches. The length of the metope and triglyph combined is 2 ft. 6 in., of the triglyph alone 10½ in. The height of the metope and triglyph is 1 ft. 5 in. The architectural forms are those of a rather late period.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly from Dholianá in the hills south-

east of Tegea, where there are both ancient and modern quarries.

<sup>16</sup> See Paus. viii, 3, 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 38, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 39, 3-5.

<sup>21</sup> Herod. ix, 11; Plat. *Acad.* 10, ●

<sup>22</sup> Thuc. v, 64.

I need not, however, enlarge upon it here, as a separate section (C) will be devoted to this Spartan route.

The history of Oresthasium terminates in 370 B.C., when its inhabitants deserted it in favour of the newly founded capital of Arkadia, Megalopolis.<sup>23</sup>

The site of Oresthasium being determined, it only remains for us to identify (1) between Megalopolis and Oresthasium,—Ladokeia and Haemoniae, (2) between Oresthasium and Asea,—the Aphrodisium and the Athenaeum.

(1) A mile and a half from Sinárou (the modern Megalopolis), in the direct line between it and the pass, lies the village of Rousvínaga. Coming from Sinárou, one passes, on the left of the road, just before entering the village, a chapel of Ag. Marína, into which a number of ancient blocks of limestone have been built, and round which others lie scattered; all, or most, of them being apparently architectural fragments of a Doric shrine.<sup>24</sup> And rather more than half a mile beyond the village, on the left of the path, is a small hill surmounted by traces of rude walls, probably belonging to an ancient fort, while the top and sides of the hill are sprinkled with pottery. It is natural to identify this region either with Ladokeia or Haemoniae. When we remember that the ancient Megalopolis lay entirely north of the modern Sinárou, it seems probable that Ladokeia,—which is described as ‘τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως,’ i.e. a *suburb*,—lay nearer to the city than Rousvínaga, perhaps at Sinárou itself, and that Rousvínaga represents Haemoniae.

Ladokeia was the scene of a battle between the Tegeans and Mantineians in 433 B.C.,<sup>25</sup> in which the victory was doubtful, and of another battle in 226 B.C. between Kleomenes of Sparta and the forces of the Achaean league,—a battle which ended in the complete defeat of the latter, and the death of the brave Megalopolitan Lydiadas.<sup>26</sup> This was one of that series of Achaean disasters which led to the alliance with Antigonos of Macedon, and the surrender to him of the Akrokorinth.

<sup>23</sup> Paus. viii. 27. 3.—Oresthasium has frequently been confused, or consciously identified, with ‘Orestia’—an old name for the part of Megalopolis which lay south of the Helisson. That Orestia was half of Megalopolis is expressly stated by Steph. Byz. s.c. ‘Μεγάλη Πόλις.’ That it was the *southern* half is clear (1) from Thuc. iv. 131, where the expression ‘Λαοδίκιον τῆς Ὀρεσθίδος’ doubtless refers to the place afterwards known as Ladokeia, a southern suburb of Megalopolis (Paus. viii. 44. 1), (2) from Paus. viii. 34. 1–4, where a series of monuments commemorating the story of Orestes are mentioned on the road to *Messenia*. That it was an *old* name for this region appears from the fact that the passage of Thucydides quoted above refers to a period long before the foundation of Megalopolis.

Orestia derived its name from Orestes (Steph.

Byz. s.c. Μεγάλη Πόλις; and we may infer the same from Paus. *loc. cit.*). Oresthasium from Orestheus (Paus. viii. 3. 1; Steph. Byz. s.c. Ὀρεσθάσιον); but both were occasionally called ‘Oresteium,’—the former in Eur. *Orest.* 1647 (cf. *ibid.* *Electra* 1273–5), the latter in Herod. ix. 11, Plut. *Arist.* 10, Paus. viii. 3. 2 (cf. also Thuc. v. 51, Ὀρεσθείων). The two places are merged in the article ‘Oresthasium’ in Smith’s *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geog.*; and the same mistake (for I feel sure it is a mistake) led Boblaye (*Recherches*, pp. 172, 173), Bursian (ii. 227, and note 3), and apparently Curtius (*Peloponnesos* i. 316), to place Oresthasium west of Tsimbaroú, *i.e.* in the Megalopolitan plain.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> Thuc. iv. 131.

<sup>26</sup> Polyb. ii. 51, 55; Plut. *Arist.* 36–37.

Hacimoniae is a place of no historical interest whatever. It is mentioned here only by Pausanias, and (so far as I know) by no other writer.

(2) I am not aware of the existence of any ancient remains between Oresthasium and Asea. Oresthasium, it will be remembered, lay a little off the road. Pausanias' expression indeed (*ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ*) is ambiguous; but his next paragraph, which refers to the Aphrodisium and the Athenaeum, is introduced by the words *τὴν δὲ εὐθείαν ἴοντι ἐξ Λίμωνιῶν*, thus showing clearly that Oresthasium was not upon the *εὐθεία*. The *εὐθεία* therefore, probably coincided with the Turkish road, which strikes the modern carriage road near the Khan of Davrında and the chapel of Pandeleeëmon ('the All-Merciful'), (c. special map of the Asean plain, Pl. II.). Since this chapel is approximately twenty stades from the acropolis of Asca, it has been conjectured with some probability that it may mark the site of the Athenaeum.<sup>27</sup> For the position of the Aphrodisium, which one passed between Oresthasium and the Athenaeum, we have no evidence; nor is its identification a matter of any consequence, since it is mentioned in this one passage only, and Pausanias himself saw nothing there which he considered worth recording.

With Asea itself I am not particularly concerned, for its site has always been well known, and its history (such as it is) can be learned from the handbooks. I will therefore touch on one point only. The principal remains of Asea are those of the fortification wall round the summit of its acropolis, and of at least two massive walls at right angles to this, running down from it to the bottom of the hill. These latter are always a puzzle to travellers. The explanation is, I believe, that there was originally a second (outer) wall running round the bottom of the acropolis, and that the two walls perpendicular to the hill extended from the inner to the outer so as to divide the intervening space into a number of sections, rather like the water-tight compartments in a ship. The effect of this was that, in case of a breach in the outer wall, the mischief would be concentrated, only one part of the circuit of the inner wall being exposed to attack; while the enemy would find himself cooped in between three walls—one in front of him and one on either side—all defended by the garrison. There are clear indications of a similar arrangement on the fortified hill near Ag. Andréas in the plain of Astros, possibly representing the ancient Thyrea; and the same principle was exemplified certainly in mediaeval, and possibly also in ancient, times in the fortifications on Mount Khelmós (See App. B. and Fig. 6) on the borders of Arkadia and Lakonia.

<sup>27</sup> I have, however, never been able to see any traces of the ruined walls mentioned near this spot by Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 173). On the other hand, Boblaye's remark that this site

will not suit the Athenaeum rests on a confusion of this Athenaeum with τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν Ἀθήναιον (Plut. *Urbom.* 4), which must have been a totally different place (*c. infra*, p. 39).

II.—*Asca to Tegea.*

To return to Pausanias :—<sup>28</sup>

Some five stades from Asca are the springs of the Alpheius and Eurotas, the former a short distance away from the road, the latter close to the roadside. By the spring of the Alpheius are a roofless shrine of the Mother of the gods, and two marble lions. Now the water of the Eurotas mixes with the Alpheius, and they proceed together in a common stream for some twenty stades; then, after descending into a chasm, they rise again, the former in the Lacedaemonian territory, the latter at Pegae ('the Springs') in the territory of Megalopolis. From Asca one ascends to the hill called Boreium, on the top of which are traces of a temple. This temple was said to have been erected by Odysseus, on his return from Ilium, in honour of Athena Soteira and Poseidon.

The so-called Choma ('Mound') is the boundary of the Megalopolitan territory against the Tegean and Pallantian. To get to the Pallantian plain you turn to your left at the Choma. . . . while on the right of the so-called Choma is the Manthurian plain, which is included in the Tegean territory, and extends perhaps about fifty stades to Tegea. To the right of the road is a small hill called Kresium, upon which has been built a temple of [Ares] Aphneios. . . . On the way to Tegea is a fountain called the 'Leukonian.'

By the spring of the Eurotas' is obviously meant that group which gives its name ('Frankóvrysi' or 'Frangóvryso'—'the spring of the Franks') to the two khans by the roadside. The 'spring of the Alpheius' is probably to be identified with another group (*v.* Pl. II.) situated at the extreme point of the hill opposite Frangóvryso, just beyond the new railway embankment. On the springs and streams in the valley of Asca, and the stories attaching to them, I shall have more to say in an Appendix.<sup>29</sup>

The words 'ἔστι δὲ ἄνοδος ἐξ Ἀσέας' are susceptible of two different interpretations—either 'From Asca one ascends' [*i.e.* on the route to Tegea], or 'From Asca one may ascend' [*i.e.* as a special excursion]. The former interpretation is strongly confirmed by a comparison with viii. 39. 1, where there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the words ἔστιν ἄνοδος. We are thus precluded from two very tempting identifications; viz. that of Mount Boreium with Ag. Elias of Kandréva (*v.* Pl. II.), and that of the temple mentioned by Pausanias, 'ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους,' with a large one of which the foundations, as well as some fragments of marble columns, are still visible within a very few feet of the summit of that conspicuous hill.<sup>30</sup> Attractive as these identifications are, and in spite of a serious difficulty of interpretation involved in the alternative view, previous topographers are probably right in making Boreium the modern Krávai, and seeing the *ἱερὸν* of Athena Soteira and

<sup>28</sup> viii. 44. 3—8.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>30</sup> The order was Doric. The flutes, in the extant fragments of columns, range from 3½ in. to 4¼ in. in width. There are also fragments of triglyphs. Both I and L clamps were used.

So far as one can judge from the remains of its foundations, the temple was peristyle, its external measurements being approximately 95 ft. × 40 ft., and the external measurements of the *cella* about 74 ft. × 22½ ft. But these are very rough measurements, the best that can

be obtained without a complete clearance of the site and the removal of the ruins of a chapel of Ag. Demos which has been superposed.

The temple on Ag. Elias has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed by archaeologists. In Baedeker's *Guide* the summit of the hill has been marked erroneously as the site of Asca: and the remains described as existing upon it in the text of the same handbook (p. 299) are really those of the acropolis of Asca, to which I have already referred in the text.

Poseidon in a small shrine, of which some scanty marble fragments<sup>31</sup> appear at the top, not indeed of the mountain, but of the pass.

Of four possible passes from the Asean plain to the Tegean, the one with the temple is the only one which answers satisfactorily to Pausanias' description. For the pass followed by the carriage road goes north of Pallantium, the site of which may be regarded as finally determined, instead of going between it and Tegea; while the pass by the village of Zéli, though by no means a bad route to Tegea, would have been a very circuitous one for Pallantium. The remaining pass (a branch from the last, entering the plain by the 'causeway' marked in Pl. II.) is only mentioned for the sake of completeness. No traveller from Asea to either of the two ancient towns would have made use of it.

The identification of the Choma is a less easy matter, and one in which I find myself at variance with all previous writers. According to the received theory<sup>32</sup> it is represented by the causeway, referred to a few lines back, which crosses the narrow neck of plain between Mount Krávati and the low hills opposite, striking the latter near the village of Birbáti. This causeway consists of two parallel rows of large unhewn stones, piled together, with a space between them. From whatever period it may date (a point which it is quite impossible to settle) its object was evidently to resist the encroachment of the swamp or lake—the so-called 'Táka'—which always covers a considerable part, and often the whole, of the plain south-east of it. This purpose it still serves, though to a very limited extent. It was first identified with the Choma by the members of the 'Expédition de Morée,' and their view of the matter has since then been universally accepted. But the objections to this view are (in my opinion) insuperable. (1) The pass which debouches at the causeway is *not* the one which I have shown to be the ancient route, but the last, and least admissible, of those which we have seen reason to reject. Leake, who is right about the pass, attempts no identification of the Choma. The 'Expédition de Morée,' who identified the Choma, say nothing about the pass. Curtius identifies both, and does not seem to be aware that the identifications are inconsistent. The route, as indicated in his map,<sup>33</sup> is an impossible one: this is obvious both from that map itself, and still more clearly from mine (Pl. II.), which is on a larger scale.

(2) The causeway runs approximately north-east and south-west across the Pallantio-Tegean plain, so that, while there would be nothing unintelligible in

<sup>31</sup> These are principally fragments of Doric columns, the width of the flutes ranging from rather more than 3 in. to rather less than 4 in. A grave objection to identifying this temple with that of Athena Soteira and Poseidon lies in the interpretation of the words ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους, which should properly mean 'at the top of the mountain.' But on the whole this seems to me less objectionable than the forced interpretation of 'ἐπὶ δὲ ἁρόδος' which is the alternative to it.

It is practically certain that the real summit of Krávati, which I have visited more than once, is *not* the site of a temple.

<sup>32</sup> Bobl. *Recherches*, pp. 143, 173; Ross, *Pescia in Peloponnes*, p. 61 (Ross's apparent dissent from the French explorers here arises from a misunderstanding of their map; he and they really held precisely the same view); Curt. i. 262; Burs. ii. 217; etc.

<sup>33</sup> Vol. i. Pl. III.

a theory which regarded it as dividing the Pallantian territory from the Tegean, it is quite impossible to suppose that it divided the Megalopolitan territory on the one hand from the Pallantian and Tegean territories on the other; yet this is what Pausanias says of the Choma.

Let us look for an alternative Choma. That it was at the bottom of the pass every one admits, since it marked the junction of the routes to Tegea and Pallantium, the Manthurian plain (Tegean) lying to right of it, the Pallantian to left.<sup>34</sup> Now closing the mouth of the pass, at the very verge of the plain, is a little rocky hill, detached (or nearly so) from Krávari proper, and exactly satisfying these requirements. Arrived at this point, one must necessarily skirt the hill on one side or the other—on the left if one is making for the ancient site of Pallantium, on the right if one is making for Tegea. In my special map (Pl. II.) I have marked it (with a query) as the Choma. The only objection to this theory lies in the application of the term *χῶμα* to a natural, instead of an artificial, hillock. But it is a noteworthy fact that, whereas Pausanias' expression for an artificial mound, whether tumulus or embankment, is almost invariably *γῆς χῶμα* (and he uses the words a great number of times), here and (so far as I know) here only the expression is *τὸ καλούμενον*, or *τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον, χῶμα*. And the distinction is certainly no chance one; for he mentions the Choma thrice, and the name is *always* thus qualified. But if the difficulty of applying the word *χῶμα* to a natural hillock be held insuperable, I can only say that, if the Choma was not *this*, it was *in this place*—if it was not the hillock, it must have been an artificial mound erected on, or by, the hillock.

The remainder of this route,—viz. from the Choma to Pallantium on the one hand and Tegea on the other,—may be dismissed in a very few words. The sites of Pallantium and Tegea are well-known; and the Manthurian plain is the low-lying land between Mount Krávari (Boreium) and the Tripolitsá-Sparta road. This plain is at the present day always<sup>35</sup> either partially or entirely submerged; but, even if the Katavothra (*v.* Pl. II.) at the foot of Mount Krávari, which drains it, was more effectually kept open in ancient times than now, yet the shortest route to Tegea would rather skirt than traverse the plain, keeping along, or very close to, the edge of the low hills on which stand the villages of Birbáti, Mouzáki, etc., and passing between them and the small hill surmounted by the village of Vounó. This last is the *ὄρος οὐ μέγα...καλούμενον Κρήσιον* of Pausanias' description.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> It is certainly strange that the boundary should have been down in the plain, so that both slopes of Krávari were included in the Megalopolitan territory. But the fact is quite clear from Pausanias' description, and is admitted on all hands. The boundary between the Tegean and Argive territories, near Ilysiæ, was very similarly situated. See Paus. viii. 51. 7, and p. 79 of the present paper.

<sup>35</sup> I believe it is *never* entirely dry, even in

the height of summer, but I do not mean to assert this too positively.

<sup>36</sup> This identification was first, I believe, made by Ross, and his view has been generally accepted. The French explorers had previously supposed the big hill of Ag. Elias just east of Kaparéli, or the lower slopes of it, to represent Kresium (*Expéd. Scient. de Morée*, Atlas, Pl. IV.), and were followed by Leake in his *Peloponnesiaca* (special map of the Man-

It would be rash to attempt any identification of the 'Leukonian' fountain. Probably it was somewhere near Kerasítsa. In any case it cannot have been so far south as the point marked in the plan published by the French 'Expédition';<sup>37</sup> for, if so, it would have been altogether off the route to Tegea.

On the other hand Manthurea, or Manthyrea,<sup>38</sup> is there correctly marked. At present the only traces of the ancient town (or village) are (1) a profusion of scattered pottery, and (2) one or two architectural fragments lying close to the chapel of the Panagía. Even these last are not *certainly* of ancient date. It is not impossible, indeed, that the chapel of St. Elias, now ruined, which formerly surmounted the hill<sup>39</sup> immediately behind the site, occupied the position of an ancient shrine or watch-tower. At any rate there are there remains of *two* foundations, with slightly different orientations; and one of these, which is built of larger stones than the other and without mortar, may be Hellenic.

#### B.—SPARTA TO MEGALOPOLIS.

This route will be most conveniently discussed in two sections,—the Lakonian and the Arkadian. For the former our principal authority is Pausanias, Book iii.; for the latter Pausanias, Book viii.

##### *I.—Lakonian Section; Sparta to Belmina.*<sup>40</sup>

On the route from Sparta towards Arkadia there stands a statue of Athena with the title Pareia, in the open air: and beyond it is a temple of Achilles which is kept closed. . . . Farther on is what is called the Tomb of the Horse.<sup>41</sup> . . . A short distance only from this tomb are seven pillars, fashioned (to my thinking) in the antique form [?], and said to represent the seven planets. There are also upon the way a sacred enclosure of Kranios with the title Stemmatis, and a temple of Artemis-Mysia. The statue of Aidos ('Modesty'), perhaps thirty stades distant from the city, is said to have been dedicated by Ikarios, and to have been erected for the following reason.<sup>42</sup> . . . Proceeding thence twenty stades, at a point where the stream of the Eurotas approaches very close to the road, one comes to the tomb of Ladas, who surpassed all his contemporaries in fleetness of foot. Indeed he was crowned at Olympia for his victory in the long race; and worn out, as I imagine, with his exertions he started home immediately after the victory, and his death occurring at this spot he was buried above the public way. . . . Proceeding

*since and Tegeatis* at end of volume'. The principal objections to this view are: (1) the height of the hill—perhaps 800 ft. or 1,000 ft. above the plain—to which the words *ὄψις μέγα* seem inapplicable; (2) its great distance to the right of the direct route from the Choma to Tegea. Had this been Kresnum, Kresnum would have been mentioned in connexion with the route from Tegea to Sparta rather than in connexion with that from Megalopolis to Tegea.

For the word *ὄπος* applied to a very small, but conspicuous, elevation in a plain, cf. Paus. vii. 12.7, where it is applied to the hillock on which stood Old Mantinea.

<sup>37</sup> *Expéd. Scient. de Moree*, Atlas, Pl. IV.; copied by Leake in his special plan at the end of *Peloponnesiaca*, Curtius (vol. i. Pl. III.), and Bursian (vol. ii. Pl. VI.).

<sup>38</sup> For the alternative forms cf. Paus. viii. 45. 1, *et* 47.1; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μανθηρέα*.

<sup>39</sup> This hill may be easily distinguished by a group of three oak-trees which crown it.

<sup>40</sup> Paus. iii. 20, 8—21.3.

<sup>41</sup> Where Tyndareus sacrificed a horse on the occasion of the oath taken by Helen's suitors.

<sup>42</sup> Here follows a story of Penelope's departure from Sparta with her husband Odysseus.

in the direction of Pellana one comes to the so-called Charákoma ('Stockade'), and afterwards to Pellana, which was in ancient times a city. Here, they say, Tyndareus took up his abode when he had to flee from Hippokoon and his sons at Sparta. Here I saw, I know, two noteworthy objects—a temple of Asklepius and the 'Pellaniid' spring. Into this spring they say that a maiden once fell while drawing water, and was drowned, but the veil which she wore on her head reappeared in another spring called the 'Lankeian.' From Pellana there are a hundred stades to the place called Belemina.<sup>43</sup> This is the best-watered region in Lakonia; for not only is it traversed by the water of the Eurotas but it also itself produces abundant springs.

Belmina was the frontier town. If the passage before us left any room for doubt on this point, the doubt would be removed by Paus. viii. 35. 3, where the account of the way from Megalopolis to Sparta terminates, as abruptly as the account of the way from Sparta to Megalopolis, at the *Ἑρμαίων τὸ κατὰ Βελεμίναν*. The use of Hermæ as boundary marks, and the name Hermæum in the same connexion, are well illustrated by Paus. ii. 38.7 and viii. 34.6. Further we know from various passages, to which we shall have occasion to revert later, that the Belminatid region was a source of constant dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. These facts, combined with the distances given by Pausanias (rather more than ninety stades from Megalopolis<sup>44</sup> and rather more than 150 stades from Sparta), and with his remark that the Belminatid was the best-watered region in Lakonia, leave no doubt whatever of its identity with the small valley formed by the junction of two of the most important of the streams which combine to form the Eurotas, and lying between the khan of Longaniko on the south and Mount Khelmós on the north.

Mount Khelmós (Fig. 2), which rises more than 1,000 feet above the valley, and completely dominates it, is surmounted by extensive remains of fortification walls, of which a considerable part is generally held to be of ancient date, while the remainder is undoubtedly mediaeval. Figs. 3 and 4 are from photographs of portions of the outer and inner walls respectively; a plan of the fortifications as a whole is given in Fig. 6 (p. 72), and some description of them will be found in Appendix B. Two questions, which are to a certain extent interdependent, at once suggest themselves; viz. (1) Where was the town of Belmina? (2) What was the ancient name of the fortress on Khelmós? These questions have been answered in several different ways.

Leake<sup>45</sup> gives the name of Belmina to the remains on the summit, and supposes the lower town to have been situated near the chapel (now destroyed) of Agia Eiréne, at the eastern foot of the hill, where trifling, but undoubted, remains of antiquity<sup>46</sup> have occasionally been found. Boblaye

<sup>43</sup> There are various forms of the name: *Βελεμίνα*, *Βέλμιννα*, *Βέλβιννα*, *Βλεμίννα* (at least the region is *Βλεμινῆτις*, Strabo, p. 343), and probably (Paus. viii. 27.4) *Βλένιννα*. Except in translation, where the name must be given literally, I prefer the form 'Belmina' to 'Belemina' chiefly for the sake of consistency, since one must occasionally speak of the 'Belminatid' or 'Belminatid territory' (cf. Polyb. ii. 54 and Strabo p. 343), and 'Beleminatid' is in-

tolerable.

<sup>44</sup> Paus. viii. 35. 3.

<sup>45</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 20.

<sup>46</sup> Leake was told there were 'Hellenic ruins' there. But the peasants, who are still unanimous in asserting the existence of remains, failed altogether to show me any traces of them. There is however sufficient evidence that minor antiquities, notably some small bronze figures, have occasionally been found near the spot.



places Belmina on the plateau which extends south (or rather south-east) from Petrina, at a point some three kilometres west of Khelmós; and in this he is followed by Curtius and Bursian,<sup>47</sup> the former of whom (like Leake) regards the ruins on Khelmós as those of the upper town, while Boblaye and Bursian give them no name, mentioning them merely as those of a frontier fort.

Now between the positions chosen by Leake and Boblaye respectively for the town (or lower town) of Belmina there is not very much to choose. In neither of these positions are the traces of antiquity sufficient to *prove* that a town

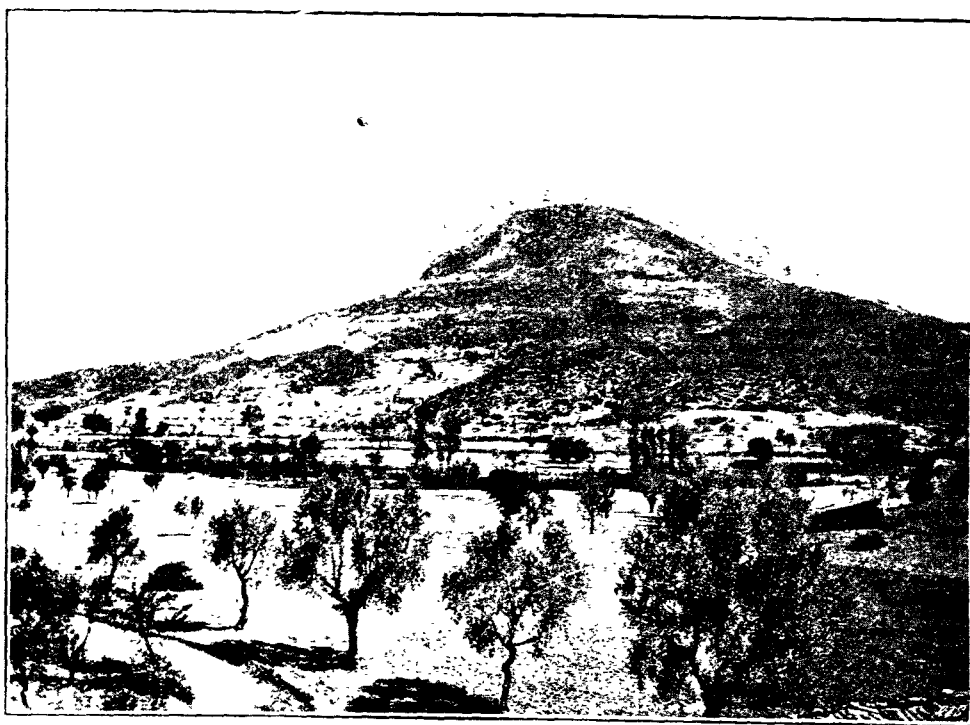


FIG. 2.—MOUNT KHELMÓS, FROM THE SOUTH.

existed. On the whole the evidence is perhaps in favour of the site selected by Leake. But with regard to Khelmós, a more decided view seems possible.

<sup>47</sup> Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 75, *seq.*; Curtius, ii. 256, *op. cit.*; Bursian, ii. 113. Boblaye speaks of the 'ruines très étendues vues par M. Vietty sur le plateau au sud de Petrina.' This is, I suspect, the only evidence for the remains which rests on actual observation, and even this evidence is only reported at second-hand. I cannot help thinking that M. Vietty was taken in either by the appearance, at a distance, of this region, which is studded with white rocks, or

travelling from the soil, or by the traces of some loose stone walls—probably of cottages or sheep-pens—which may be of any date. In rebuilding the chapel of Ag. Theodoros, which is in this region, some walls of stones, tile, and mortar, were discovered; and also a very small marble Doric capital, of such bad workmanship that it must be of very late, probably Byzantine, date. I suspect there was a small monastery here.

On the one hand it is undoubtedly true that, Belmina being the principal town of a very small valley completely dominated by Khelmós, the fortress which surmounted Khelmós must have been in some sense its acropolis. It was, that is to say, the natural place of refuge for the inhabitants in case of attack. Further, since Pausanias, who mentions Belmina both in describing the route from Megalopolis and in describing that from Tegea, makes no reference whatever to the fortress unless he includes it in the term Belmina, there is a strong presumption, considering how important a place the fortress had once been, that he does so include it. On the other hand, there is no

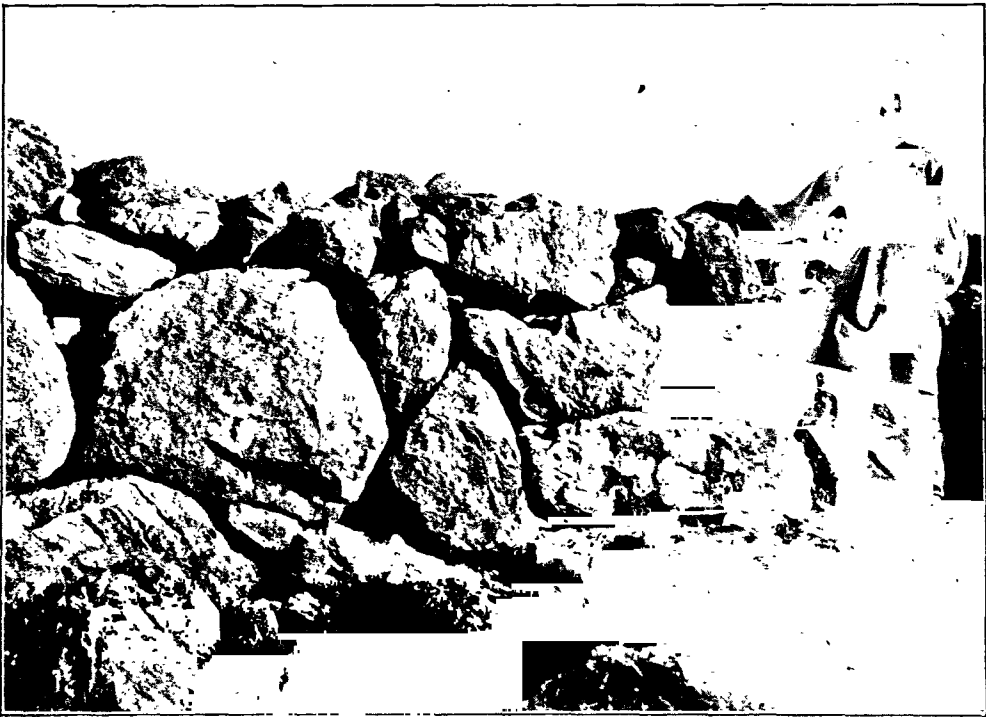


FIG. 3.—OUTER FORTIFICATION WALL ON MOUNT KHELMÓS. [Style (1) ]

doubt that the name Belmina was applied by Pausanias primarily to a valley, since he says it was traversed by the Eurotas; and there is no reason why the fortress upon the hill-top should not have had a separate and more distinctive name. That name was, in my opinion, the 'Athenaeum.'

The 'Athenaeum' of Polybius and Plutarch, with which I propose to identify the fortress on Khelmós, must, I feel sure, be distinguished from the 'Athenaeum' of Pausanias, which lay between Oresthasium and Asea, though some topographers have attempted to merge the two. It is described by Plutarch<sup>48</sup> as τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν Ἀθήναιον,

<sup>48</sup> *Chon.* 4.

—as an ἐμβολή τῆς Λακωνικῆς,<sup>49</sup>—as Spartan (apparently), but a subject of dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans; and none of these expressions could be applied to a place within twenty stades of Asea. Polybius, the Megalopolitan, always speaks of it as τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν<sup>50</sup> or ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα;<sup>51</sup> but its whole history, as gathered from him and Plutarch, is a record of successive changes of hands. The same is true of Belmina and the Belminatid territory; whose history, in fact, blends in such a way with that of the Athenaeum that it seems impossible to dissociate them.<sup>52</sup> So that there is every reason to believe that the Athenaeum was not merely near Belmina (περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν), but formed part of the

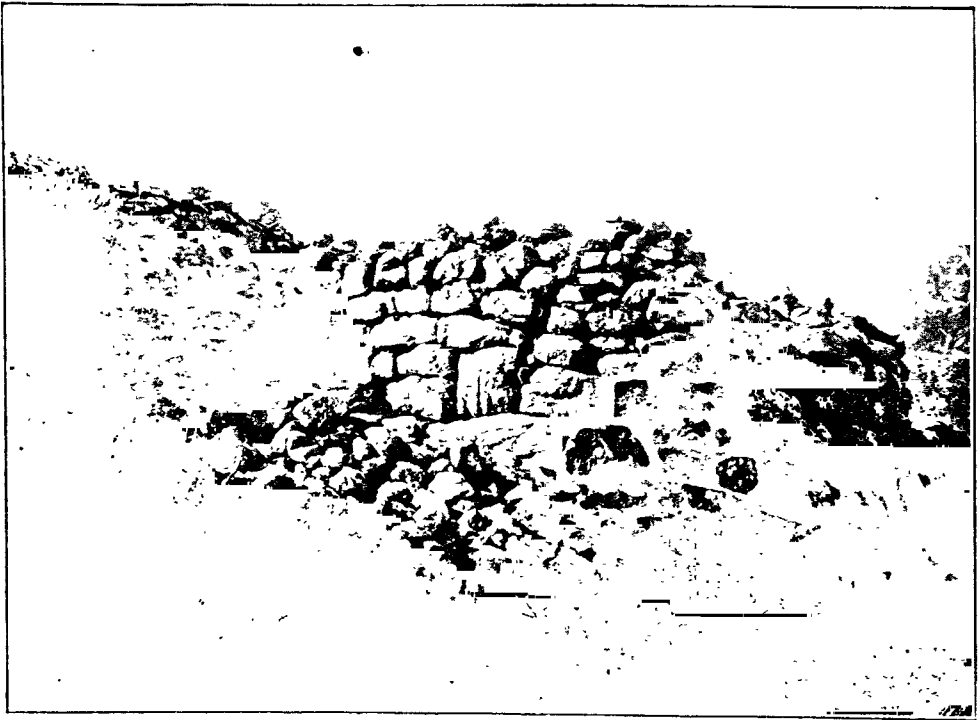


FIG. 1.—INNER FORTIFICATION WALL ON MOUNT KHELMÓS. [Style (2)]

Belminatid territory. And, if so, it can hardly have been situated anywhere but on Mount Khelmós; for Khelmós is, with a single exception,<sup>53</sup> the only

<sup>49</sup> Probably to be translated 'entrance to' or 'pass into Lakonia.'

<sup>50</sup> Polyb. iv. 37, 60, 81.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.* ii. 46.

<sup>52</sup> For the successive changes of ownership of Belmina, the Belminatid territory, and the Athenaeum, the following passages should be consulted in the order in which I give them:

(1) Paus. viii. 27, 4 (of Belmina = Belmina), cf. *Id.* 35, 4; 2 Plut. *Chom.* 4 and Pol. ii. 46; (3) Pol. ii. 54; (4) Pol. iv. 37, 60, and 81; (5) Livy xxxviii. 34; (6) Paus. iii. 21, 3, viii. 45, 4.

<sup>53</sup> The single exception is the prominent hill whose summit lies almost exactly in a line between the villages of Petrina and Glikoú, from

place in this region adapted for such a fortress, and, without any exception, the only place where traces of a fortress exist. These considerations, and the absence of any separate mention of the 'Athenaeum' in Pausanias, make it (to my mind) almost certain that Khelmós, the fortress *par excellence* of the Belminatid territory, and loosely included in the general word Belmina, is also the fortress more particularly known in ancient times as the Athenaeum.

This equation would doubtless have been made long ago, but for two reasons, viz.—(1) the coincidence that the Athenaeum is generally spoken of as properly Megalopolitan, Belmina (in Pausanias at least) as Spartan; a mere coincidence,<sup>54</sup> since (as we have seen) both alike are rarely mentioned except for the purpose of recording a change of ownership; (2) the identity of name with that of the other place to which I have already referred.<sup>55</sup>

The importance of the fortress on Khelmós, 'the Athenaeum near Belmina,' can hardly be over-rated. A mere glance at the map will show that it completely bars the way from Sparta to Megalopolis. But it does more than that;—it is the key, as we shall see presently, to *both* of two routes between these two towns and also to *one* very important military route from Sparta to Tegea, viz. the route which traversed the Asean plain. It is also, both naturally and artificially, an exceeding strong position. That it was always a bone of contention is no matter for wonder; the only wonder is that a post so admirably adapted to defence should time after time have been taken and lost.

Between Sparta and Mount Khelmós there are numerous traces of antiquity. None of them can, however, be certainly identified with any site or object known to us from ancient authors, with the possible exception of some remains generally supposed to mark the site of Pellana. Though I have not much new matter to record in connexion with this part of the route, I propose, nevertheless, to sketch it rapidly, noting the principal remains upon it. This will enable me to correct some small inaccuracies of detail, and to add a few new observations.

The track follows the Eurotas valley all the way; for a great part of the way it keeps close to the river bed. For the first three miles the valley is a comparatively open one. To this section of the route belong all the places and objects mentioned by Pausanias between Sparta and the statue

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each of which it is, however, separated by a deep stream-bed. This hill overhangs the eastern (or modern) track to Megalopolis, and commands a good view of the western track (the one commonly used in ancient times, and now used by travellers to Leondári). It also commands a magnificent view of the Megalopolitan plain as far north as Karýtaena, and conceals this plain from Khelmós. Were there any trace of a fortress on the summit, one might naturally identify it with the 'Athenae-

um'; but there are none, and a rocky summit like this could hardly have been fortified without retaining traces of the fact.

<sup>54</sup> Unless, indeed, 'Athenaeum' was specially a Megalopolitan name for the fortress of Belmina.

<sup>55</sup> Bursian (ii. 113, note 3) expressly rejects the identification of Khelmós with the Athenaeum on the ground that the position of Khelmós will not suit the other Athenaeum, which he does not distinguish from this one.

of Aidos; but no one, so far as I am aware, has ventured to identify them, nor am I prepared to do so. About three miles from Sparta is a large unfinished building, one end of which is used as a khan, the 'khan of Zakharátos.' Near it the river makes a bend to the eastward, circumventing a low rocky hill; but the track to Megalopolis keeps straight on, passing left of the hill, and rejoining the river beyond it some  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from the khan. Leaving the track at the khan, and keeping along the river bank, one sees almost immediately, on the opposite bank, the scanty remains of a Roman or mediaeval bridge,—probably the former,—and beside it the traces of a river wall of large blocks of stone. Just opposite this bridge, if one climbs the rocks which overhang the path, one finds a large rock-cutting, which was probably supplemented by building so as to form altogether a level area some 30 ft.  $\times$  20 ft. in extent. This cutting may possibly have been prepared for the statue of Aidos;<sup>56</sup> its distance from Sparta according very well with such a theory; but it must be remembered that all identifications of this kind are little better than guess-work. Still keeping to the river, one reaches in a few minutes a fine Turkish bridge,—the 'bridge of Kopános,'—which spans it by a single arch. It bears the inscription

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This bridge, though still in excellent repair, is now but little used; but prior to the construction of the carriage road it formed part of the ordinary route from Tripolitsá to Sparta and Mistrá.

From the 'bridge of Kopános' to the point at which the river and the track to Megalopolis re-unite, the river flows in a narrow gorge between high rocks on the eastern, and the low hill already mentioned on the western, side. The former assume shapes so curious as to suggest artificial cutting; and on the slopes of the latter are traces (1) of an aqueduct or mill-stream, (2) lower down, of a half-buried wall, built in order to terrace up the soil, possibly for a road but more probably for purposes of cultivation. On the north end of the hill, where one rejoins the track to Megalopolis, are remains of polygonal walls, and the hill itself bears a fair sprinkling of pottery, while immediately between the hill and the river, on the narrow strip of land which separates them, are the lower courses of a long wall consisting partly of Hellenic and partly of later masonry, nearly parallel with the river. It is evident, in fact, that on and about this hill there was a group of buildings, the principal one being perhaps a small fort; and I draw special attention to this site because it has scarcely yet been mentioned, and never (so far as I know) correctly.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Supposing, that is, that the ancient track kept close to the river at this point, ascending perhaps (as far as the 'bridge of Kopános') with the track to Tegea. But it seems more probable that like the modern one it made a

short cut by passing to the left of the low rocky hill described in the text.

<sup>57</sup> Baedeker, who (p. 280) mentions polygonal remains 'on a hill on the opposite bank,' probably refers, though inaccurately, to this site.

It is disappointing that we cannot with much probability recognize in it any of the places or objects mentioned by Pausanias. The remains are too extensive to have belonged to a monument merely (the statue of Aidos), too near Sparta to represent the tomb of Ladas<sup>58</sup> or the Charákoma, too near Sparta and too far from Belmina to be the remains of Pellana. A few days' excavation would probably throw some light upon this matter; and it is one to which I would call the attention of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who have at present a monopoly of excavation in Lakonia.

Within the next three miles, or less, from the hill last mentioned, traces of antiquity are visible in several places, either in the path or close beside it; but there is not one of them to which a name can be given with any approach to certainty. I will do little more than enumerate them.

(1) Five minutes' walk from the hill,—at a point where there is only just room for the path between the rocks on the left and the river on the right,—there is a bit of Hellenic wall, partly built over with later work, at the very edge of the river and flush with the path. Its position, and the presence of grooves,—apparently wheel-ruts,—upon its upper surface, mark it as a piece of retaining-wall intended to protect an ancient road from the encroachments of the river.

(2) Three minutes' walk farther on, the path still closely following the river, one passes a large cave, mainly (if not entirely) natural, in the side of the rocky hill on the left of the path. The entrance to this cave, which is called by the natives Φούρος ('Oven'), is formed by an arch in the aqueduct which once brought water from the Βιβάρη (= 'Vivari,' fish-pond) to Sparta, and which for a long way skirts the hills by the side of the path. Near this cave Leake saw a 'semicircular sepulchral niche,'<sup>59</sup> which he identified with the tomb of Ladas;<sup>60</sup> but for this its distance from Sparta is insufficient. Subsequent writers<sup>61</sup> suppose the niche, or the cave, to have contained the statue of Aidos; but it does not appear that they *saw* the niche at all, and Leake (who, I suspect, is the sole original authority for its existence) distinctly calls it 'sepulchral,' an expression which hardly suggests a shape suitable for containing a statue. And the connexion between a *cave*, apparently natural, and the statue is not very obvious. I have already tentatively suggested (p. 42) that the statue of Aidos was a good deal nearer Sparta.

(3) After about twelve minutes' walk one reaches a comparatively open spot, formed by the junction of a stream, running from west to east, with the Eurotas. The valley of this stream was spanned a little higher up by the aqueduct already noted, and the remains of the piers which supported

<sup>58</sup> If it represents *any* of the objects noted by Pausanias, it must be this. The words *ὑπὲρ τῆν λεωφόρον* suit it well. But, if so, the statue of Aidos must have been at some point a good deal less than 'fourty stades' from Sparta. In the first plate to Ross's *Reisen in Peloponnes*, 'Grab

des Ladas' is marked near this spot, but without any apparent reference to extant remains.

<sup>59</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ib.* 15.

<sup>61</sup> Bursian, ii. 115. See also Baedeker, p. 280, and the *Guide Joazeur*, p. 281.

the aqueduct are still visible. In the low rocks on the left side of the path are some curious cuttings, known to the peasants as the 'Μαγειρείά' ('Kitchen'),<sup>62</sup> which were probably made for the reception of some statues, altars, or the like, rather than for a rock-tomb.<sup>63</sup>

(4) Twenty minutes more bring one to the remains of a massive Hellenic wall,<sup>64</sup> forming an angle with the river, by the side of a small stream. It is by no means impossible, though the identification is a purely conjectural one, that this wall may have formed part of the *Charákoma* ('Stockade') of Pausanias.<sup>65</sup>

(5) About four minutes' walk beyond this, to left of, and slightly above, the path, the rock has been cut back, almost certainly in order to make way for the ancient road. It certainly had nothing to do with the *Turkish* road, since the latter is proved by traces of the paving, still extant, to have been at a lower level.

After this, one passes no object of archaeological interest till one reaches what has been commonly, and I think correctly, taken for the site of Pellana.<sup>66</sup> It is about half an hour's walk from the spot last mentioned, at a point where the valley widens out, and the path to Megalopolis begins to diverge from the river. On the left bank of the river (*i.e.* the side opposite to the path) are the twin peaks, both surmounted by chapels, which project westward from the village of Vourliá. Between the foot of these hills and the river is a narrow strip of land,<sup>67</sup> protected from the encroachments of the latter by a wall of large and very roughly squared stones laid without mortar. A photograph of this wall is given on Pl. III. The total length of the wall, which appears to be Hellenic, may be roughly estimated at 200 yards: but it is not everywhere preserved. At the back of the strip of land which it protects, and just at the foot of the hills, is a fine spring, whose waters are artificially retained so as to form a kind of reservoir now supplying a mill-stream. This spring is the one which goes by the name of the 'Vivári,'<sup>68</sup> and whose water was conveyed to Sparta by the aqueduct already several times mentioned.<sup>69</sup> The aqueduct is probably of Roman date, with later reparations. A little beyond this wall and spring, the river is joined on the same (left) bank by a tributary, which has a bed of considerable size, though (like most

<sup>62</sup> They are very convenient for lighting fires in. Hence the name. I have myself seen traces of fires there. From the name a story has arisen that they were the cooking-places of the workmen employed in making the aqueduct from the 'Vivári' to Sparta.

<sup>63</sup> As suggested in Baedeker, p. 280.

<sup>64</sup> The 'Helleniko' of the Guide-books.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Bursian, ii. 114, *sq.*

<sup>66</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 13, *sq.*; and subsequent writers.

<sup>67</sup> It may be roughly estimated as varying, in different places, from 50 to 200 yards in width.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 43.

<sup>69</sup> The following story, with variations, told by the rustics in this connexion.—A certain Greek princess (*βασιλόπουλα*), having two suitors, set them each a labour to perform. One was to bring water from the 'Vivári' to Sparta, the other to build the fortress (*κάστρο*) of Mistrá: and the one who first accomplished his task was to win her hand. Unfortunately the two tasks were completed simultaneously; and the princess, unable either to satisfy the claims of both her suitors or to choose between them, took poison and died.

Greek streams) it is not unfrequently dry.<sup>70</sup> One may, if one likes, ascend this stream-bed to near the village of Konidítsa. At the village itself, and in the plain below it (at the point marked 'K. V.' [= 'Kephalóvrysis'] in my map), are two large springs, one of which<sup>71</sup> is believed by the country people to derive its waters from the *katavóthra* of the 'Táka' (*c.* p. 68) in the plain of Tripolitsá. There are thus in the neighbourhood of Konidítsa no less than three 'headsprings' (*κεφαλοβρύσεις*),—viz. one in the village itself, another in the plain immediately below it, and a third (the 'Vivári') close to the river, and just behind the ancient river-wall. It is the existence of these springs and of the ancient wall,—combined with the distances from Sparta and Belmina, tallying well with those given by Pausanias,—which has led topographers generally to identify this region with Pellana. Since Konidítsa itself stands almost too far back from the direct route to Megalopolis, the second and third of the springs just mentioned probably correspond to those which Pausanias denotes as 'Pellamid' and 'Lankeian' respectively.

Pellana was one of the towns of the Lakonian 'Tripolis';<sup>72</sup> and, since the Tripolis is defined<sup>73</sup> as being 'Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est,' it must have extended as far as the frontier. There is therefore little doubt that Belmina was another of its component towns. The name of the third town is a matter of some doubt. Both Aegys and Karystus have been suggested;<sup>74</sup> and the latter view is by far the more probable of the two. For, though the term 'Aegytid' appears to have been sometimes used in a wide sense and to have included Belmina,<sup>75</sup> it is in other passages<sup>76</sup> distinguished from the Belminatid; and Paus. viii. 34. 5 shows clearly that 'Aegytid' in its narrower sense was the designation of the valley lying west of the northern end of the Taygetus range,—the valley whose northern portions are overlooked by the charming little town of Leondári. It may therefore be taken for certain that Aegys itself was in *that* valley, not in the Eurotas valley south of Belmina. But whatever may have been the name of the third town of the Tripolis,—Karystus is the most plausible guess,—topographers are probably right in placing it at the 'Kalývia of Georghítsi,'—a village which one reaches, on one's northward journey, rather more than an hour after passing the supposed site of Pellana. At the Kalývia there is another fine 'Kephalóvrysis' (head-spring).

The evidences of antiquity here are as follows:—

<sup>70</sup> This is probably the *κατὰ Πελλήνην χάραξ* of Plut. *Lycis*, 8.

<sup>71</sup> Possibly both; but at any rate the theory attaches to the one in the plain. It is probably erroneous, for the water (especially that of the lower spring) is too clean and too cold to have run so short a distance underground. The ancient theory was that the water of the 'Taka' rose again at Frangóvryso, but the comparative levels of the two plains makes this impossible.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix A, p. 68.

<sup>73</sup> Pol. iv. 81.

<sup>74</sup> Livy xxxv. 27.

<sup>75</sup> The former by Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 18, *sq.* and Bursian ii. 114; the latter by Leake, *Peloponnesus* (which represents his later views), p. 350, and Curtius ii. 258.

<sup>76</sup> Supposing that *Βλέμνα* in Paus. viii. 27. 4 = *Βέλμνα*.

<sup>76</sup> *E.g.* Pol. ii. 51.



(1) There is an acropolis,—a low, rocky hill, steep of approach on all sides except the east,—surrounded at the top, and to some extent lower down also, by remains of walls, for the most part of late date, but among which there are some traces of probable Hellenic work.<sup>77</sup>

(2) The acropolis just described lies immediately left of the path to Megalopolis. A little farther on,—still just left of the path,—are two circular caves, cut in the soft rock, with roofs of the beehive shape. The diameter of one of them, which I measured, is approximately 18 ft., and the height some 10 ft.; and the other must be of about the same size. These caves, which I suppose to be tombs, were courteously shown me by Mr. Γκουζούλης, the demarch of Georghitsi. They might possibly repay excavation.

(3) In the village I bought a large number of coins,—most of them unfortunately of late date,•Roman and Byzantine; none which could serve as a clue to the ancient name of the place.

There is but little pottery about. The place was therefore probably a small one,—perhaps little more than a fort.

Half an hour beyond the ‘Kalývia of Georghitsi’ there is another ‘Kephálóvrysis,’ gushing freely from beneath some rocks on the left of the path. The water of this spring is retained, so as to form a pool some 12 ft. × 17 ft. but of irregular shape, by the remains of an ancient wall of large hewn stones.

Hence to the ‘khan of Longaníko,’ in the ‘Belminatid’ territory, which I have already discussed, is a journey of about an hour and a half (for a fast walker an hour and a quarter). The path takes one first through a region commonly known as the ‘Agrapithókambos’ (‘wild-pear region’), and then through one called ‘Goumarókambos’; the latter being a beautiful pass where the sides of the hills both to left and right are richly clothed with *arbutus* (γούμαρο).

## II.—Megalopolis to Belmina.<sup>78</sup>

‘On the road from Megalopolis to Sparta,’ says Pausanias, ‘there are thirty stades to the Alpheius. Then, after travelling by the side of the river (ποταμός) Theius, another tributary of the Alpheius, and then leaving it on your left, you come, about forty stades from the Alpheius, to Phalaesia. Phalaesia is twenty stades from the Hermaeum near Belmina. Now the Arkadians say that Belmina was originally part of their territory, and was taken from them by the Spartans; but their story appeared to me an improbable one for several reasons,—principally because I do not believe the Thebans would have allowed the Arkadians to suffer even this amount of loss had they felt that they would be justified in righting them.’

This account of the route from Megalopolis to Belmina is concise and satisfactory. That it was the *western* route, passing close to Leondári,—and

<sup>77</sup> An old well, completely filled up, has also been recently discovered at the east end of the acropolis, just below the crown of the hill. It is about six feet in diameter, and is cut chiefly

in soft rock. The proprietor has excavated it to a depth of some 30 feet in hope of finding treasure. ●

<sup>78</sup> Paus. viii. 35, 3, 1.

not the one commonly used at the present day, *viâ* Skortsinoú,—has been generally recognized. It is proved by the fact of its crossing the Alpheius below the junction of that river with its tributary the Theius, which entered it on the left. For the 'Alpheius' and the 'Theius' are, respectively, (1) the river which runs from the gorge of Tsimbaroú between Rhapsomáti and Marmariá; and (2) the Koutoupharína, the only tributary of the other which deserves the name of a ποταμός.<sup>79</sup> And the ancient route to Sparta. Pausanias tells us, left the Theius on the left.

Phalaesiae was placed by Leake<sup>80</sup> a little east of Boúra, where Gell<sup>81</sup> reported 'vestiges of a city'; but the French explorers could see no remains there except those of ruined 'Kalývia,' and from my own observations I think they were right. Besides, the spot indicated is rather too far from the crossing of the Alpheius, and rather too near to the Hermacum, to correspond well with Pausanias' account. For the Hermacum was doubtless, as topographers are agreed, about the division of the water-sheds of the Alpheius and Eurotas,—*i.e.* below Spancika.

The *eastern* route from Megalopolis to Sparta,—now commonly used by travellers from Sinánu,—is indicated in my map as a modern track. Since it meets the western route immediately below Mt. Khelmós, it is obvious that I have by no means exaggerated the importance of the 'Athenacum,' which crowned that hill, as the key to *both* routes from Sparta to Megalopolis as well as to the route which I am about to describe from Sparta to Tegea.

#### C.—SPARTA TO TEGEA AND MANTINEIA *viâ* THE SPARTA-MEGALOPOLIS ROUTE AND THE ASEAN PLAIN.

The evidence for the existence of this route is contained in the following passages:—

(1) Herod. ix. 11. In 479 B.C., shortly before the battle of Plataea, the Spartan ephors, daily reproached by the Athenian envoys with delay in sending their contingent against the common enemy, suddenly despatch a force of 5,000 Spartiates in the night, and next day announce to the astonished envoys that the troops have already started and are by this time at Oresteium.<sup>82</sup> We know from Pausanias<sup>83</sup> that Oresteium was identical with 'Oresthasium,' the place between Megalopolis and Asea whose position I have already discussed.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> These identifications are necessitated (1) by the distance from Megalopolis, as given in the present passage, (2) by Paus. viii. 44, 4, and 54, 3, where we are told that the sources of the Alpheius in the Megalopolitan territory derive their water from the plain of Asea (Frangóvrysso)—a theory which could not have arisen had the Alpheius been any river other than the one I have described. On the relation

between the waters of the Asean plain and the Alpheius, see Appendix A.

<sup>80</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 237.

<sup>81</sup> *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 213.

<sup>82</sup> The audience must have taken place late in the day, and the march have been a rapid one.

<sup>83</sup> viii. 3. 2.

<sup>84</sup> P. 28 *sqq.*

(2) Plut. *Arist.* 10 (same story).

(3) Thuc. v. 64. In 418 B.C., when the Athenians, Argives, and other allies are threatening Tegea, the Spartans send an army to assist that town *εἰς* Orestheium (‘Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαυναλίας’). This is the expedition which ended in the first battle of Mantinea.

(4) Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 10 *sqq.* After the battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.), the Mantineians proceed to rebuild their walls. The Spartans send an expedition against them (370 B.C.) under the command of Agesilaus. He marches *εἰς* Eutaea. Eutaea was one of the Maenalian towns;<sup>55</sup> and that it was not in the Tegean plain, but either in the Megalopolitan or in the Ascan, may be regarded as certain; for Agesilaus, on his arrival there, found that all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms had left in order to join the rest of the Arkadian forces, who were assembling at Asea preparatory to marching to the defence of the Mantineians. Had Eutaea been in the Tegean plain, it would have been futile for its inhabitants to meet the other troops *at Asea*.

(5) Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 9. In 362 B.C. Epaminondas, at Tegea, hears that Agesilaus, with the whole fighting force of Sparta, is marching for Mantinea, and has got as far as ‘Pellene’ (= Pellana). This Pellana was, as we have seen, in the Eurotas valley, on the direct route between Sparta and Megalopolis,—not on the direct route between Sparta, Tegea and Mantinea. Indeed this explains Epaminondas’ attempt to surprise Sparta in the absence of Agesilaus. Had the latter advanced by the direct route to Tegea, Epaminondas could have had no hope of getting from Tegea to Sparta without meeting him on the way.

The evidence for a military route from Sparta to the Mantineio-Tegean plain, and thence to the Isthmus, *εἰς* the Sparta-Megalopolis track and the plain of Asea, is thus amply sufficient. But the question immediately arises—At what point did the route to Tegea and Mantinea diverge from that to Megalopolis? Did it enter the Megalopolitan plain at all, or did it leave the Megalopolitan route somewhere near Belmina, and, keeping south of the summit of Tsimbarou, make straight for the Ascan plain? I have already stated<sup>56</sup> that, in my opinion, common sense points to the latter alternative as the true one.

From the Belminatid (*i.e.* the region about the khan of Longaniko) there are no less than three possible routes by which one may reach the plain of Asea (Frangóniyo) without entering that of Megalopolis. One may:—

(1) diverge from the Megalopolitan route at the khan of Longaniko, pass immediately right of the (now ruined) chapel of Ag. Eiréne and ascend the river-bed of the Eurotas, not leaving it till it brings one out at a point immediately below Maniati and Koutriboukli

<sup>55</sup> Paus. viii. 27. 3.

<sup>56</sup> P. 28.

in the Asean plain: or (2) one may follow a mule track which passes left of Ag. Eiréne and, skirting the eastern side of Mt. Khelmós, strikes the path from Skortsinoú to Pápari and Koutriboúkhi near the village of Agriakóna: or (3) one may keep to the *modern* (eastern) Sparta-Megalopolis route as far as Skortsinoú, and thence take the path to Pápari and Koutriboúkhi, skirting the southern slopes of Tsimbaroú, with Khelmós on one's right, passing left of Agriakóna, and descending into the Asean plain by either of the two villages just named. These routes may be clearly distinguished with the help of Plate I.

Now (1) is perhaps the most obvious route; for, though it necessarily climbs some 800 ft. to get to the plain of Asea, it involves no *pass* in the ordinary sense of the word, but a gradual ascent along the river-bed. On the other hand (*a*) the river-bed is in parts very rocky, and thus would at any time be extremely inconvenient for troops: (*b*) it winds very much: (*c*) it would be impassable after heavy rain: (*d*) for a very considerable distance it passes through a deep-sided gorge, some hundreds of feet in depth, which would offer every opportunity for treachery.<sup>57</sup>

(2) is a much safer and on the whole a more convenient route than (1); but the first part of it, as far as Agriakóna, is a trying one, ascending and descending constantly, and would, in my opinion, be far inferior as a military route, to

(3) the one by Skortsinoú. This route is fairly direct, and is nowhere very rocky or very steep, although it ascends (as near as I can judge) to a height of 1200 ft. or 1300 ft. above the level of the Eurotas valley at the khan of Longaniko, and 400 ft. or 500 ft. above the plain of Asea.<sup>58</sup> It bears clear traces of Turkish pavement in some parts.

On the whole I have little doubt that this was the ancient route which led from Sparta to Tegea *viâ* the Asean plain.

The natural descent into the plain is by the village of Koutriboúkhi; but the inhabitants of Pápari, when they come this way, bear left before reaching the former village, and skirt the lowest slopes of Tsimbaroú; and travellers to Oresthasium in ancient times would doubtless do the same.

At, or close by, Oresthasium one struck the Megalopolis-Tegea road.

The central part of the plain of Asea was, no doubt, of a very swampy nature; <sup>59</sup> perhaps even it was partially submerged, as it is at the present day. It was necessary therefore to pass either left or right of the centre in order to cross the plain. We have seen that the left hand route—*viâ* Oresthasium—was at least on two occasions selected, in spite of being slightly longer than the other. It was evidently the stopping-place;

<sup>57</sup> The extreme danger of this as a military route is well illustrated by a story which I heard from a very old Turk at Longaniko. Ibrahim Pasha (he says), marching from Sparta to Tripolitsá, was led by a treacherous guide into this gorge, *whereas he ought to have gone by Skortsinoú*. He immediately found himself

shot at from the overhanging hills on both sides, and, after losing many of his men, eventually succeeded in effecting his escape *viâ* Kalteziá.

<sup>58</sup> The highest point is in that part of the route which coincides with (2).

<sup>59</sup> Probably the name 'Ασέα itself refers to this.

probably it was a larger town, and provided better accommodation than Eutaea, which I take to have been the corresponding place on the right hand route.

Eutaea is mentioned by Pausanias<sup>90</sup> as one of the 'Maenalian' towns whose inhabitants contributed towards the foundation of Megalopolis; and by Xenophon<sup>91</sup> as the place where Agesilaus stopped on his march from Sparta to Mantinea in 370 B.C., and also on his return journey. I have already shown that it must have been either in the Megalopolitan or in the Asean plain; and since we have seen that the route did not enter the Megalopolitan plain at all, it must have been in the Asean. Leake<sup>92</sup> conjectured that it occupied the site of the little village of Barbítsa; and my own view is only a slight modification of his. The traces of antiquity at Barbítsa are very slender;<sup>93</sup> but Lianoú, a neighbouring village, certainly represents an ancient site. (1) In the village itself are various remains of antiquity, among which I may note especially a fragment of a marble Doric capital which must be either very early, or very late, in date,<sup>94</sup> and some blocks of Hellenic masonry built into the chapel of Ag. Barbára. More interesting are a number of *wells*, of uncertain date, but, from the absence of mortar or brick in the construction, not improbably ancient Greek. The villagers have already discovered quite a number of them. Several have been cleared out, and are now in daily use. They are circular, and are built entirely of small blocks of limestone, roughly hewn into shape. The diameter of one which I measured was only 2 ft. 6 in. (2) In the fields immediately surrounding the village have been found a considerable quantity of ancient coins. Of those which I have seen by far the greater number are Roman or Byzantine; but others are Hellenic, chiefly belonging to the Arkadian and Achaean leagues. (3) On, and a little below, the summit of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, which overhangs the village, are some slight remains of two fortified walls of unhewn stones; walls to which it is impossible to assign a date, but which are very similar in construction to those of Sellasia (*c.* Appendix B) and to *some* (the least good) of those of the 'Athenaeum' (Khelmós). The remains on the summit are for the most part flush with the ground, and it was not until I had made a small excavation there that I could satisfy myself of their existence, but the hill, from its

<sup>90</sup> viii. 27. 3.

<sup>91</sup> *Hell.* vi. 5. 12. 20, 21.

<sup>92</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 31-33.

<sup>93</sup> The 'Paleó-khóra' mentioned by Leake (admittedly on hearsay evidence) is almost certainly the site of a deserted village, not (as he supposed) of an ancient town. It is probably identical with the 'Vill. re' (= Village ruiné) of the French map, where I have seen traces of rude walls, but nothing which suggests antiquity. On the other hand, by a small spring on the way from Barbítsa to Frangóvrvo, about ten minutes' walk from the former, and just before one reaches the chapel of Ag. Gannes, there

exists a piece of wall, of rather carefully fitted polygonal work, nearly fifty feet in length, preserved in parts to a height of over four feet. This wall, which I excavated (for scarcely a trace of it was visible above ground), appears to be almost isolated, and I was quite unable to discover to what sort of building it belonged.

<sup>94</sup> It has the bulging echinus which generally characterizes an archaic order; but the profile is in other respects so peculiar as to suggest that it is slovenly work of late date. It has been hollowed into a rude trough, and lies just outside the door of the priest's house. ●

height and its position, is such a commanding one,—a key to the route from Lakonia into the Ascan plain *via* the river-bed of the Eurotas,—that it would have been strange if it had not been fortified. It appears nevertheless, from the absence of pottery about it, to have been but little used, probably because the river-bed was generally avoided by Spartan troops for the reasons I have already mentioned; but its existence was an important, and even necessary, safeguard. A sketch plan of the remains in their present state is given below in Fig. 5.

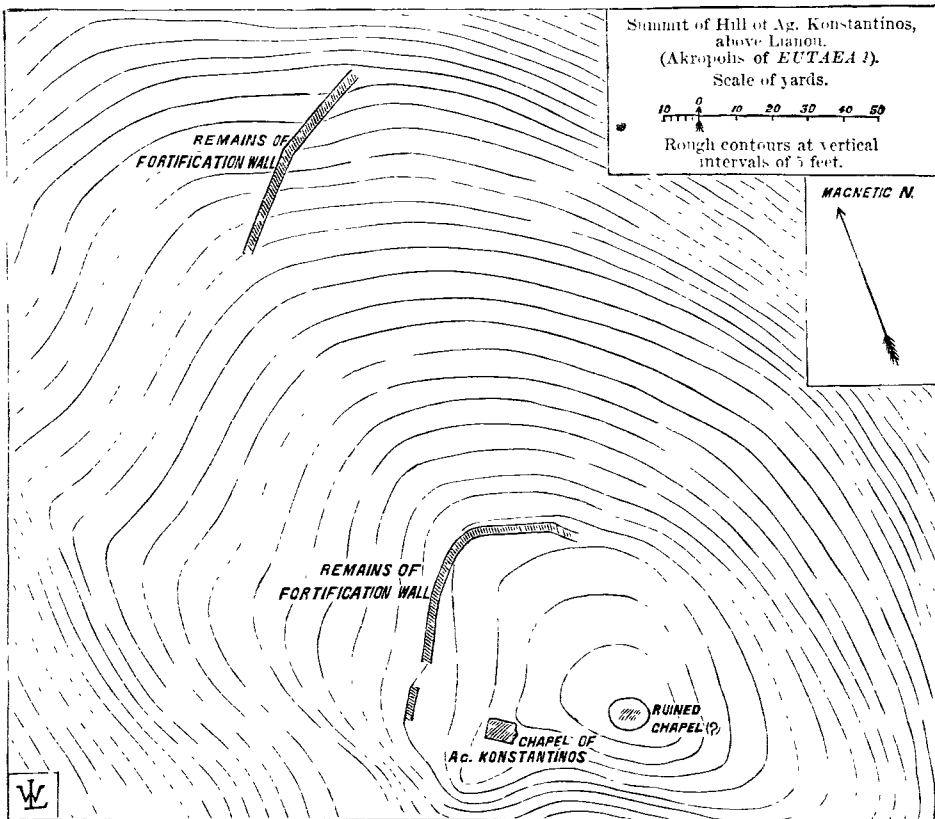


FIG. 5.

The fortifications of Eutaea are mentioned by Xenophon<sup>95</sup> in his account of Agesilaus' expedition. That general, when he arrived at Eutaea, found them fallen into disrepair, and took the trouble of restoring them.

If I am right in my identification of Eutaea, the route thence to Tegea would be *either* *via* Barbítsa, the khan of Talagáni,<sup>96</sup> and the road from Megalopolis, *or* *via* Mánari and Zéli, by a path which crosses Mt. Krávári south of the summit. The latter is the more direct, but the former is rather

<sup>95</sup> *Hell.* vi. 5. 12.<sup>96</sup> See Pl. II.

the easier route. For an army going (like that of Agesilaus) to *Montincia*, the Megalopolis road would be both easier and more direct than the other.

The existence of this route from Sparta to Tegea, *via* the Asean plain, or rather the fact that it appears to have been extensively used for military purposes in ancient times, may perhaps seem strange. And the fact that the new railway route, at present unfinished, from Tripolitsá to Sparta will not only pass Frangóvryso, but will go right through into the plain of Megalopolis, and there branch south for Sparta, will hardly allay this feeling; for the conditions of railway construction and the necessity of serving as many places as possible by a single route, are sufficient to account for the fact.

The true explanation consists no doubt partly in the fact that the most direct route,—the one which is now in common use,—though nowhere an abnormally steep one, involves a great number of ascents and descents, and would therefore, before the high road was made, have been very trying for troops on the march; but largely also in the want of good water upon it,—a want so marked that, as we shall see very shortly, even the alternative (and commoner) Spartan military route diverged considerably from the modern one in order to supply it by following a river-bed. On the route I have just described there are, it will be remembered, a number of magnificent springs; viz. (1) the 'Vivári' and the spring between it and Konidítsa, (2) the 'Kephálóvrysis' at the Kalyívia of Georghítsi (Karystus), (3) the 'Kephálóvrysis' in the path a little further on, (4) the 'springs of the Alpheius and Eurotas' at Frangóvryso (Asea); to say nothing of abundant river water (the Eurotas), the wells at Lianóu (Eutaea), and doubtless also wells at Oresthasium.

#### D.—TEGEA TO SPARTA, DIRECT ROUTE.

We have no complete, or even nearly complete, account of this route in ancient authors. Pausanias<sup>97</sup> mentions several objects which one passed on it (altars and temples), all within about two miles of Tegea, and none of them identifiable. Then he proceeds:—<sup>98</sup>

The boundary of the Laedaemonian and Tegean territories is the river Alpheius. This river has its origin at Phylake; but not far from the source another stream flows down into it from a number of small springs, whence the place has come to be called Symbola ('the Junction'). Now the Alpheius appears to be distinguished from all other rivers by this peculiarity,—it has a way of disappearing frequently underground and then reappearing. For, starting from Phylake and the place called Symbola, it buries itself in the Tegean plain; and, after rising again at Asea and mixing its stream with the Eurotas, it descends a second time into the ground, to re-emerge at a place which the Arkadians call Pegae ('The Springs').<sup>99</sup>

This passage certainly implies that the Alpheius either touched or crossed the route from Tegea to Sparta; but it does *not* necessarily imply

<sup>97</sup> viii. 53. 11.

<sup>98</sup> *Id.* 54. 1. *sup.*

<sup>99</sup> Here follows an account of the Alpheius

crossing the Adriatic and reappearing at Syracuse.

that Phylake, where the river had its origin, was on that route. We must not therefore identify it too positively, as some writers have done, with Kryávrysi,—the site of a khan (now in ruins) and a spring on the route from Tripolitsá which was till quite recently in common use. The spring at Kryávrysi contributes but little to the river;<sup>100</sup> and it would be much more natural (I think) to describe the latter as having its origin in the hills beyond Vourvoúra, whence the main stream flows, than at this point.

This however is a matter of no very great importance, since, as I have already observed, Pausanias nowhere says that Phylake was upon the ancient route; he only says that the river was upon the ancient route, and rose in Phylake. Now since the ancient route either touched or crossed the river, a glance at the map will show that it must have gone along the river gorge, *not* by Kaparéli and Alipokhóri like the modern carriage road; otherwise it would, like the carriage road, have missed the river altogether. This is precisely what we should expect, since the gorge offers by far the most direct route, whether one comes from Tripolitsá or from the site of Tegea.<sup>101</sup> It was indeed in constant use till the new road was made, and is still frequently adopted by travellers on foot.

I have so far assumed that by the name Alpheius Pausanias denotes the modern Sarandapotamós, in spite of a very grave difficulty which arises from the fact that the Sarandapotamós, on entering the Tegean plain, bends eastward to join the river from Dholianá (the ancient river Garates), and flows with it to the Katavóthra of Vézova, whereas the river referred to by Pausanias, and identified by him with the Alpheius, was certainly supposed by him to flow westward to the Katavóthra of the Táka. The necessity for this assumption has, however, been generally recognized; for the only alternative to it is the identification of the Alpheius with some tiny streams near Kaparéli, too insignificant to be noticed at such length by Pausanias, and in a position which the ancient road (unlike the modern carriage road) would be most unlikely to pass.

The difficulty attending its identification with the Sarandapotamós has been met by Leake<sup>102</sup> and his successors by the hypothesis of an alteration, since Pausanias' day, in the course of that river after entering the plain. It is

<sup>100</sup> When I was there (June, 1893), literally nothing; the small dribble which flowed from it being diverted so as to water a bed of onions or garlic close by. But there was at that time not so much as a drop of water either in the main stream-bed or in the one which here joins it from the direction of the khan of Bakoúros.

It is a pity that the spring of Kryávrysi, which used to be treasured by travellers as supplying the last drink of fresh water on the way from Tripolitsá to Sparta till one reached the khan of Vourliá, is now utterly neglected and its drinking basin destroyed. The khan of Kryávrysi, too, is deserted. The disappearance of this (like that of many another old institu-

tion in Greece) is due to the construction of the carriage-road. The latter skirts the hills a great deal higher up, missing the old spring and khan.

<sup>101</sup> With this difference, that the track from Tripolitsá passes west of Kamári and does not enter the gorge till it reaches a point just below Mavriki; while, starting from Piali or any other of the villages on the site of Tegea, one naturally goes by the gorge all the way.

<sup>102</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 114, *sq.* and map. The theory does not appear in *Travels in the Morea*, which (unlike *Peloponnesiaca*) was based wholly on personal observation.



suggested that this alteration may have resulted from a temporary obstruction of the river's former course after heavy rain, or have been made artificially for the purpose of better drainage. I have discussed this theory in Appendix A, to which readers are referred. The conclusion there arrived at is that neither the course traced in Leake's map nor that suggested by Bérard<sup>105</sup> is compatible with the level of the ground in different parts of the plain; that the only alternative course remaining,—viz. through the town of Tegea itself,—is historically inadmissible; and that therefore I cannot bring myself to believe in the supposed change of course at all, and am rather inclined to attribute the whole difficulty to a blunder on the part of Pausanias.<sup>104</sup>

One more question arises in connexion with this river. The Alpheius, says Pausanias, was the boundary between the territories of Lakonia and Tegea. *Which part* of the Alpheius served as boundary? Certainly not the part along which the route to Sparta lies; for this runs north and south, not east and west, and it is incredible that the whole of the territory either east or west of it was Lakonian. For my own part I agree with Leake<sup>105</sup> in supposing the boundary to have been the eastern branch of the Sarandapotamós, which flows below Vourvoúra,—in fact the principal stream of the river *above* Kryávrysi. But it does not seem to have occurred to Leake that this is an excellent reason for placing Phylake (where the Alpheius was said to rise) not at Kryávrysi but beyond Vourvoúra.

If I am right in supposing the river of Vourvoúra to represent that portion of the Alpheius which formed the boundary between the Lakonian and Tegean territories, the passage of Pausanias which we are now considering accords admirably with another statement of the same author,<sup>106</sup> to the effect that the 'Hermae' marking the junction of the Lakonian, Tegean and Argive territories were on the ridge of Parnon (ἐπ' αὐτοῦ) and in the pass from the Thyreatid plain, *i.e.* between Ag. Pétros and Arákhova.

Pausanias' account of the way from Tegea to Sparta ends at the frontier; nor is there any corresponding account of the other portion of it in his book on Lakonia. But in determining its direction we have only two routes to choose between, viz. (1) *viâ* the Klisoúra defile; the route adopted by the modern mule track and the new road,<sup>107</sup> (2) *viâ* Arákhova and the bed of the river which takes its name from that village. Our choice between these two routes will depend largely on the position which we assign to *Karyae*.

Karyae, the site of a famous sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, and the seat of an annual festival in her honour, was situated somewhere upon the

<sup>104</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. xvi. 1892), p. 534 and Pl. XIII.

<sup>105</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 68-9.

<sup>106</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 113.

<sup>107</sup> ii. 38. 7.

<sup>108</sup> From the 'khan of Bakoiros' to beyond the 'khan of Kokkinoloutsá' the mule track and new carriage road practically coincide; then

a divergence begins, the mule track eventually joining the Arákhova route, by the river-side, at the now ruined 'khan of Krevatás,' while the carriage road climbs the hills west of it. A little further on, just before one reaches the 'khan of Vourhá,' all three routes coincide for a short distance. See Pl. I.

way from Tegea to Sparta.<sup>108</sup> It was at, or near, the frontier.<sup>109</sup> Further, it was to the *right* of the way from Argos to Sparta, the turning which led to it being the third after one passed the Hermae, or boundary marks, at the top of the pass of Parnon.<sup>110</sup> Now we have already seen that the frontier in question was the part of the Sarandapotamós above Kryávrysi—the eastern branch, which I have called for greater precision the river of Vourvoúra. And it is quite clear<sup>111</sup> that the ancient route from Argos to Sparta was the track which crosses Mt. Parnon between Ag. Pétros and Arákhova and enters the deep bed of the river of Arákhova at or near the latter village. Hence the area within which our choice of a site for Karyae must necessarily be confined is by no means a large one. Karyae must in fact be looked for somewhere between Kryávrysi and Arákhova and not far from the river of Vourvoúra.

In the French map a 'Palaeó-kastro' ('P.Κ.') is marked at a point

<sup>108</sup> Thuc. v. 55. 3; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25-27; Livy xxxiv. 26, xxxv. 27.

<sup>109</sup> This appears (1) from Thuc. v. 55. 3, where the Spartans make their *διαβατήρια* (unsuccessfully) at Karyae; (2) from Livy xxxiv. 26 compared with *ib.* xxxv. 27. In the former passage T. Quinctius pitches his camp at Karyae, and there waits *before entering Lakonian territory*; while in the latter, which describes events which occurred only three years later, Philopoemen is said to have encamped at Karyae *in Lakonian territory*. Whether it had changed hands in the interval, or not (and there is no indication that it had), it was clearly a border town. But (3) that it *did* change hands more than once on other occasions is clear from Paus. viii. 45. 1, which makes it originally Tegean—*id.* iv. 16. 9, which makes it Spartan (in the time of the second Messenian war)—Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25, where Karyae, after the battle of Leuktra, secedes to the enemies of Sparta; and *id.* vii. 1. 28, where it is re-taken by the Spartans and severely punished for its treachery.

<sup>110</sup> Paus. iii. 10. 7.

<sup>111</sup> Leake, who originally supposed (*Travels in the Morea*, ii. 510) that the Argos-Sparta route crossed the Parnon range by a pass *south* of the summit, *viâ* Kastánitsa, afterwards (*Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 298, 339) abandoned that view in favour of the more correct identification of the French topographers. No one who has tried the two routes can be in any doubt about the matter. The pass by Kastánitsa is far higher, steeper, and rockier, than the other. It is a very trying route for a single pedestrian, or for a loaded mule, and would be almost intolerable for an army; while the Arákhova route is, as Greek mountain-routes go, a remarkably simple and straightforward one.

Further, we know from Polybius (ii. 65) that a part of the route of Antigonos from Argos to Sparta, *viâ* Sellasia, was *παρὰ τὸν Οἰνοῦντα ποταμὸν*, and that the battle of Sellasia itself was fought actually in and about the river-bed. Now all this applies perfectly to the Arákhova route, but *not* to that by Kastánitsa; for the river of Tsintsina, and its junction with that from Agrianós, lie at the bottom of ravines so deep and difficult that the track goes far above them—there is no room for a path, much less for a battle, in the river-bed.

Lastly, Karyae, which we know to have been situated near the Tegean and Spartan frontier, would certainly never have been mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 10. 7) in connexion with the Argos-Sparta route at all, if that route had passed as far south as the river of Tsintsina.

I believe the Hermae which marked the common boundary of the Argive, Tegean, and Spartan territories, and which Pausanias (ii. 38. 7) describes as *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ* [*sc. τοῦ Πάρωνος*], to have been at the top of the pass; not (as Joehmus suggests in the *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 43) a little west of Meligóu. The three large heaps of stones which may still be seen close to the path, within about 100 yards of the top of the pass, at a spot called *ῥστοῦς φονευμένους*, doubtless commemorate some murder or massacre; but it may very possibly have been a murder or massacre of quite recent date. Stories which connect them with the battle of 300 Spartans against 300 Argives (Baedeker, p. 263), or with Herakles and Hippokoon (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 42), are merely the guesses of half-educated priests or schoolmasters with a smattering of ancient Greek; not, as Joehmus imagined, traditions 'perpetuated from the earliest ages of Grecian antiquity.'

about two miles due west of Arákhova; and this Palaeó-kastro has been confidently asserted by Ross,<sup>112</sup> followed by Curtius<sup>113</sup> and Bursian,<sup>114</sup> to represent the ancient Karyae. But the two former admittedly never visited the supposed site; and the last-named does not profess to have visited it either. For my own part, repeated observation and inquiry have convinced me that no ancient remains exist, or have recently existed, anywhere near the point in question. The precise spot indicated is for various reasons difficult to find;<sup>115</sup> but, if (as I think) I have succeeded in identifying it correctly, it is now occupied by a group of cottages ('Kalývia'), the disused threshing-floors of which, half buried in the ground, may easily have been mistaken by the French surveyors for traces of antiquity. I have accordingly substituted the abbreviation 'Kal.' (= 'Kalývia') for the abbreviation 'P.K.' (= 'Palaeó-kastro') in my revision of the French map. But further, even were this an ancient site, we could hardly be justified in identifying it with Karyae. It is too far from the frontier, *i.e.* from the river of Vourvoúra. Had this been Karyae, it would have been impossible for Livy to describe an army, while it remained in Tegean territory, as being 'at Karyae.' A site much nearer the river must therefore be sought.

Now the only ancient site which I have been able to discover within the necessary limits is a site which answers well to all requirements. It is known to the villagers of Arákhova as the 'Ανάληψις ('Ascension'). It consists of a small rocky hill on the very edge of the river, about one mile south-eastward from Kryávrysi. It is the last projection westward of Mt. Tsoúka, being separated from it by a lower neck of hill on which stands, near a holly-oak (πουνάρι), a ruined chapel which was doubtless dedicated to the Ascension.

Among other hewn blocks belonging to this chapel is one with the mark of a I-clamp, obviously ancient, and on the southern slope of the hill are distinct ruins of Hellenic walls. These last have, the peasants tell me, been much more abundant, but the stones have been largely used for building wine-presses etc. in the surrounding fields. On the summit of the hill are remains of a large enclosure, which may be roughly estimated as sixty feet square—built of stones, mortar, and a little tile—to which it is impossible to assign even an approximate date; but some fragments of the pottery which covers both top and sides of the hill have the black glaze which is characteristic of Greek ware.

There is thus no doubt whatever that we have here an ancient site, and its position is precisely that in which we have been led on *à priori* grounds to look for Karyae.<sup>116</sup> But whether this identification be correct, or that of

<sup>112</sup> *Reisen im Peloponnes*, p. 175.

<sup>113</sup> ii. 261.

<sup>114</sup> ii. 118.

<sup>115</sup> Partly owing to the new road taking a different line from the old one. The 'P.K.' must not be confused with the 'πίργο' (πίργος), a conspicuous mediaeval ruin much nearer

Arákhova.

<sup>116</sup> This site appears to be unknown to the topographical handbooks from Leake's time downwards: but is, if I mistake not, the same which Lieut.-Gen. Jochnus independently identified with Karyae (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 49 and map). My attention was first called

Ross, which we have just rejected, or (lastly) that of Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 72), who places Karyae at the chapel of the Panagía, just north of the village of Arákhova,—it is clear that the route to Sparta which passed by Karyae did not coincide with the modern road, but diverged from it to the left; and doing so, it cannot have gone *viâ* the Klisoúra defile at all, but must have taken the alternative route by Arákhova.

This view is fully borne out by certain passages of ancient authors. Polybius,<sup>117</sup> describing a march of Philopoemen into Lakonia, starting from Tegea, uses the following words:—

‘ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην . . . νυκτιπορήσας ἐνεργῶς περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἐνεκάθισε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σκοτίταν προσαγορευομένοις τόποις, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ τῆς Τεγέας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.’

This ‘Skotitas,’ which Polybius says was *μεταξὺ τῆς Τεγέας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος*, is described by Pausanias<sup>118</sup> as a large oak wood which one entered, on the road from Argos to Sparta, immediately after passing the Hermae which marked the boundary between the Tegean, Argive, and Spartan territories. Since these Hermae were situated on the ridge of Parnon, at the top of the pass, the ‘Skotitas’ wood must necessarily have occupied the western slopes of Parnon, between the top of the pass and Arákhova; it cannot have been anywhere near the modern Tripolitsá-Sparta road.

Again, in Xenophon’s account of the invasion of Lakonia by a combined force of Arkadians, Thebans, and others in 369 B.C., the allies, who had met at Karyae, are said to ‘descend’ (*κατέβαινον*) to Sellasia;<sup>119</sup> an expression which is far more appropriate if the route was by the river-bed than if, like the modern road, it involved such repeated ascents as to make it hard to say without accurate observation whether these or the descents on the whole predominated.

It may seem surprising that the route by Arákhova was so commonly used in ancient times in preference to the shorter route by the Klisoúra defile. But (1) I do not deny that the direct route was also in common use; I only say that we have abundant evidence for the use of the Arákhova route in connexion with military expeditions; and, so far as I know, we have no direct evidence for the use of the other; (2) the Klisoúra route would be in several ways a very trying one for troops. It is in many places narrow and rocky; it involves continual ascents and descents; and, worst of all, there is no good water (whether from spring, well, or stream) anywhere between Kryávrysi and the khan of Krevatás. The other route, though considerably longer, has the advantage of an almost imperceptible slope (that of the river-bed) all the way from Arákhova to the khan of Krevatás, with water all the way. The only discomfort one suffers on

to Joehmus’ paper by Mr. J. G. Frazer. It is a valuable contribution to the topography of this region.

<sup>117</sup> xvi. 37.

<sup>118</sup> iii. 10. 6.

<sup>119</sup> *Hell.* vi. 5. 27.

this route is the continual crossing and recrossing of the stream, but this could be no very serious trial to the hardened feet of the Spartan hoplite.

At or near Arákhova the route from Tegea to Sparta joined that from Argos; and therefore from this point onward we may take Pausanias' account of the latter<sup>120</sup> as applying equally to the former. He mentions but two places upon the way,—*Sellasia* (in ruins) and *Thornax* (with a statue of the Pythian Apollo): and, in his usual careless way, he gives no indication either of the distance or of the position of either. He does not even mention the river along which the route, at least as far as Sellasia, lay; and we might suspect the correctness of the identification of this route but for Pol. ii. 65, where it is distinctly stated to have lain 'παρὰ τὸν Οἰνοῦντα ποταμόν.'

There can be little doubt that the common identification of Sellasia with the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, which overhangs the khan of Vourliá, is the right one. For the position of this hill is too commanding, and the remains upon it are too extensive, to have been passed over in silence by Pausanias; and the remains cannot be those of Thornax, which we know from Xenophon<sup>121</sup> to have been down in the plain.

The only alternative identification of the remains on Ag. Konstantínos worth mentioning<sup>122</sup> is that of Leake, who supposed them to represent Mt. Barbosthene, on the ground that Sellasia was not (in his opinion<sup>123</sup>) on the direct road from Tegea to Sparta, while Barbosthene was. But this notion of Leake's was based on the fact that Livy, in his account of Philopoemen's expedition against Nabis in 192 B.C.,<sup>124</sup> mentions Karyae and Barbosthene but not Sellasia; and he overlooks the fact that, in describing T. Quinticius' march against Nabis three years earlier,<sup>125</sup> he mentions Karyae and Sellasia but not Barbosthene. We shall see shortly<sup>126</sup> that, in all probability, Philopoemen was not on the direct route to Sparta when he passed Barbosthene. Further, Barbosthene was ten Roman miles from Sparta;<sup>127</sup> and Ag. Konstantínos, which Leake proposes to identify with it, is not nearly so far.

The remains of Sellasia are those of a large fort or small fortified town. A plan of the walls, so far as they can now be traced, is given in Fig. 7 (p. 73). The immense importance of the position will be seen at a glance. The hill commands both the joint route to Tegea and Argos *viâ* Arákhova, and the route to Tegea *viâ* the Klisoúra pass, for these two separate at or near the now ruined khan of Krevatás (c. Pl. I.). The fort of Sellasia in fact plays in connexion with these routes a part very similar to that played by the 'Athenaeum' (Belmina) in connexion with the two routes to Megalopolis and the route to Tegea *viâ* the Asean plain.

<sup>120</sup> iii. 10. 6-11. 1. For proof that this route, like that from Tegea, went *viâ* Arákhova, see note 111.

<sup>121</sup> *Hell.* vi. 5. 27.

<sup>122</sup> The remains are of much too permanent a character to be those of one of the camps in which Kleomenes entrenched himself before the battle of Sellasia, as suggested by Boblaye

(p. 74); nor is it possible to adapt such a theory to Polybius' account of the battle.

<sup>123</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 313, sq.

<sup>124</sup> Livy xxxv. 27 sqq.

<sup>125</sup> *Id.* xxxiv. 26 sqq.

<sup>126</sup> P. 64.

<sup>127</sup> Livy xxxv. 27.

On a small hill, or rather hillock, a little north of Ag. Konstantínos, on the Eastern side of the path, are some slight remains of a fortification wall which appears to be Hellenic. Probably it was an outpost of Sellasia. The hill and remains (marked on Pl. I.) go by the name of 'Palaeogoulá.'

Since the time of the 'Expédition de Morée' the battle of Sellasia<sup>128</sup> has been placed by almost all topographers<sup>129</sup> at the junction of the Klisoúra and Arákhova routes, where the river valley widens out a little,—i.e. near the remains of the once famous 'khan of Krevatás.' Probably it is impossible to improve upon this theory, though the absence of anything more than a small hill stream to correspond to the 'Γοργύλος ποταμός' of Polybius, and the unsuitableness, both in nature and position,<sup>130</sup> of the hills which it is proposed to identify with his 'λόφοι' (Olympus and Eva), are very grave objections. If a junction of two rivers must be insisted on, then there is only one possible site for the battle,—viz. the meeting-point of the rivers of Arákhova and Vréstena,—and the latter must be identified with the Oenus, the former (along which Antigonos' route had so far led) with the Gorgylus. But this site is about twice as far from Sellasia as the other, and the difficulty about the 'λόφοι' remains. Of the two positions probably the one generally received must be preferred, since it lies in full view of Sellasia; but I am convinced that Polybius' description was not based on personal knowledge of the site.<sup>131</sup>

It may be regarded as certain that the ancient track, like the modern, diverged from the river a little beyond the khan of Krevatás, passed

<sup>128</sup> Polyb. ii. 65 sqq.; Plut. *Clom.* 27, 28: *al. Philop.* 6; Paus. viii. 49. 5, 6.

<sup>129</sup> The only exception, so far as I know, is Leake; who, though he modified his original views after the appearance of the French publication, never fell in with the French identification of the site (v. note 131). For what may be considered the orthodox explanation of the battle, based on the French identification, v. Ross, *Reisen im Peloponnes*, pp. 181 sqq., and Map.

<sup>130</sup> The so-called 'Eva' is a high hill, standing far away from the river-bed which is supposed to have been the scene of the battle; and the so-called 'Olympus' is not an individual hill, but part of the skirts of the mountain which overhangs the river from its junction with the river of Vréstena downwards.

<sup>131</sup> Leake at different times proposed two different sites for the battle, both of which had the advantage of being at the junction of genuine rivers, but both of which topographers have rightly discarded. His first theory (*Travels in the Morea*, ii. 526 sqq.), which placed the battle a little above the monastery of Ag. Saránda ('the Forty Saints'), at the junction of the rivers of Tsítsina and Agrianós, was based on a mistaken view as to the route by which Anti-

gonus had marched from Argolis—a mistake which has been sufficiently discussed above (note 111). His second theory (*Peloponnesus*, 341-349) placed it a little below the monastery—where the river of Arákhova joins the combined streams from Agrianós and Tsítsina—and resulted from an attempt to reconcile his former view (that Sellasia itself was near the monastery) with the undoubted fact that the route of Antigonos was not (as he had formerly supposed) *via* Kastánitsa, but *via* Arákhova. But this revision of his theory was made many years after he had visited the spot, and is quite untenable. For (1) the route to Sparta must certainly have passed, like the modern track as well as the carriage road, *west* of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, and not through the difficult and dangerous gorge along which the river flows; (2) even were it otherwise, it would have been madness on the part of Kleomenes to have left Ag. Konstantínos undefended, and to have opposed Antigonos at the exit, instead of the entrance, of the gorge; (3) the proposed site, though not so completely shut in as the one which Leake had formerly selected, is too confined to admit of any battle in which a large number of troops, including cavalry, were employed.

west of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, and close to the khan of Vourliá, and so descended into the plain. For the river-bed, after this point, gradually narrows till it becomes a deep and difficult ravine. The precise spot at which the ancient route descended into the plain, and the position of the Temenos of Apollo at Thornax, must remain doubtful for want of evidence. In the absence of information to the contrary, I have marked the route in my map as coinciding with the mule track, which was in common use until it was superseded quite recently by the easier, but more circuitous, carriage road.

#### E.—TEGEA TO SPARTA; SPECIAL MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

Such I conceive to have been the usual military route from Tegea to Sparta. I have already mentioned a probable variation of it, *viâ* the Klisoúra defile—a route coinciding most of the way with the modern track, and a great part of the way with the carriage road. I have also discussed an entirely different route by the Asean plain, Belmina, and the Eurotas valley. There are, however, one or two special expeditions which still require some words of comment.

I. *The invasion of Lakonia by the Arkadians, Thebans (under Epaminondas), Argives, Eleians, and others in 369 B.C.*

Accounts of this invasion are given by both Xenophon<sup>132</sup> and Diodorus.<sup>133</sup> From both these authors it appears that the allies met at or near Mantinea,<sup>134</sup> whence they separated so as to enter Lakonian territory at different points. So far as the routes taken by the Thebans and Arkadians are concerned, the two historians are at one. The Arkadians, according to Xenophon, enter by Oeum (Οἶον) in the Skiritid territory, while the Thebans enter by Karyae. The Arkadians, after a desperate fight at Oeum, and the massacre of its defender Ischolaus and his followers, join the Thebans at Karyae. From Karyae the combined forces descend (κατέβαινον) together first to Sellasia, which they sack and burn, and thence to the temenos of Apollo in the Lakonian plain. Diodorus does not mention Oeum by name, but he tells us that the Thebans marched [straight]<sup>135</sup> to Sellasia, while the Arkadians made for the same place *ἐν* the Skiritid territory, slaughtering Ischolas (= Ischolaus) and his followers on the way.

<sup>132</sup> *Hell.* vi. 5. 22 *sqq.*

<sup>133</sup> xv. 63 *sqq.*

<sup>134</sup> Xenophon distinctly says Mantinea: while from Diodorus it appears that the meeting took place just after a defeat of the Spartans by the Arkadians at Orchomenus, about five hours' journey north of that town.

<sup>135</sup> τὴν τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σελασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν (Diod. xv. 64). In the Teubner edition of 1867 the word τὴν is bracket-

ed, and in that of 1893 omitted altogether, as being unintelligible—in opposition to all the MSS. Is it possible that it meant 'straight,' the commonest meaning of the word (as well as of the adverb *ῖστα*) in modern Greek? Even, however, if it be omitted, the fact that this route to Sellasia, alone of the four, is left wholly undescribed, seems to imply that it was the ordinary one.

The Temenos of Apollo is doubtless that at Thornax, the only place noticed by Pausanias<sup>136</sup> between Sellasia and Sparta; and the Theban route is the one which I have already described, by Karyae, and the modern Arákhova, and the river-bed. A comparison of the two accounts provides a confirmation of what I have, on other grounds, shown to be the case, viz. that the route by Karyae was the direct, or at any rate the obvious, route from Tegea to Sellasia.

But the Arkadian route requires more comment; for Oeum does not appear to me to have yet been correctly identified.

Topographers are no doubt right in giving the name Skiritis to the triangular block of mountains bounded (approximately) by the modern Tripolitsá-Sparta road on the east, and the Eurotas valley on the west—‘the apex of the triangle (as Leake puts it)<sup>137</sup> being near Sparta, and the base towards the valleys of Asea and Tegea.’ The highest point in this region is the summit of the hill now surmounted by a chapel of Ag. Khristóphoros, about two miles north of the village of Kolínaes; a hill which reaches a height of more than 3,500 feet above the sea, and, with the clump of young oak trees which has been planted by the chapel, forms one of the most conspicuous landmarks in central Peloponnese. This summit was regarded by Leake<sup>138</sup> as the probable site of Oeum (Ium). The fact that he mentions no traces of antiquity there, and that I myself was unable to discover any such traces,<sup>139</sup> would not of itself serve to disprove the correctness of Leake’s view, provided that the site were in other respects an appropriate one. But this is very far from being the case. Kolínaes stands quite aloof from all routes connecting any of the Arkadian plains with Sparta; and for an invading force, wherever it started from, to attack Kolínaes would have been a most gratuitous undertaking. And the notion that the Arkadian force on this occasion went by Kolínaes will appear still more improbable if we remember that it was making not for Sparta directly, nor even for Sellasia directly, but for *Karyae*; a place which, if not actually (as I suppose) at the *Ἀνάληψις*, must have been somewhere between the *Ἀνάληψις* and Arákhova. The merest glance at the map will show that, absurd as it would have been for any force advancing from Arkadia into Lakonia to go by Kolínaes, it would have been still more absurd for a force which had already reached that point to return northwards as far as the *Ἀνάληψις*. And the map does not show how steep and rugged are the ascents and descents which such a return would have involved.

Rejecting Kolínaes on these grounds, and taking all the topographical

<sup>136</sup> iii. 10. 8.

<sup>137</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 28.

<sup>138</sup> *Id.* iii. 30.

<sup>139</sup> In the French map a ‘P. K.’ (Palaeókastro, παλαιό-καστρο) has been marked, not indeed on Ag. Khristóphoros, but on another part of the same range of hills, at a point bearing approximately south-east from Ag.

Khristóphoros and north-east from Kolínaes. If I am right in identifying the hill thus indicated with that now called Ag. Elias, the evidences of antiquity there are (at present at any rate) quite inadequate. Nor is there any other hill in the neighbourhood which the villagers of Kolínaes can point to as bearing any traces of an ancient site.



data into consideration, I some time ago fixed on Kerasiá as a probable site for Oeum; and I was therefore more pleased than surprised when, on inquiry at Arvaníto-Kerasiá,<sup>140</sup> I was informed of some remains on the crown of a hill not three minutes' walk to the north of that village. These remains, slender as they are, are of undoubted antiquity;<sup>141</sup> and I have marked them in my map (Pl. I.) conjecturally as Oeum. This makes the accounts of the expedition we are considering perfectly clear. The invaders, we are told, owing to their great numbers and the difficulty of the passes into Lakonia, determined to invade it from different points. The Thebans took the direct route (along the bed of the Sarandapotamós) and stopped at Karyae; the Arkadians also made for Karyae, but *viâ* Oeum. If this latter occupied the site which I have indicated, the Arkadians must have approached it either by a route coinciding very nearly with the modern carriage road, or (as I think more likely) *viâ* Mánari, a village situated in a little recess or inlet of the Ascan plain. The way from Mánari to Kerasiá is one which presents no difficulty; the Ascan plain, intervening as it does between the two principal plains of Arkadia (the Megalopolitan and the Mantincio-Tegean) was a natural meeting-place for the different Arkadian contingents;<sup>142</sup> and Kerasiá (Oeum) lies almost in the direct line between Mánari and the 'Ανάληψις (Karyae).

For the routes taken by the two remaining portions of the invading army—the Argive and Eleian contingents—we have the evidence of Diodorus alone, since Xenophon accounts for only two contingents, the Theban and the Arkadian. The Argives, according to Diodorus,<sup>143</sup> entered Lakonia by the 'ὄροι τῆς Τεγεάτιδος χώρας,' a phrase which I take, with previous writers, to denote the ordinary route from Argolis to Sparta by the Thyreatid plain. This route, as we have already seen, passed the 'Hermæ' which marked the common boundary of the Argive, Tegean, and Lakonian territories,<sup>144</sup> and struck the river-bed at Arákhova. From Arákhova onward the route of the Argives must have coincided with that of the Thebans and Arkadians advancing from Karyae.

A cursory reading of the text of Xenophon would indeed lead one to suppose that the starting-point of all the contingents was the Mantincian plain, though this is not expressly stated. But the topography of the country does not allow of four different routes into Lakonia all starting from Mantinea; nor is it surprising if most of the allies, though they first met and decided on the expedition at or near Mantinea, found it convenient to return first to their own homes for provisions and reinforcements; especially as this was a plan which fell in well with the policy they had decided upon, namely that of marching by different routes. We have already seen reason to suppose

<sup>140</sup> 'Arvaníto-Kerasiá' and 'Vlakho-Kerasiá' 'Albanian' and 'Wallachian' Kerasia respectively. Both villages now contain a mixed population.

<sup>141</sup> They consist of (1) remains of a wall of hewn masonry, slightly polygonal in character, forming part of a large, partially rock-cut, building; (2) other rock-cuttings; (3) a pro-

fusion of pottery, some of it with black glaze.

<sup>142</sup> On the occasion of the expedition of Agesilaus against Mantinea, only a year before, we hear of the various Arkadian contingents meeting at Asca (Xen. *II/II*, vi. 5. 11).

<sup>143</sup> xv. 61.

<sup>144</sup> Paus. ii. 38. 7.

that the Arkadians approached not from the Mantincian plain but from the Asean—the central plain of Arkadia,—and now we see reason to suppose that the Argives approached not from Mantincia but by the direct route from Argolis. Applying the same principle to the Eleians, we shall agree with Leake<sup>145</sup> that their route, only vaguely indicated by Diodorus as ‘κατ’ ἄλλους τόπους πεπταμένους,’ was probably the ordinary one from Elis by the Megalopolitan plain, Belmina, and the Eurotas valley. This is indeed the only way into Lakonia to which the epithet *πεπταμένος* is at all appropriate. But the supposition that the Eleians adopted it is not without its difficulties. Leake says the route in question ‘would present little difficulty when not defended at Belmina and Pellana.’ Belmina may possibly at this period have been in Arkadian hands;<sup>146</sup> but Pellana was Spartan, and we have the direct evidence of Xenophon<sup>147</sup> that there was a Spartan garrison at Leuktrum, a place which it is difficult to locate far from Leondári, near which passed the route from Megalopolis (and Elis) to Sparta. The march of the Eleians, then, in spite of the comparative openness of the route they adopted, is not likely to have been unopposed.

The Eleians, Diodorus tells us, made their way, like all the other contingents, to Sellasia. If we are right in supposing them to have entered Lakonia by the Megalopolis-Sparta track, they probably diverged from that track a little beyond the Kalývia of Georghítsi, and, ascending the hills well to the right of the village of Konidítsa, passed through or quite close to that of Vourliá. This is the route which I myself found the most convenient to adopt in passing from Skortsinoú (near Belmina) to the khan of Vourliá (near Sellasia).

## II. *The ambush laid by Philopoemen in 200 B.C.* (Polybius, xvi. 37).

This operation will readily be understood from what we already know of the topography. The chosen troops sent forward by Philopoemen take up their quarters near Sellasia, and threaten to ravage Lakonia. The Spartan mercenaries in Pellene (Pellana) attack them, ascending the hills in the manner just described; and are then led by a pretended flight past Sellasia, up the bed of the Oenus and into the ambush laid for them in the forest of Skotitas. This forest (it will be remembered)<sup>148</sup> was situated on the road from the Thyreatid plain to Sparta, and extended at least from the top of the pass to Arákhova. How far southward it extended, cannot be determined; perhaps as far as, or even a good deal farther than, the river of Vréstena. Livy describes the region where the engagement of 192 B.C. was fought (*v. below*) as being thickly wooded; and it is not impossible that these woods may have formed part of the forest of Skotitas.

<sup>145</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 29.

<sup>147</sup> *H. H.*, vi. 5. 24.

<sup>146</sup> The evidence on this point is not quite clear. See Paus. viii. 27. 4 and 35. 4.

<sup>148</sup> Paus. ii. 38. 7.

III. *The expedition of T. Quinctius against Nabis in 195 B.C.* (Livy, xxxiv. 26 *sqq.*).

The route adopted was the ordinary route, *viâ* Karyae and Sellasia. The only difficulty presented by Livy's account lies in the words 'inde (*i.e.* from Sellasia) cum audisset *ascensum* difficilis et artae viae esse' (chap. 28). We have seen that Sellasia itself—or at least its acropolis,—was on the top of a high hill. Unless 'ascensum' is an error for '*descensum*,' we must take the word 'Sellasia' immediately preceding as denoting the *district*, not the actual town; and this interpretation has some slight confirmation in the succeeding words, 'quo in loco Antigonus...cum Cleomene...dimicasse dicebatur,' *i.e.* the river-bed, whence one climbs considerably before one begins to descend to the Eurotas valley.

IV. *The march of Philopoemen against Nabis in 192 B.C.* (Livy, xxxv. 27 *sqq.*).

It is impossible to omit all reference to this expedition; but the topographical data are scanty, and my own acquaintance with the route probably adopted is so imperfect that I must confine myself to a few words of comment on the original authorities and on the views of previous travellers.

The point of departure was Tegea, and the route was, as usual, by Karyae, where the first night was spent. After Karyae, however, Philopoemen appears to have diverged from the ordinary route; for the stopping-place at the end of the second day was not Sellasia (which is not mentioned at all) but Mt. Barbosthenes, a name entirely unknown from other sources. A divergence from the ordinary route seems also to be implied in the fact that Nabis (Livy tells us), when he heard of Philopoemen's movements, had no doubt that he was making for Pyrrhi Castra, a place not elsewhere mentioned upon the Tegea-Sparta road. This place Nabis accordingly occupied, before advancing to meet the invader.

The engagement took place in a narrow and rocky defile,—'*angustiae viae*,' '*loca confragosa*,' '*iter tale per quod vix tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediri posset*.' The way was so narrow that the column of Philopoemen, when he came unexpectedly upon the enemy, stretched to a length of nearly five miles. From the neighbourhood of a torrent, where the battle began, his auxiliaries succeeded in drawing their antagonists, by a feigned flight, into a valley in which an ambush had been laid; and a pursuit, attended by great slaughter, followed. Next day Nabis broke up his camp and returned to Sparta, and Philopoemen, who, with his heavier troops, had got to the Eurotas valley by a '*via patentior*,' took possession of two roads leading from Sparta to Barbosthenes and Pharae respectively, and slaughtered a very large proportion of the scattered troops of Nabis on their way back to the city.

Neither Barboesthes, nor Pharae, nor Pyrrhi Castra, are known to us except from this passage.<sup>149</sup> The last-named was certainly not right down in the Eurotas valley; for, had it been, the divergence of Philopoemen from the ordinary Tegea-Sparta route in order to reach it would be unaccountable. Further, Philopoemen, when he descends to the Eurotas 'via patentiore,' apparently avoids Pyrrhi Castra altogether. Lieut.-Gen. Jochmus,<sup>150</sup> who discusses this expedition in some detail, places it at a place called 'Viglia-('astri' or 'Petri-Kést,' upon the hills east of the Eurotas, where there are (he says) remains of two forts. The spot indicated is some two miles south of the monastery of Ag. Saránda and rather farther west of the village of Khrýsapha. Unfortunately I have had no opportunity of seeing the remains he speaks of or of verifying the names; but the proposed location of Pyrrhi Castra appears to me to meet the necessities of the case, and accords well with an identification made first (I believe) by Boblaye, and accepted by Curtius, Jochmus himself, and others, viz. the identification of Barboesthes with the Mountain of Vréstena, which extends from the village of Vréstena on the north to that of Basará on the south. This mountain is about the right distance (ten Roman miles)<sup>151</sup> from Sparta, and lies just off the ordinary route from Tegea. To ascend it Philopoemen would probably leave the Tegea-Sparta route (here coinciding with the river-bed) at or a little beyond Arákhova, and would cross the hill which separates the river of that name from the river of Vréstena. This divergence, otherwise inexplicable, is fairly well accounted for if Pyrrhi Castra was where Jochmus places it, viz. somewhere on the plateau south of Ag. Saránda. Lastly, I know of no region in this neighbourhood which justifies so completely the expression of Livy—'angustiae viae,'—'loca confragosa' etc.—at any rate for so long a distance together—as the neighbourhood of the river of Agrianós, which separates by a deep ravine the country about Basará from the plateau on which are the monastery of Ag. Saránda and the conjectured site of Pyrrhi Castra.

It would (I think) be rash to attempt to fix more precisely the spot where the battle took place. But it is curious to note that a part of this very region, *i.e.* the part about the junction of the rivers from Tsíntsina and Agrianós,<sup>152</sup> is the spot originally selected by Leake as the site of the battle of Sellasia. This region which, both from its position in relation to ancient routes and from the nature of the ground, is wholly at variance with what we know of the site of Sellasia

<sup>149</sup> 'Pyrrhi Castra' has sometimes been identified with the 'Πύρρον χάραξ' of Polyb. v. 19. But this must be a mistake: for to reach the latter Philip κατέβη from Amyklæ in the direction of the sea. The name appears to have been a common one. A 'Castra Pyrrhi' in Illyria is mentioned by Livy (xxxii. 13).

<sup>150</sup> *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1857, p. 52.

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<sup>151</sup> Livy xxxv. 27.

<sup>152</sup> In Leake's sketch *Mora* ii. 530 these rivers are marked as flowing from Véria and Tzitzina (= Tsíntsina) respectively; but a comparison of this sketch with the French map or with Pl. I. will show that they are more correctly described as the rivers of Tsíntsina (and incidentally Véria) and Agrianos.

accords well in both respects with what Livy tells us of the engagement between Philopoemen and Nabis.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Pharae (Livy xxxv. 30) has been placed by Leake and others, owing partly to the resemblance of names, at Véria, a very small village lying about half-an-hour's walk north-east of Basará (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 345; cf. p. 53 of Jochnus' paper in the *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* for 1857). The identification is little better than conjecture; but there are undoubtedly traces of wheel-ruts in the rocks between Basará and Véria; and this tends to show that at or near Véria there was an ancient town; for the road, of which they are evidence, must have been a *local* one, the route this way, *via* Kastáritsa, to the Thyreatid plain being altogether impassable to anything on wheels. If Pharae = Véria, then the narrow track described by Livy, on which the battle took place, was probably on the road from Pharae to Sparta, not on that from Barbosthenes to Sparta. Philopoemen, it will be remembered, was on his way from Barbosthenes to Pyrrhi Castia, not to Sparta directly. The direct Sparta-Barbosthenes road (Livy xxxv. 30) may have followed the lower course of the river of Arákhova, between Mount Vréstena and the series of hills on which stand the remains of Sellasia and the villages of Voutiáni, Theológos, etc. But since the river here flows in a ravine so deep that the path, to get along at all, is obliged to skirt the hills at a considerable height above its left bank, I do not suppose, with Jochnus, that this was the 'via patentior' by which Philopoemen de-

scended to the Eurotas. It seems to me more likely that he retraced his steps for a considerable distance, then descended to the valley of the river of Arákhova, and struck the ordinary Tegea-Sparta route at some point below the khan of Krevatás.

Leake (*Pelop.* p. 344 *sqq.* and map) identified Mount Barbosthenes with the hill of Ag. Konstantínos above the khan of Vourliá — the hill surmounted by the remains which are now-a-days generally supposed to be those of Sellasia. Sufficient reasons for the identification with Sellasia have been given already. But even leaving Sellasia out of account there are several considerations which forbid us to identify the hill with Mt. Barbosthenes. (1) It is on the direct route from Tegea to Sparta, and Barbosthenes was not. (2) It is not by any means ten Roman miles from Sparta. (3) 'The defile in which stands the khan of Vourliá, and through which the modern road [*i.e.* the track which crosses the Eurotas by the 'bridge of Kopanos'] from Tripolitsá to Mistrá descends to the Eurotas,'—in which Leake's views make it necessary to place the battle,—is not by any means such a defile as Livy describes. It is steep indeed in parts, but nowhere difficult, and its total length is very much less than the five miles which Livy gives as the length of Philopoemen's column alone. (4) There is no 'via patentior' to the Eurotas.

## APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

## THE ALPHEIUS AND EUROTAS.

The ancient theory of the origin of the Alpheius, and of its repeated disappearances underground, is briefly given in Paus. viii. 54. 1—3, a passage of which the parts which concern us here have been already quoted (p. 52). This passage is supplemented by Paus. viii. 44. 3, 4 (*v. p. 33*), and by Strabo, pp. 275 and 343.<sup>154</sup> From all these passages alike it appears that the Eurotas as well as the Alpheius was supposed to rise near Asea; that their streams were believed to unite in the Asean plain, descend into a katavothra together, and re-appear in separate places as two distinct rivers. From two of the passages (Paus. *loc. cit.*) we learn in addition that the place where the Alpheius reappeared was called 'Pegae' and was in the Megalopolitan territory; from one (Strabo, p. 343) that the spring in which the Eurotas re-appeared was at the beginning (*κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν*) of the Bleminatid (= Belminatid) territory; and from one (Paus. viii. 54. 1—3) that the spring of the Alpheius near Asea was itself supposed to have its origin in the water of the Sarandapotamós,<sup>155</sup> which disappeared down a katavothra in the Tegean plain.

Eliminating what may be called the mythical element in this story, viz. the notion that two springs, whose waters mixed and flowed for a long way together before separating to form two rivers, could nevertheless be assigned each to its appropriate river,<sup>156</sup> it is clear that there remain three questions requiring investigation; viz. (1) Is it true that either of the springs near Asea derives (or derived) its water from the Sarandapotamós? (2) Is it true that the Alpheius—and (3) is it true that the Eurotas—rises at the springs in the Asean plain? Let us take these questions in order.

<sup>154</sup> Strabo, p. 275.—'τὸ δὲ περὶ Στύμφαλον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις ὑπὸ γῆν ἐνεχθὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀργεΐᾳ τὸν Ἑρασίνον ἐκδίδωσι ποταμὸν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν Ἀσέαν ὑποβρύχιον ὥσθ' ἐν ποτὶ τὸν Ἑυρώταν καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἀναδίδωσιν, ὥστε καὶ πεπιστευθῆαι μυθώδές τι, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφημισθέντων στεφάνων ἐκατέρῳ καὶ ῥιφέντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ρεῦμα ἀναφαίνεται κατὰ τὸν ἐπιφημισμὸν ἑκάτερος ἐν τῷ οἰκίῳ ποταμῷ.'

*Id.* p. 343.—'ρεῖ δ' [ὁ Ἀλφειὸς] ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ Ἑυρώτας καλεῖται δὲ Ἀσέα, κώμη τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος, πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἔχουσα δύο πηγάς, ἐξ ὧν ρέουσιν οἱ λεχθέντες

ποταμοί. δύντες δ' ὑπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ συχνοῦς σταδίοις ἀνατέλλουσι πάλιν, εἰθ' ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν Πισάτιν κατάγεται. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑυρώτας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Βλεμινάτιδος ἀναδείξας τὸ ρεῖθρον κ.τ.λ. . . ὁ δ' Ἀλφειὸς παραλαβὼν τὸν τε Λάδωνα κ.τ.λ.'

<sup>155</sup> That the 'Alpheius' of Paus. viii. 54. 1 is the modern Sarandapotamós is generally admitted. See pp. 53-4.

<sup>156</sup> This mythical element appears in both Pausanias and Strabo, but is most prominent in Strabo, p. 275, where the superstition about the chaplets is narrated.

(1) *The Sarandapotamós*.—This river, after entering the Tegean plain, joins the river of Dholianá (the ancient Garates), and with it flows north, then east, finally losing itself in the katavothra of Vérzova, in the side of Mt. Rhoínó (Parthenium). It is clear that the theory mentioned by Pausanias cannot possibly have arisen in connexion with such a river as this: it only becomes intelligible if we imagine a river losing itself in the katavothra of the Táka,<sup>157</sup> in the side of Mt. Krávari (Boreium), the mountain which separates the Tegean plain from the Asean. Accordingly it has been very generally assumed that the Sarandapotamós has changed its course since ancient times, and that in Pausanias' day it actually did flow to the katavothra of the Táka. Now had this been the case, it must have passed either (a) south of Tegea, or (b) through Tegea, or (c) north of Tegea. (a)—a course first (I believe) proposed by Leake,<sup>158</sup> and now generally accepted—is excluded by the intervention of very distinctly rising ground, on the left of the path, all the way from the gorge of the Sarandapotamós to Piali (Tegea). (b) is out of the question; for had the town been cut in two by a river, as Megalopolis was by the Helisson and Mantinea by the Ophis, we certainly should have been made acquainted with the fact, either directly by Pausanias or some other topographer, or incidentally by the historians. (c), which has been suggested by Bérard,<sup>159</sup> is to my mind equally incredible; first because, had the river thus lapped round the town, it is strange that the fact is never mentioned, and secondly because, though to the naked eye the course thus indicated may appear to be a level one, in reality there is a slight but steady rise from the part of the plain below Mertsaoúsi westward,—a rise which is demonstrated by the fact that a small stream (correctly marked in Bérard's own map) runs for a long way in the opposite direction. Were Bérard's theory correct, this stream must originally have been a tributary of the Sarandapotamós and flowed with it to the Táka, *westward*. Then the very barrier, natural or artificial, which (on Bérard's hypothesis) diverted the Sarandapotamós into an *easterly* course, would have prevented the *tributary* from flowing in an easterly direction, since the tributary was on its *western* side.

On the whole, then, I am disposed to believe that the whole story is a blunder on Pausanias' part; the result, probably, either of a mistake in the name of the river, or of a confusion between it and some one of the small streams which drain the hills about Kaparéli and, flowing into the Táka, eventually of course find their way to the katavothra in Mt. Krávari. This conclusion is confirmed by Strabo's evident ignorance of the story; for he twice relates the performances of the Alpheiús in the Asean plain, and once expressly as an illustration of the disappearances of rivers underground, yet he never so much as alludes to the previous disappearance of the Alpheiús in the plain of Tegea.

But, even granting for the sake of argument that the Sarandapotamós

<sup>157</sup> Shown both in Pl. I. and in Pl. II.

<sup>158</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 114. and map.

<sup>159</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. xvi. (1892), p. 534 and Pl. XIII.

*did* flow to the katavothra of the Táka, the question remains whether it could have re-appeared at Asea. The possibility has long seemed very doubtful, since the difference of level between the Táka plain and that of Frangóvryso (Asea) is very slight. But the theory has now been finally disproved by M. E. A. Martel, who has succeeded in descending the katavothra in question to a depth of no less than 42 metres below the level of Frangóvryso.<sup>160</sup>

(2) *The Alpheius*.—My special map of the Asean plain (Pl. II.), intended primarily to illustrate some ancient routes and sites, shows also the main features of the water-system of that plain.

It will be observed that there are three principal groups of springs in the neighbourhood of Frangóvryso,—one quite close to the khans, another a little south of this group, just across the (unfinished) railway line, and a third at the east end of the plain, not far from the khan of Talagáni. Probably the first two of these correspond to what Pausanias calls the springs of the Eurotas and Alpheius respectively, since he mentions them both at the same distance (five stades) from Asea, only the former quite close to the wayside, the latter a little way off the road. However this may be, it will be seen from the map that the water from *all* these springs eventually merges, and flows in a body toward the gorge by Marmariá,—the gorge through which the new railway-line makes its way to the lower-lying Megalopolitan plain,—receiving also important contributions (*a*) from a series of surface streams which descend from the directions of Dórizá, Kandréva, Alíka, etc., and (*b*) from the lake, or swamp, which generally covers the centre of the plain in front of the village of Pápari. Thus all the water from the springs of Frangóvryso makes its way toward the gorge; but only a small proportion of the water which flows toward the gorge has its origin at Frangóvryso.

Just before the entrance to the gorge there is a series of katavothras (*v. map*); but they are katavothras of the most degraded type. Instead of great rock chasms, like that of the Táka, or those near Vérzova and Tsipianá, we see<sup>161</sup> nothing here but some holes in the soft ground; sometimes open and receiving a tolerable stream of water—at other times partially (perhaps sometimes even completely) choked.<sup>162</sup> The combined stream which drains the Asean plain, when it reaches the katavothras, accordingly does one of two things. Either it finds them open, and engulfs itself in them; or, finding them closed, it pursues its course overground, and, reinforced just beyond the katavothras by two more surface-water streams

<sup>160</sup> *Revue de Géographie*, 1892, pp. 342 sq.

<sup>161</sup> There must of course be holes in the rock beneath, which we do *not* see.

<sup>162</sup> Of the two principal holes I find the following details in my notebook:—

(1) 7 Nov. 1891; '*a*' almost completely choked, '*b*' open, the stream flowing down it in a sort of waterfall to a depth of (say) 15 ft., and filtering through rubbish at the bottom.

(2) 28 Nov. 1891; '*a*' open; no water get-

ting so far as '*b*,' but some filtering through the ground between the two.

(3) 14 June, 1892; water running down both '*a*' and '*b*,' principally the latter.

(4) 10 Nov. 1892; water just trickling down '*a*,' none reaching '*b*.'

Any water which does not find its way down the katavothras runs beyond them to the gorge, as stated in the text.



on its right bank, it makes its way right through the gorge to the Megalopolitan plain, which it reaches (*v. Pl. I.*) a little way to the east of Rhapsomáti.

Now at the far end of the gorge, where it debouches in the lower plain, is a 'kephalóvrysis' (κεφαλόβρυσις),—*i.e.* a head-spring, or group of springs,—by the river-side. These springs are undoubtedly the 'Pegae' (Πηγαί) of Pausanias viii. 44. 4, and 54. 3, where the water from the spring of the Alpheius, after descending into the katavothra, was believed to reappear. The question whether this belief was correct has not hitherto been definitely settled; but I have little doubt that the truth of the matter is as follows. The kephalóvrysis is a group of springs, some on the right bank, others on the left bank, of the ravine. Those on the right bank are perfectly clean, cool, and (I am assured) perennial;<sup>163</sup> those on the left bank are comparatively turbid, and are *not* perennial. I once visited the kephalóvrysis the day after a thunderstorm, when all ordinary streams were thick with mud; and the clean springs were as clean as ever. Obviously, therefore, they can have nothing to do with the water which flows into the katavothras by Marmariá. But the turbid and intermittent springs have every appearance of coming thence: and if it be true (as one local informant told me) that the time when they cease to run coincides with the time when the stream in the plain of Asea is dry,<sup>164</sup> there can be no doubt whatever that they do so. The upshot of the whole matter is therefore this:—The water of the springs near Asea, combined with a large quantity of surface-water from other parts of the plain, *does* make its way, overground or underground, to the place called by Pausanias 'Pegae,' and feeds the Alpheius. But the *principal* (perennial) springs at 'Pegae' have nothing whatever to do with those near Asea.

(3) *The Eurotas*.—The story related by Pausanias and Strabo is to the effect that the Alpheius and Eurotas disappear *together*; then reappear, the one at 'Pegae,' the other in the Belminatid territory; in other words, they separate in the body of Mt. Tsimbaróú. The story is an unlikely one; for the water of the katavothras of Marmariá is amply accounted for by the springs at 'Pegae,' the Belminatid is a long way off, and the 'kephalóvrysis' there,—if the one intended be, as I suppose, the 'kephalóvrysis Logarís,' at the foot of Mt. Khelmós,<sup>165</sup>—is too clear, too cool, and too constant to owe its origin to so variable a supply. One corner of the plain of Asea (the corner by Lianoú) is, as a matter of fact, drained directly, and without katavothras, by the

<sup>163</sup> I once found one of them dry; but one, at least (they tell me) runs throughout the summer.

<sup>164</sup> I have seen a considerable volume of water at the turbid springs when only a small quantity was trickling down the more obvious katavothras by Marmaná (10 Nov. 1892); but there was plenty of water in the *stream* in the Frangóvryso valley, and it gradually disap-

peared, before reaching the visible katavothras, by silent soakage. In fact, the stream bed, like some (probably many) others in Greece, appears not to be water-tight; it is, in fact, riddled with minute katavothras.

<sup>165</sup> See Pl. I. This is by far the most important spring in the Belminatid region, and one of the principal sources of the Eurotas.

Eurotas (*v.* Pl. I.); but this drainage has nothing to do either with the springs near Fraugóvryso, or with the katavothras down which their water disappears.

## APPENDIX B.

### THE FORTRESSES OF 'ATHENAEUM' AND 'SELLASIA.'

The importance of these two positions has been sufficiently pointed out in the text. The fortresses are analogous in several ways; not only in the parts which they play in relation to Spartan routes, but also both in plan and structure. (See Figs. 6 and 7; and for the Athenaeum, see also Figs. 3 and 4, pp. 39 and 40).

In each case the outer walls surround a hill-top, keeping so far as possible along the verge of the steepest slope, and as nearly level as the nature of the ground permitted; but this arrangement is rudely disturbed, in the case of the Athenaeum, on its eastern side, where the ground falls away very suddenly, and the wall necessarily descends with it quite 200 feet, in order to rejoin the crest of the hill (here much lower) near its north-east angle. On the western side the downward slope is much more gradual.

Each of the two forts consists of an upper and a lower enclosure, the upper forming the stronghold proper. In the case of the Athenaeum the upper enclosure may have been divided into two sections by a cross-wall (as it certainly was in mediaeval times), on the principle which I have attempted to explain on p. 32 in connexion with the acropolis of Asea; but this cannot be positively asserted.

In both alike we see the remains of massive walls, with towers, semi-circular or square, at intervals; and in both, though there must of course have been entrances of some kind, it has been impossible to find any certain traces of them,<sup>166</sup> in spite of the fact that in the case of some of the walls,—*e.g.* the one which separates the upper and lower enclosures of the Athenaeum,—the foundations and lower courses are practically intact. Is it possible that some of the entrances, including those in the wall just mentioned, were at a higher level, and approached by temporary steps?

The structure of the walls of the two fortresses is also similar. The walls of both are built entirely of unhewn stones, merely piled together; the two faces of each wall being more carefully put together, and built of larger stones, than the interior. Fortification walls built in this style

<sup>166</sup> In the outer wall of the Athenaeum, the place where the path to Skortsinoú begins is known by the name 'Πόπραις' ('the gates'), *v.* Fig. 6. The name may indicate an ancient tradition; but it is quite as likely that the theory of a gateway has arisen from this being the point at which the fortress is entered at the present day.

In the lower wall of Sellasia it may be conjectured that there was an ancient entrance in the west wall, a hundred yards or more from its southernmost point. The nature of the ground makes this a very convenient place to enter the ancient circuit, and for a few paces there are here no traces of the wall.

Plan of the  
FORTRESS OF KHELMÓS  
(ATHENAEUM)

Scale in yards

0 50 100 150

Rough contours at vertical intervals  
of 10 feet.

Walls of large unhewn stones without  
mortar shown thus

Walls of smaller unhewn stones without  
mortar shown thus

Walls of small unhewn stones  
with mortar, and occasionally  
a few tiles, shown thus

Where no certain traces of a wall exist,  
its probable position is indicated by  
a broken line

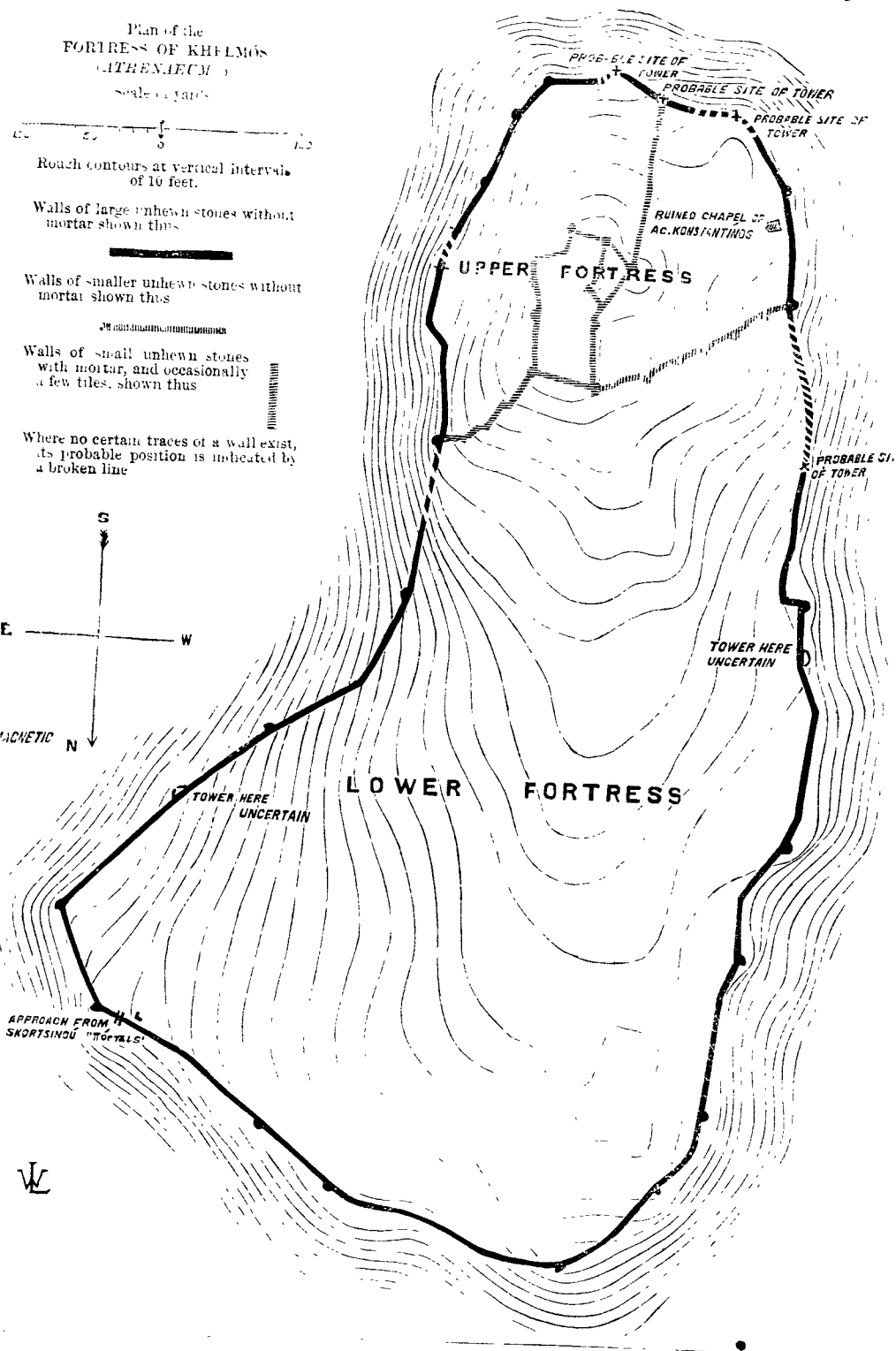
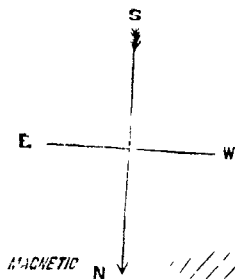


FIG. 6

naturally rank between such walls as those of Messene and Mantinea,—double walls of large *hewn* stone with earthen filling,—and such walls as those of Megalopolis, which are of *unhewn* stone with earthen filling.<sup>167</sup>

The walls of Sellasia are uniform in style throughout; but in those of the

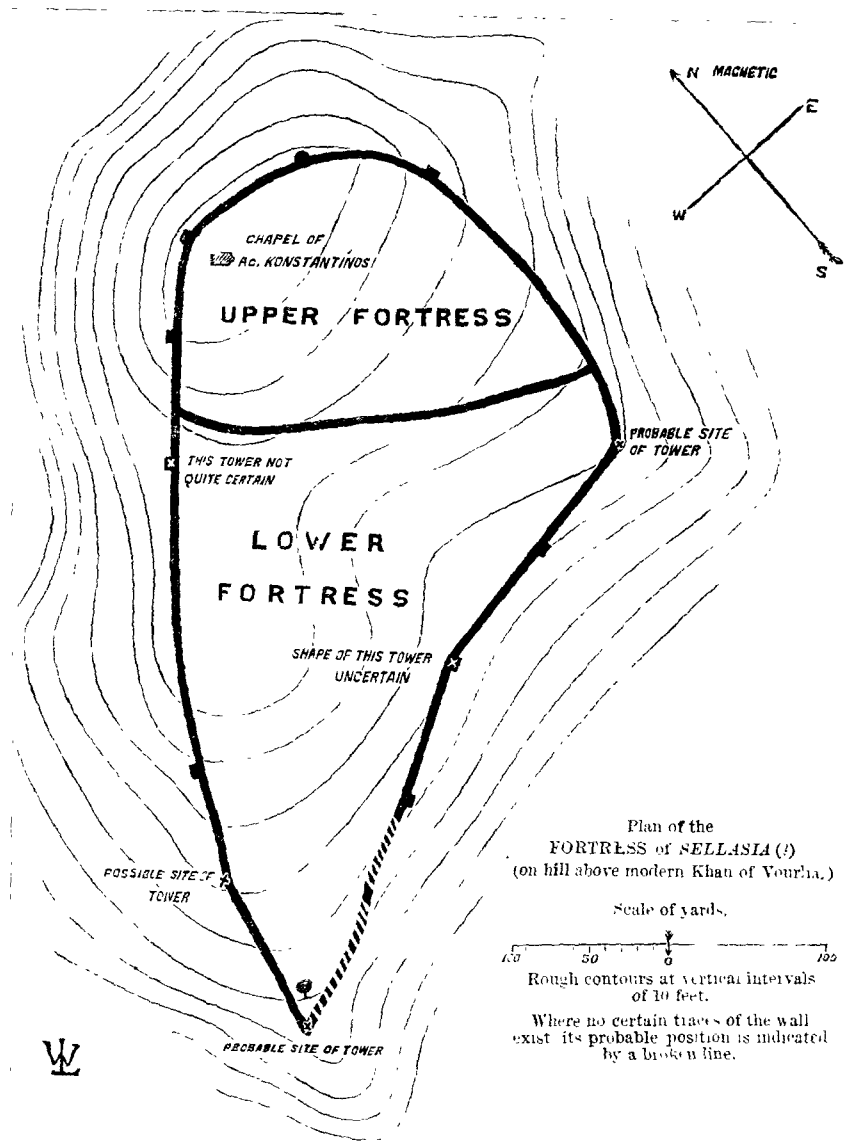


FIG. 7.

Athenaeum three styles are clearly distinguishable, viz. (1) that of the outer wall (Fig. 3), (2) that of the western portion of the cross-wall which separates

<sup>167</sup> For an account of the walls of Megalopolis, and a comparison of them with other

fortification walls, v. *Excavations at Megalopolis* 1890—1891, pp. 108 *sqq.*

the upper enclosure from the lower (Fig. 4), (3) that of the remaining walls of the upper enclosure. The different kinds of wall are distinguished in the plan (Fig. 6). The difference between (1) and (2) lies in the size of the stones, those of the outer wall being very much larger than those of the inner. It will be seen, however, from the photographs (Figs. 3 and 4) that the lower courses of the inner wall are built of stones intermediate in size between those of the upper courses and those of the outer wall.<sup>168</sup> These differences of size need not *necessarily* imply a distinction of date; but it is probable that they do so; especially as, in those places where the lower courses are built of larger stones than the upper, the change of style does not occur at any fixed height above the ground, but is variable, thus distinctly suggesting dilapidation and subsequent restoration. (3) appears at the first glance very similar to (2); but on a closer inspection it is seen that, in addition to the unhewn stones, mortar has been extensively, and tiles sparingly, employed.

The walls of style (3) are clearly mediaeval; but unfortunately the date of the remainder cannot be so positively determined. The outer wall (1) has hitherto been regarded as ancient by all authorities; and I have myself supposed it to be a roughly constructed wall of classical times; but Dr. Dörpfeld, judging from my photographs, expresses the opinion that, *if they are ancient at all*, the great size and loose structure of the unhewn stones proves them to be 'Mycenaean' rather than Hellenic. That they are one or the other, and not mediaeval, appears to me fairly certain; first because it would be difficult to account for the total disappearance of the ancient fort, which, as I have tried to show in the text, must certainly have been upon this hill; secondly because, were walls (1) and (2) mediaeval, it would be very strange that not a trace of brick or tile has been found in any part of them; and thirdly because style (2), which cannot be earlier, and is probably later, than style (1), corresponds precisely with what we find at Sellasia, where the existence of a mediaeval fortress has never (so far as I am aware) been suggested, and no signs of mediaeval occupation have been found.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>168</sup> It should be stated that at one point in the outer wall, where it forms part of the upper enclosure,—at a point where it is preserved to a considerable height,—several courses of smaller stones appear above the larger. There is nothing to show whether this was the original arrangement or a restoration.

<sup>169</sup> In the Athenaeum the thickness of the walls, both of the upper and lower enclosures, varies (approximately) from 6 ft. to 7 ft.: with the exception of a small part of the walls of style (3), where it is only about 5 ft.

At Sellasia the original thickness of the walls is, in their present condition, very difficult to determine. There is no doubt that that of the outer wall varied considerably in different places;—in some it was only about 9 ft., while in one place I measured 12 ft.; the average

thickness was perhaps about 10 ft. The average thickness of the wall which separated the inner enclosure from the outer was about 8 ft.

The plans given in Figs. 6 and 7 are necessarily incomplete; for, as I have already noted, I failed to find any certain traces of the entrances to either fort; and, in the case of the Athenaeum, it is quite possible, perhaps even probable, that some of the towers have wholly disappeared. In one or two places I have had to indicate the supposed position of the walls by dotted lines.

The contour-lines show with tolerable accuracy the relation of the walls to the natural contours of the ground, the level of each of the towers having been ascertained, previous to their insertion, by trigonometrical observation. Elsewhere the contours are only roughly sketched.

## APPENDIX C.

## OUTLYING ROUTES.

Plate I. covers a good deal of ground not immediately connected with any of the routes which I have hitherto discussed. I have however travelled over a great part of this ground, and have in consequence made some minor changes in, and additions to, the French map. A few short notes on questions connected with this outlying country seem therefore to be called for here. To be intelligible, they must be read as a commentary on the corresponding passages of Pausanias.

(1) *Megalopolis to Methydrium* (Paus. viii. 35. 5 *sqq.*).—Methydrium has been, by common consent, identified with an ancient site a few minutes' walk north of the small village of Nemnítsa. This being the case, Karátoula<sup>170</sup> does not seem to me a satisfactory site for Trikoloni; for it is not on the direct route to Nemnítsa. One cannot pass near Karátoula on the way to Nemnítsa, unless one goes by way of the Langádhia<sup>171</sup> river and the plain of Daviá (plain of Maenalus),—and this clearly was not Pausanias' route. I suggest instead that Trikoloni was at a spot just north of Zonáti, where there are remains of rough but massive masonry which appears to be of ancient date.<sup>172</sup> From Zonáti one may continue one's journey northward till one reaches the foot of the hills, and then ascend these steeply a little to the left of the villages of Palamári and Psári. The path continues to climb till it reaches a height of some 1500 feet above the plain; then descends more gradually to the bed of a stream (dry when I was there) which drains the narrow valley behind Mount Rhapóuni.<sup>173</sup> Keeping along this valley one eventually strikes a track from Tripolitsá to Dhimitsána and Langádhia near Arkoudhórhevma. The Helisson never comes in sight at all; but Libovísi, near Arkoudhórhevma,—(both of these places lie somewhat to right of our path and are not seen from it)—might perhaps be described as ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλισσόντος ('in the direction of the Helisson'); and, if so, Leake<sup>174</sup> may conceivably be right in placing Anemosa near it; but little

<sup>170</sup> Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 238.

<sup>171</sup> My authority for the modern name of this river is the French map. I do not think I have actually heard it used.

In the French map this river is marked as the Brentheates (Paus. v. 7. 1; viii. 28. 7); but this is inconsistent with the generally received and almost inevitable theory which places Brenthe near Karytaena. Besides, Pausanias (viii. 28. 7) distinctly says that the Brentheates, after a course of only five stades (rather more than half a mile), ran into the Alpheius. It is doubtless, therefore, the short but copious

stream which rises just below Karytaena and turns the mill close by the Frankish bridge (cf. Boblaye, pp. 164, *sq.*).

<sup>172</sup> These remains are marked in the French map, but (unless there are other remains which I have failed to see) they are marked on the wrong side of the stream. I have accordingly corrected this slight error.

<sup>173</sup> In the French map a track is marked along this valley leading from Stemnítsa to Tripolitsá.

<sup>174</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 238, *sq.* The form Zibovísi, which Leake uses, is erroneous.

weight can be attached to such conjectures. Keeping due north, and soon leaving the Dhimitsína and Langádhia path, one reaches, by narrow fir-clad tracks, and one small level plain (possibly the 'plain of Polus'), the village of Nemuítsa, a little beyond which is the site of the ancient Methydrium.

(2) *Megalopolis to Maenalus* (Paus. viii. 36. 5 *sqq.*).—I adhere to the received identification of the plain of Maenalus with the valley which lies west of Mount Apáno-krépa, and in which are the villages of Zarákhova and Daviá,—in spite of the difficulty of reconciling this view with the distances given by Pausanias in connexion with the route. To identify it with the little valley of Valtétsi,—which seems to me the only plausible alternative,—would not help matters much; its distance from Peraetheis (or Paliskius) would still be greater than that given by Pausanias, and the passage ἦν δὲ τὸν χειμάρρουν διαβῆς, κ.τ.λ. would be unintelligible. Further, Valtétsi lies too far from the principal range of Maenalus. In and about the plain which I call for convenience that of Daviá, and which is agreed to represent the *Μαινάλιον πεδίον* of Pausanias, the French map (followed by Leake in his map at the end of *Peloponnesiaca*) rightly marks remains of various kinds. Some of these are of comparatively recent date; but those in one place at least, viz. on the hill of Ag. Elias, south-west of Sylímna,—are claimed as Hellenic. The claim may possibly be well founded; and, if so, the site may represent Soumetia, as Leake and (apparently) Boblaye suppose;<sup>175</sup> but I am bound to say that, if there ever were Hellenic remains on this hill, they have disappeared. By far the best remains of antiquity in this region are those of the 'Palaeó-kastro of Daviá,' on a small hill near the village of the same name, but on the opposite (right) bank of the Helisson.<sup>176</sup> Though the greater part of the walls are of late date, they rest in part on Hellenic masonry of the hewn polygonal type. The 'Palaeó-kastro' is, by some accident, omitted in the French map; but it is well known to writers on Greek topography, and identified by some of them with the town of Maenalus,<sup>177</sup> by others with Dipaea.<sup>178</sup> I myself am decidedly in favour of the identification with Dipaea; for Pausanias seems to imply that Maenalus was actually in some part of the mountain from which it took its name, while Dipaea, since it was the scene of a pitched battle on a large scale,<sup>179</sup> was probably in,

<sup>175</sup> Leake, *Pelop.*, map; Boblaye, p. 172. On the other hand, Ross (*Reisen im Pelop.* p. 120.), followed by Curtius (i. 315) and Bursian (ii. 229), places Soumetia at Palaea-Sylímna, which is a totally different place, lying considerably west and somewhat north (instead of south-west) of Sylímna. It is a very steep hill, overlooking the plain of Daviá, and containing on its summit remains of fortification, church, and other walls, but nothing necessarily dating from ancient times. Quite close to the village of Sylímna is yet a third hill, of much smaller

dimensions, surmounted by remains of fortification-walls. This is the 'Palaeó-kastro of Sylímna,' and contains nothing Hellenic.

<sup>176</sup> The upper part of the Helisson goes by the name of the 'River of Davia.'

<sup>177</sup> Ross, p. 118, *sq.*; Curtius i. 315.

<sup>178</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, ii. 52. Bursian (ii. 228) does not attempt to decide between the claims of Maenalus and Dipaea. For the form 'Dipaea' c. Paus. viii. 27. 3.

<sup>179</sup> Herod. ix. 35; Paus. iii. 11. 7; viii. 8. 6; xiii. 45. 2.

or at the borders of, a plain. Further, the territory of Dipaea was traversed by the upper waters of the Helisson;<sup>150</sup> and the plain of Daviá is the only one which that river traverses before making its way through the mountains to that of Megalopolis.

The route by which the plain of Maenalus was reached from Megalopolis has next to be considered. That there is at least one error in the distances given in our text of Pausanias has been admitted; but it was a strange perversity which led Leake<sup>151</sup> to multiply the error, all for the sake of making τὸ ἔλος the name of a place (Helos), translating πύλαι 'ravines' or 'passes' instead of the obvious meaning, 'gates,' and placing the temple of Demeter 'ἐν ἔλει' on the top of a 'peaked height.'

The ἔλος was doubtless part of the plain immediately outside the town gates, between it and the hills;<sup>152</sup> and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Pausanias' statement that the temple of Demeter ἐν ἔλει was only five stades from the gates. If the Elaphus is the tributary which joins the Helisson from the direction of Arakamýtes and Valtétsi, as Leake (no doubt rightly) supposes, then Pausanias' distances work very well as far as Arakamýtes (Peraetheis), and the number of errors is reduced to one. Arakamýtes lies just behind the big hill called Ag. Elias of Kandréva, to which I have previously referred in connexion with the plan of Asea (Frangóvryso); and, if it represents Peraetheis, it is not impossible that the temple on Ag. Elias (*v.* p. 33 and Pl. II.) may be that of Pan; but it would be a mistake to lay much stress on the suggestion.

Pausanias has generally been supposed to imply that the route to Paliskius followed the gorge of the Helisson all the way; but he does not actually say this, and to any one who has ascended this difficult gorge it must appear extremely doubtful. It is more likely that travellers to Paliskius etc. crossed the Tsimbaroú range, as travellers to Arakamýtes do at the present day, somewhere near Siálesi.

One question remains,—Where did Pausanias, in going to Maenalus, cross the Elaphus? at Paliskius or at Peraetheis? In other words, was Peraetheis off, or on, the direct route from Megalopolis to Maenalus? I am inclined to adopt the former view; for, had the route followed the left bank of the Elaphus for twenty stades, it would never have crossed that stream at all, but would have gone by Valtétsi. At the same time, if my view of the matter be correct, the route of Pausanias, from Paliskius onward, must have been along the main stream-bed of the Helisson; and I am not in a position to state positively that this is a convenient, or even a possible, route.

(3) *Karnion, Gathcatas, Kromi, Aegys* (Paus. viii. 34. 5 and 6).—The identification of the river Karnion with the 'Xerilo-potamo,' which appears

<sup>150</sup> Paus. viii. 30. 1.

<sup>151</sup> *Morea* ii. 305, *sq.*; *Periop.* p. 241. *sqq.*

<sup>152</sup> Possibly the marsh (ἔλος), which was formerly here, has been completely absorbed by

the ever-widening river-bed. Just east of the town, where the marsh was, it is of great width (*v. Excavations at Megalopolis*, Pl. I.).



in the French map, has been generally accepted, even by Leake,<sup>183</sup> who had formerly<sup>184</sup> held a different view. There is no doubt that it is correct. The Gatheatas must then be the stream which joins the other a little N. of Samará. I disagree with Leake's identification<sup>185</sup> of Kromi with some remains near Samará, since Kromi was on the road to Messene, and Samará was not. The extant remains near Samará are those of rather massive walls of stones, mortar, and occasionally tiles, on the summit of a small hill surmounted by a wretched chapel of St. Demetrius. There are no *Hellenic* remains, nor have there been any within the memory of the peasants; but Leake<sup>186</sup> distinctly mentions some, and they may have perished since his time. The hill is of a very suitable shape for a small acropolis.

The site of Aegys is doubtful. Some writers<sup>187</sup> have placed it at the Kalývia of Georghítsi, in the Eurotas valley; but this theory has been discarded in a previous section,<sup>188</sup> on the ground that, the 'Aegytid' territory (in the strictest sense of the word) being undoubtedly the valley of the Xerilo-potamo, *west* of the northernmost portions of the Taygetus range, it is hardly likely that its chief town Aegys was in the Eurotas valley *east* of that range. In his *Peloponnesiaca*<sup>189</sup> Leake tentatively suggested Kamára. This village has now split up, or extended itself, into three, which are known collectively by the plural name 'Kamáraes.' Above the uppermost of these villages is a sharp and conspicuous spur of hill, projecting from the side of Taygetus. Its summit must be at least 1,000 feet above the village, and bears many traces of rude buildings; but most, if not all, of them are mediaeval or modern. I do not believe, either from its situation or from the nature of the remains, that it is a Hellenic site. I have accordingly marked it *black* in Pl. I.

(4) *Trgea to Argos* (Paus. viii. 54. 5-7).—The route from Tegea to Argos necessarily passes through the small valley of Akhládókambo, which is separated from the plain of Tripolitsá by Mt. Rhoínó (Parthenium). There are at least four passes of Rhoínó; and every one of them is or has been in common use. They may be clearly seen from the map (Pl. I.).

The southernmost is the one adopted by the engineers of the new railway, as being the most circuitous and therefore enabling the line to descend to the lower valley<sup>190</sup> by a comparatively moderate gradient. The railway, in fact, thanks to skilful engineering, makes the circuit of three sides of the mountain and nearly a complete circuit of the valley of Akhládókambo, descending all the way. Obviously this was not the ancient route.

The three remaining routes coincide as far as the village of Hagiorgítika, not far from which Bérard, of the French School, discovered some foundations

<sup>183</sup> *Pelop.* p. 234.

<sup>184</sup> *Morea* ii. 297, and Pl. 2.

<sup>185</sup> *Morea* ii. 41; *Pelop.* p. 235.

<sup>186</sup> *Morea*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>187</sup> Leake, *Morea* iii. 18, 29; Bursian ii. 114.

<sup>188</sup> P. 45.

<sup>189</sup> P. 235.

<sup>190</sup> The valley of Akhládókambo lies some 1200 ft. lower than that of Tripolitsá.

which he believed to be those of the sanctuary of Dionysus Mystes and the shrine of Demeter 'ἐν Κορυθεῦσι.'<sup>191</sup> From Hagiorgítika one route (the so-called 'σκάλα τοῦ Μπέϊ'—'Skála tou Bey') crosses the hill almost in a direct line for Akhladókambo. It is a Turkish road, paved in the usual way with large unhewn stones. Though in parts so steep that one would naturally regard it as impassable to anything on wheels, yet I have seen on it what I took for wheel-ruts; and, if they were wheel-ruts, the road must have been used by carts of some kind in Turkish times. One thing however is certain,—this is not the 'ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καὶ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος' described by Pausanias.

The same objection applies, with perhaps still greater force, to what is sometimes called the 'κακὴ σκάλα,'—another Turkish paved road *engineered*, to a degree unusual in roads of this class, both by embankment on the lower side and by zigzags. The 'κακὴ σκάλα' goes through the gap separating Rhoinó (Parthenium) proper from Palaeo-moukhli, an isolated and conspicuous hill surmounted by the remains of a mediaeval settlement, and passes out into the plain beneath the largest of the new railway viaducts. Near the viaduct in question an inscription discovered by Bérard<sup>192</sup> led him to place the 'sanctuary of Pan,' where that god was said to have appeared to the runner Philippides (or 'Pheidippides') on his way to Sparta before the battle of Marathon;<sup>193</sup> but it should be observed that, even if Philippides went this way (which is by no means certain), the sanctuary of Pan was (according to Pausanias) on the western, not on the eastern, side of Parthenium; since, *after* mentioning that sanctuary, he proceeds 'ὑπερβαλόντι δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους,' κ.τ.λ.

But whatever route Philippides adopted, it is quite clear that the one described by Pausanias as ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη κ.τ.λ. is none of those which I have yet mentioned. It must have coincided more nearly with the modern carriage road, which passes *north* of Palaeo-moukhli, between that hill and the range of Kteniá. This is the only pass which could be made convenient for wheel traffic without very considerable feats of engineering, such as that which has resulted in the railway line. A Turkish road, of whose paving some traces still remain, coincided almost exactly with the carriage road, and probably represents the ancient route.

Hysiae, the frontier town, has been rightly located on a shoulder of hill close to the uppermost of the khans of Akhladókambo, and just above the new railway station. There is here an acropolis, with remains of good polygonal walls. Hysiae was Argive; and apparently the whole of the valley was Argive also, while both eastern and western sides of Mt. Parthenium were Tegean. This seems to be the inevitable conclusion from Pausanias,<sup>194</sup> who places the boundary between the two territories 'ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις.' Of this curious arrangement we have already seen an

<sup>191</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. xiv. (1890), p. 382.

<sup>192</sup> *Guide Joanne*, p. 236.

<sup>193</sup> Herod. vi. 105, 106; Paus. i. 28. 4, viii. 54. 6.

<sup>194</sup> viii. 54. 7.

example<sup>195</sup> in connexion with the Megalopolis-Tegea route, where the 'Xῶμα' which served as boundary-mark has been clearly shown to have been situated at the foot, and not on the ridge, of Mt. Krávari.

## APPENDIX D.

### NOTES IN THE MANTINEIAN PLAIN.

In the top right-hand section of Pl. I. will be seen the great plain of Tripolitsá, which contains the sites of Mantinea, Tegea and Pallantium.

The following brief notes deal with the Mantineian section of it only, the remainder having been discussed in the body of the paper. These notes fall under two heads, viz. I. *Routes*, II. *Battles and Military Operations*.

#### I. *Routes.*

i. and ii. *Argos to Mantinea by the 'Klímax' and 'Prinus' routes* (Paus. viii. 6. 4—8. 4).—These two routes—with a third, coinciding with the 'Prinus' for a considerable distance, but keeping more closely to the valley of the Charadrus, passing south instead of north of the summit of Artemisium, and rejoining the 'Prinus' route at Tsipianá—were first marked correctly as modern tracks in the French map, and were first (I believe) rightly identified with the ancient routes by Curtius. They may be distinguished as the Sánga, Karyá, and Tourníki routes respectively. My reasons for agreeing with the identifications of Curtius (which are adopted in the *Guide Joanne*) in preference to others which have been proposed are as follows:—

(1) Of the three possible routes, or passes, that by Sánga cannot be the 'Prinus' road, because it follows the course of a river (the ancient Inachus) from a point quite close to Argos right up into the hills, while the 'Prinus' road crossed one river (the Charadrus) near Argos<sup>196</sup> and afterwards, up in the hills, struck another river (the Inachus). For a similar reason the Tourníki route cannot represent the 'Prinus,' for it follows a single river (the Charadrus) from the plain to the summit of the pass. By the process of exhaustion, therefore, we arrive at the pass by Karyá as the representative of Pausanias' 'Prinus.' It crosses the Charadrus some two miles from the outskirts of Argos, just where that river debouches in the plain—follows its bed for about five miles, coinciding so far with the Tourníki route—then leaves the Charadrus, passes through the village of Karyá, and ascends very

<sup>195</sup> P. 35.

<sup>196</sup> Assuming, what is almost certain, that the route described in Paus. ii. 25. 1—3 as 'the' route from Argos to Mantinea is identical with the 'Prinus' route of Paus. viii. 6. 6

*sqq.* But in any case it is distinctly stated in viii. 6. 6 that the Prinus road did not follow the Inachus except so far as that river formed the boundary between the Mantineian and Argive territories, *i. e.* up in the hills.

steeply into the mountains, passing a chapel of Ag. Konstantínos (in which I once spent a miserable night), and at last coming in sight of the upper waters of the Inachus. It never actually follows the bed of the Inachus, for it skirts the hills at a much higher level; but it keeps that river-bed in sight for a long way, and crosses several of its tributary torrents before reaching the top of the pass. A little above Karyá is a conspicuous group of very old evergreen oaks (*πουρνάρια* or *πρινάρια*), possibly the descendants of those which gave the name *Πρίνος* to this route, and another of these trees crowns a hillock which overhangs the summit of the pass at a height of nearly 4,000 ft. above the sea.

If this be the 'Prinus' road, Nestane is rightly supposed to be represented by the fortification walls on the hill by Tsiplaná; and the *Ἀργὸν πεδίον* and *Χορὸς Μαῖρᾶς* are the plain to north-west, and the small inlet south-west of it, respectively. I have placed the fountain 'Arne' in a slightly different position from that indicated in the *Guide Joanne*; since the spring there shown is on the side of the hill, and not (as Pausanias says) in the plain, while there is another, and more abundant, spring (or rather group of springs) down in the plain, corresponding much better with his account.<sup>197</sup> The modern path skirts the hill and does not reach the plain till quite close to the site of Mantinea, while the ancient one appears to have descended more steeply, reaching the plain at least twelve stades from Mantinea near the spring just mentioned.

(2) The 'Klimax' route must of course be one of the two remaining ones, viz. either that by Sánga or that by Tourniki; and the latter is, in my opinion, excluded by the fact that the last part of it coincides with the Karyá route, which has already been identified with the 'Prinus,' while Pausanias' 'Klimax' and 'Prinus' clearly entered Mantinea from different directions. The name 'Klimax' was derived, says Pausanias, from some steps which had once been made in it to assist the descent, but which he apparently did not see. Steps are, however, visible, and in use, at the present day; they may be found near the top of the pass, on its eastern side; and they appear to be rather built up from small pieces of rock than cut in the rock itself. The ascent is a very steep one on both sides; and on the western side it consists of a series of zigzags so sharp that, as seen from near Sánga, they look very like a ladder, and would be amply sufficient to account for the name 'Klimax' even were there no actual steps in another part of the pass. Leake<sup>198</sup> and others have suggested that the fine springs near Pikérni, which one passes on this route, may be those which Pausanias mentions at Melangeia, whence (he says) Mantinea was supplied with drinking water. This may be so; but it should be observed that low ground

<sup>197</sup> Both identifications are of course conjectural. There is no trace of a *κρήνη* (supposing *κρήνη* to imply an artificial basin or fountain of spring-water), as distinguished from a *πηγή*, at either place. Where I have marked the foun-

tain Arne the spring-water does not come to a head (at present) at any one point, but (as the rustics say) 'βγάζει τὸ μέρος,'—the whole place runs with it.

<sup>198</sup> *Mora*, vol. iii. p. 53.

intervenes between these springs and the site of the town: so that, if this view be correct, there must have been a raised aqueduct to convey the water to Mantinea; and there is no trace of such an aqueduct.<sup>199</sup>

iii. *Mantinea to Tegea* (Paus. viii. 10. 1—11. 4).—One would naturally have supposed the way to Tegea to have coincided, as far as the hill now called Mýtika (Pl. I.), with that to Pallantium; but Paus. viii. 10—12 clearly distinguishes them. Both must have gone through the narrow part of the plain just east of Mýtika; but the Tegean route apparently kept to the eastward of the other, passing (Pausanias tells us) beneath Mt. Alesius, which is agreed to have been the hill which lies just east of the ancient site. There is no evidence for the precise direction which it followed; and I have marked it very nearly as Curtius has done.<sup>200</sup>

Two white limestone thresholds, measuring roughly 10 ft. × 4 ft., noticed by the French excavators<sup>201</sup> in the fields south of Mantinea, and marked 'R' in Pl. I. may not impossibly represent the temple of Poseidon Hippios, as they supposed; but this involves the adoption, in Paus. viii. 10. 2, of Schäfer's emendation, *ς' σταδίων* for *σταδίου*,—an emendation suggested by Pol. xi. 11. 4—6, and 14. 1. The place called Phoezon, which was twenty-five stades from the temple of Poseidon, and apparently off the main road to Tegea, has been conjectured to have been situated somewhere in the little plain of Louká.<sup>202</sup>

iv. *Mantinea to Pallantium* (Paus. viii. 11. 5—12. 1).—This route must necessarily have coincided more or less exactly with the present road to Tripolitsá and Megalopolis. The oak wood 'Pelagus,' in which a part at least of the battle of 362 B.C. was fought, was entered by it some thirty stades from Mantinea; the 'Pelagus' must therefore have occupied the gap between the spur of Mt. Maenalus called 'Mýtika' and the spur of Mt. Artemisium which lies almost in the line between this and Louká. On these two points there is no difference of opinion.

The tomb of Epaminondas was on the site of the battle, *i.e.* down in the plain. Pausanias<sup>203</sup> is quite clear on this point. He does *not* say, as he is commonly interpreted, that Epaminondas was buried at the place called Σκοπή, whence he witnessed the end of the engagement.

Skoπε (Σκοπή) itself is generally placed on the hill of Mýtika, which commands a splendid view of the plain in both directions; but Fougères, the principal excavator at Mantinea, writing in the *Guide Joanne*,<sup>204</sup> disputes

<sup>199</sup> I have disregarded Leake's suggestion (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 371), that the 'Prinus' and 'Klimax' routes coincided, on the Argive side, as far as Oenoe, which he places near the modern Kato-Bélesi (Katobélissi), though it receives some countenance from Paus. ii. 25. 1, where only *one* route from Argos to Mantinea is mentioned. Leake's view would imply that the 'Prinus' road followed the Inachus all the way from the Argive plain to near the top of

the pass, which we know that it did not; and it makes the 'Prinus' an extremely roundabout and unnatural route (*c.* map of the *Mantinea and Tegeatis* at end of *Peloponnesiaca*).

<sup>200</sup> Curt. *Pelop.* vol. i. Pl. III.

<sup>201</sup> *V. Guide Joanne*, p. 379.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, vol. i. p. 246

<sup>203</sup> viii. 11. 7.

<sup>204</sup> P. 372

the identification, on the valid ground that a wounded man, with a spear-head in his body, could hardly be carried either so far or so high. But if it can be shown (1) that the place called Skope was probably not the *summit* of the hill (which is a clear 1,000 ft. above the plain), but a shoulder of it, at least 600 ft. lower down; (2) that the name Skope really had a different origin from that given in Pausanias, and that the story was invented to account for the name,—then we shall no longer hesitate to identify Mýtika, or a part of it, with the Skope of Pausanias. And this is the precise state of the case. The summit of the hill, as Fougères truly says, is surmounted only by a chapel; but on the shoulder is a much more interesting object, which does not appear to have hitherto attracted the attention of archaeologists. This is the ruin of a small tower, about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  ft. square, constructed of excellent hewn polygonal masonry with rough bossy surface very similar to the masonry of which a great part of the walls of Mantinea is composed, and probably dating, like them, from the 4th century B.C. A photograph of this tower is given on Pl. III. The tower is known to the peasants as the ‘*Ἀνεμόμυλος*’ (‘Windmill’); and some of the better-informed Tripolitsiotes regard it as the tomb of Epaminondas, basing this view upon the idea, to which I have already alluded, that Epaminondas was buried at the ‘Skope.’ I spent one day in excavating the little ruin, clearing out the inside of it till I reached the rock, but without finding any traces of human burial, and was thus confirmed in my view that it was really a small watch-tower (*σκοπή*), immediately overlooking the boundary between the Mantineian and Tegean territories, and commanding a fine view of both. The tower had probably fallen into decay long before the time of Pausanias, but the spot retained the name; and from the name, combined with the exceptionally commanding position of the hill, arose the story which he relates. That the wounded general really was carried over ground so rough, and to a height so great, is (to my mind) incredible.

The account of the road to Pallantium stops, as so often in Pausanias, at the frontier; but a reference to the map will show that the remainder of it must have approximately coincided with the modern road to Megalopolis which keeps near the border of the plain all the way.

v. *Mantineia to Methydrium* (Paus. viii. 12. 2—4).—There has never been any doubt as to the general direction of this road, and it will be found marked in my map almost exactly as in that of Curtius and elsewhere. The Mt. Ostrakina of Pausanias is now generally identified with Mt. Ag. Elias, one of the peaks of Maenalus, in accordance with the view taken by the French surveyors. Leake<sup>204a</sup> disputed the identification, on the ground that Petrosika, which formed the boundary between the Megalopolitan and Mantineian territories, and was therefore probably at the top of the pass, was, according to Pausanias, forty stades (*i.e.*  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles) beyond the spring ‘Kissa,’ the spring ‘Kissa’ being in some part of Mt. Ostrakina. But, even granting

<sup>204a</sup> *Peloponnesiana*, pp. 230, 24

that the boundary was at the top of the pass (which is by no means certain),<sup>205</sup> yet the spring 'Kissa,' if it was on the south-east slopes of Ag. Elias, where the path first enters the stream-gorge, may well have been forty stades, or something very like it, from the boundary; for the hamlet of Kardará, which is situated at some distance up the gorge, is nearly an hour's walk from the top of the pass.

vi. and vii. *Mantineia to Orchomenus; two routes* (Paus. viii. 12. 5—13. 1).—The two most obvious passes from the Mantineian plain to the Orchomenian are those by the 'khan of Biliú' (as it is called by the French surveyors)<sup>206</sup> and by Kakoúri. There is a third pass *viâ* the plain of Kapsú to Levídhi: but this route would never be adopted in going from the *town* of Mantineia to the *town* of Orchomenus.

Of the routes leading to the two passes, one is generally supposed to have passed west, the other east of Gourtsoúli, a small isolated hill just north of Mantineia; and this is rendered probable by the distribution of the city gates, as shown in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*,<sup>207</sup> notwithstanding that the modern road to Kakoúri goes west, and not east, of that hill.<sup>208</sup>

Gourtsoúli is almost universally supposed to represent the 'Πτόλις' of Pausanias,—the site of *old* Mantineia; and the route which passed *east* of it is supposed to be the *first* of the two mentioned by that writer, his Maera being near the modern Kakoúri. But Leake held a different view. He supposed 'Ptolis' to denote a lower, but equally isolated, hill, about a mile further north (v. Pl. I.). On the whole I incline to Leake's view; for it is quite impossible to describe Gourtsoúli as being in a 'πεδίων οὐ μέγα,'<sup>209</sup> distinct from the plain in which Mantineia itself is situated; and though the expression is not very accurate even when applied to the other hill, it is nevertheless intelligible; for that hill is actually hidden from Mantineia by the hill of Gourtsoúli, so that it is (in a sense) cut off from the larger plain. If this view be correct, I should be disposed to regard Gourtsoúli as the 'γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν' which was 'said,' according to Pausanias, to be the tomb of Penelope, in spite of the fact that it is really of natural origin.<sup>210</sup> And as it lies, *ex hypothesi*, between the two routes to Orchomenus, while the

<sup>205</sup> We have already, in the course of the present paper, seen more than one instance in which that rule was not observed.

<sup>206</sup> Now called τοῦ Τουρνακιάτη, but the old name is still remembered.

<sup>207</sup> Vol. xiv. (1890), Pl. I.; reproduced in the *Guide Joazeur*, opposite p. 374.

<sup>208</sup> Notwithstanding also that both 'Ptolis' and the tomb of Penelope are mentioned on one only of Pausanias' routes; and, as Gourtsoúli probably represents either 'Ptolis' or the tomb, it must (supposing the routes to have gone on opposite sides of it) have been equally near to both. But it is quite in accordance with the

methods of Pausanias, when describing two routes, to mention the objects on the second only in so far as they differ from those already mentioned on the first.

<sup>209</sup> Paus. viii. 12. 7.

<sup>210</sup> The tradition that it was a tomb perhaps accounts for the expression γῆς χῶμα which is applied to it. 'Ptolis,' though smaller, is called an ὄρος. For 'πεδίων οὐ μέγα καὶ ὄρος' (Paus. viii. 12. 7) Leake (*Pelop.* p. 381, note) suggests 'πεδίων καὶ ὄρος οὐ μέγα.' Cf. Paus. viii. 44. 7, where a somewhat similar hill (Ktesium; v. *supra*, p. 35, note 36) is described as an 'ὄρος οὐ μέγα.'

'tomb of Penelope' is stated to have been on the *right* of the first of the two which he describes, we must revert to Leake's view, as opposed to that of subsequent writers, that the first of the two routes in Pausanias is the western route, *viâ* the 'khan of Bilâi,'—that Maera was somewhere near this khan,—and that Mt. Anchisia, which was on the *second* route, was not (as commonly supposed) the hill overhanging the khan, but the great mountain now called 'Armeniâdhes,' a conspicuous landmark visible from all parts of the Mantineian plain. This arrangement possesses the incidental advantage of preserving the *order* in which Pausanias describes the Mantineian routes. Beginning with the 'Klimax' road from Argolis, he works round regularly in the direction east, south, west, north; and it would be strange if, in describing the two routes to Orchomenus, he suddenly inverted this order.

## II.—Battles, etc.

It is not my intention to describe or discuss in full the various battles and military operations which took place in the neighbourhood of Mantinea. An admirable account of them will be found in Leake's *Travels in the Morea*.<sup>211</sup> Some of the views there expressed have however been generally discarded, and some others are open to criticism; while Leake's map of the plain,<sup>212</sup> being prior in date to the French Survey, is necessarily inadequate. The following notes may therefore be found a useful adjunct to his narrative.

(i.) *Battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.*: Thuc. v. 64 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 57—68).—There is no stream, which by any process of damming could be conducted, as Leake seems to have thought possible, indifferently either into the plain of Louká (his 'Argon Pedion') or to the katavothra of Vérzova (Leake's 'Persová'). In fact his whole account (pp. 62, *sq.*) of the Spartan manœuvre of diverting the waters is founded on a misconception of the water system of the plain. This will be seen by a comparison of his map with Pl. I. The stream diverted by Agis was doubtless the one which flows in a northerly direction from near Tegea, crosses the boundary of the Mantinike just beneath the hill of Mýtika, and loses itself in a katavothra in the south-west corner of the Mantineian plain. This katavothra is of the earthy kind, like those near Marmariá (p. 69), and is consequently very liable to get silted up, with the effect of immediately flooding the surrounding country. The Mantineians no doubt were in the habit of damming it at or near the frontier, so as to make it flood the Tegean plain, while the Tegeans would be equally anxious to keep its channel open till it reached the Mantiniké. Hence the constant friction to which Thucydides alludes.<sup>213</sup>

It must be remembered, in reading Leake's account, that he places the ancient Nestane near Louká, so that when he speaks of 'the opening between

<sup>211</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 57—93.

<sup>212</sup> *Morea*, vol. iii. pl. 2.

<sup>213</sup> Thuc. v. 65.



Scope and Nestane' as forming 'the boundary of the Mantinice' (p. 63), his meaning, in spite of the apparent inaccuracy of the wording, is really quite correct. The route of Agis from Sparta to Tegea *vii* Orestheium (or Oresthasium), which immediately preceded this battle, has been sufficiently discussed in a previous section (pp. 47-52).

(ii.) *Expedition of Agesipolis, 385 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 1 *sqq.*; Paus. viii. 8. 7 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 68-73).—The capture of Mantinea by Agesipolis in 385 B.C. was effected by damming the river Ophis, which flowed through the town, so that it sapped and destroyed the walls, which were of unbaked brick. Leake's identification of the Ophis in his *Travels in the Morea* has long been superseded; in fact he himself, in *Peloponnesiaca*,<sup>214</sup> adopted Boblaye's suggestion,<sup>215</sup> and identified the Ophis with the stream from Tegea described in the preceding paragraph. As this river never approaches nearer than two miles from Mantinea, Boblaye suggested that it might have gradually altered its course, and Leake, with more show of reason, that it had (before the expedition of Agesipolis) been artificially diverted so as to flow through the city. But there was really no need for these rather far-fetched theories,<sup>216</sup> since the little river shown in the French map, and first (I believe) marked as the Ophis by Curtius, answers all requirements perfectly. It flows at the present day right up to the walls of Mantinea, laps round them, and re-unites on the other side; then, after an extremely circuitous course which amply justifies its name of Ὀφίς, it loses itself in a katavothra in the hillside somewhat north of Kapsá.

(iii.) *The expedition of Agesilaus, 370 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 10 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 73-75).—The march of Agesilaus from Sparta was *vii* Eutaea, and I have already discussed it in connexion with Spartan routes (*supra*, pp. 50-52). His operations within the Mantincian plain cannot be followed with much precision; for, since he encamped on the first day under the mountains south-west<sup>217</sup> of Mantinea, on the second day twenty stades from Mantinea, and on the third day in 'ὁ ὄπισθεν κόλπος τῆς Μαντινικῆς,' it is evident that he was always within two or three hours' march (at most) of the town, and was not *marching* so much as shifting his camp, his days being no doubt spent in ravaging the country. Hence it is impossible to keep much count of his movements, or to identify the 'ὄπισθεν κόλπος' with any certainty. The description of it, however, applies better to the valley which lies north of Tsiplaná (marked in my map as the 'Argon Pedion') than to any other inlet of the Mantincian plain. This appears to have been also Leake's view.<sup>218</sup> No plausible explanation of the mistake of Agesilaus in taking up this dangerous position has yet been offered.

<sup>214</sup> Pp. 380, *st.*

<sup>215</sup> *Recherches*, p. 110

<sup>216</sup> The object of Leake and Boblaye was, apparently, to find a *larger* stream than the one which now flows past the walls of the ancient town.

<sup>217</sup> South as well as west; for the Orchomenian contingent, in order to join him, had to pass Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 17).

<sup>218</sup> *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 75.—It must be remembered that the 'Argon' there referred to is the plain of Louká, so that the 'smaller and more

(iv.) *Battle in 362 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5; Diod. xv. 84 *sqq.*; Paus. viii. 11. 5 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 76-84).—There has been some difference of opinion with regard to the site of this great battle,—the battle in which Epaminondas fell. That a part of it was fought in the ‘Pelagus,’ the oak-wood which occupied the narrows immediately east of Mýtika and the ‘Σκοπή,’—*i.e.* at the very borders of the Mantineian and Tegean territories—we have already seen. But it is not quite clear whether it was the right wing or the left wing of Epaminondas’ army which was here engaged,—*i.e.* whether the rest of his army was drawn up in Mantineian territory or in Tegean. The former was Leake’s view, and is (I believe) generally accepted, chiefly no doubt owing to the common designation of the battle as that ‘of Mantinea.’ But the argument from the name is far from being conclusive: for in any case the battle was fought as an attack on, and in defence of, Mantinea, and took place *nearer* to Mantinea than to Tegea. And there are good reasons for believing that the *left* wing, rather than the right wing, of Epaminondas’ army was near Mýtika. For:

(1) Epaminondas was killed in the ‘Pelagus’;<sup>219</sup> and his tomb appears to have been quite close to Mýtika, for it is mentioned by Pausanias<sup>220</sup> immediately after the Σκοπή, which was on Mýtika. Now we know from Diodorus<sup>221</sup> that the Theban column, led by Epaminondas himself, formed the *left* wing of his army, not the right wing.

(2) Xenophon’s account of Epaminondas’ march from Tegea,<sup>222</sup> which is in no case easy of interpretation, is to my mind incompatible with the idea that he advanced beyond Mýtika. ‘Τὴν μὲν συντομοτάτην,’ he says,<sup>223</sup> ‘πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας<sup>224</sup> ἡγήετο· ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίους μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.’ The words ‘τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη’ are most naturally interpreted as referring to the hills about Pallantium, in fact the Krávvari range; but, as it is clear that the battle was not fought near Krávvari, but in the direction of Mantinea, it is generally assumed that Epaminondas’ march was in a *north-westerly* direction and that he reached the hills very near the modern Tripolitsá. Here he must have struck the road from *Pallantium* to Mantinea. ‘Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο,’ Xenophon goes on to say, ‘ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φύλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθῃ στρατοπεδευομένῳ.’ Then (we are told), when the enemy were sufficiently put off the scent by this manœuvre, he suddenly formed the troops about him into

northern branch of the Mantinic plain between Mantinea and the Argon’ probably means *our* ‘Argon,’ *i.e.* the plain of Tsipianá.

<sup>219</sup> Paus. viii. 11. 10.

<sup>220</sup> *Id.* 11. 7. 8; 12. 1.

<sup>221</sup> xv. 85, 86.

<sup>222</sup> Leake (*Morea*, vol. iii. p. 81) apparently supposes Epaminondas to have been personally engaged in the cavalry engagement which preceded the battle, and never to have returned to Tegea. This view is countenanced by Diodorus’

account of the battle, but opposed to that of Xenophon, whose authority, as a contemporary and a soldier, is rightly accepted as the more reliable.

<sup>223</sup> Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 21.

<sup>224</sup> Others read *κατ’ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας*, and Leake (*Morea*, vol. iii. p. 78, note) quotes the passage as *τῆς Τεγέας καὶ ἀντιπέραν*. The reading I adopt is from the Teubner edition of 1890 (ed. Keller).

a deep column, and advanced to the attack. There must be some little inaccuracy in Xenophon's account here; for, if taken literally, it does not allow of any farther northward march of Epaminondas after striking the hills; yet we know, both from the common designation of the battle as that of 'Mantineia' and from the tradition about the 'Pelagus,' that some part of the battle was fought near the Mantineian frontier. Leake<sup>225</sup> supposes Epaminondas to have skirted the hills (keeping, no doubt, along the Pallantium road) all the way from Tripolitsá to *beyond* Mýtika before drawing up his troops, and then to have drawn them up beneath the hills which extend northward from that point to the entrance of the plain of Kapsá (plain Alkinedon), the whole battle being fought, according to him, on Mantineian ground. But, in the first place, so great a liberty as this in the interpretation of Xenophon seems unjustifiable; and, in the second place, Epaminondas could never have deceived the enemy (as Xenophon says he did) by taking an unwonted route if he had after all advanced along that route till he reached the narrows where it almost joined the ordinary route from Tegea to Mantineia.

A slight advance northward from near the modern Tripolitsá, perhaps as far as the hill in front of Merkovoúni, and an extension of the line of troops from thence to a point near Mýtika, are the very most that can be got out of the words 'ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ'; and this view is the only one which explains the ruse by which Epaminondas put his antagonists off their guard. If this theory be correct, his extreme *left* wing, which bore the brunt of the battle, was engaged near Mýtika, *i.e.* just at the Mantineian and Tegean frontier; while the remainder of his army lay to the southward of it, in Tegean territory.<sup>226</sup>

The 'γρήλοφοί τινες' (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 24), which commanded the enemy's left flank, cannot be precisely identified in the almost level plain; but it is possible that they were part of the slightly rising ground north-eastward of the village of Mandságra.

(v. and vi.) On the engagements of 296 B.C. (Plut. *Dem.* 35) and 243 B.C. (Paus. viii. 10. 5 *sqq.*) I have nothing to add to Leake, *Morca*, vol. iii. pp. 84-86.

(vii.) *Battle of 207 B.C.*: Polyb. xi. 11 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morca*, vol. iii. pp. 87-93).—Polybius' account of this battle is clear and full, and is closely followed by Leake; but the battle is not one with which the permanent features of the ground had much to do. A certain ditch, by which the forces of Machanidas were thrown into confusion, played an important part in it; but it is not identifiable and probably no longer exists.<sup>227</sup>

<sup>225</sup> *Morca*, vol. iii. p. 81.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. viii. pp. 23 *sqq.* (10 vol. edition) and accompanying plan. My views respecting the site of the battle, formed on the spot, coincide very nearly with those of Grote.

<sup>227</sup> A 'Graben' is marked in Curtius' map of the plain (vol. i. pl. III.) and appears again as 'Fossé' in the *Guide Tourane*, being evidently inserted with special reference to this battle. But though the whole plain is intersected with ditches, I can find no trace of this particular one.

The only topographical points whose position can be conjectured with any approach to certainty are the 'λόφος ὁ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως' of Polyb. xi. 11. 5 (evidently Mt. Alesius) and the temple of Poseidon. These have been already discussed (p. 82). For 'Ελισφασίων in Polyb. xi. 11. 6 Leake suggested 'Ελισσωνίων, but the suggestion is rightly abandoned in *Peloponnesiaca*.<sup>228</sup> Curtius, followed by some other topographers, identifies the territory of the Elisphasii with the 'plain Alkimedon,'<sup>229</sup> that secluded valley being, like the Elisphasian territory, on the opposite side of the Mantineian plain to that on which stood the temple of Poseidon.

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<sup>228</sup> P. 379, *sq.*

<sup>229</sup> Paus. viii. 12. 2.

## FOUR FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS.

THE first three of the inscriptions which follow were copied by me in 1893 at Braim-Effendi, one of the villages on the site of Tegea, whence, by an arrangement with the owners, I transferred them to the neighbouring museum at Palaea-Episkopé. The fourth, which is too fragmentary for restoration, was found by Mr. Nákos, of Livadhiá in Boeotia, when preparing to lay the foundations of a house in that town in 1891, and I copied it at the time with his permission.

I. Braim-Effendi (*Tigra*). Found by Γεώργιος Βασιλάκος in his field. The inscription is on the face of a curved moulding (*cyma recta*), about 10 in. in height, which must have formed part of a sepulchral monument of considerable size, perhaps in the form of a small heroön. The letters are from  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in height, and are cut with some care.

ΑΙ ΑΡΚΑΣΙΝ ΕΞ ΕΤ  
Ν ΠΕΠΤΑΤΑΙΑ ΓΕ Μ Ο Ν  
ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΞΙΣ ΟΝ  
Ν Α Μ ΦΙ Ε Ξ Α Ν Ο Κ Ο Ν Ι Ν

The following restoration is suggested as a possible one; but it must be admitted that it is almost wholly conjectural. There appear to be traces of an **N** at the beginning of the third line.

Πένθος ἐν Ἀργείοισι καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἐξ ἐτ[εραλκοῦς  
νίκας εὐθυμάχῳ]ν πέπταται ἀγεμόν[ων  
οὐ γὰρ δευόμενοι πατέρων, κλέος ἴσον [ἄροντο,  
ἐν δὲ μάχῃ δνοφερὰ]ν ἀμφιέσαν[τ]ο κόνιν.

The date of the inscription cannot be very precisely determined; but, judging from the forms of the letters, it *may* fall as early as the first half of the fourth century; and, if so, it is a natural conjecture that it may refer to some affair at the time of the Theban supremacy, when Argives and Arkadians were frequently found fighting side by side. It must be remembered, however, that no theory can be based on the word Ἀργείοισι, which is a restoration.

II. Braim-Efféudi (*Tegea*). Found near the preceding. On a fragment of white marble, about 1 ft. in thickness. The surface of the marble has been painted red, and considerable traces of the colour remain. The average height of the letters is about the same as in the preceding inscription, but less uniform, and the cutting is shallower. The inscription consists of a list of names, which readers may be left to restore according to their fancy. Late fourth or third century?

Ψ  
ΔΛ  
ΘΡΛ  
ΔΕΙΤ  
ΕΥΧ  
ΔΑΜ  
ΑΡΙΞ  
ΜΕΝΙ  
ΞΕΝΟ  
ΚΑΛΛ  
ΜΕΝ  
ΘΕΟ

III. Braim-Efféudi (*Tegea*). Formerly in the possession of Παναγιώτης Βασιλάκος at that village. On a fragment of a small herm, of which the head is lost. The ends of two locks of hair, however, appear just above the inscription. Letters from  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. to  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. in height, deeply but very carelessly cut.

ΜΕΓΙΣ  
ΤΩΑΡ  
ΤΕΜΙΣ  
ΤΕΙΡΑΙΙ  
ΝΟΚΙΔ

In spite of the variation in the forms of the letters ε and σ (Ε and ε, ξ and ς), the inscription is probably all of one date—possibly about Hadrian's time, when such variations within the limits of a single inscription appear to have been especially common (*v. c.g.*, *C.I.G.* Nos. 193, 339, 2084, 2153). Ἀρτεμι is apparently a mistake for Ἀρτέμιδι, and [ἐ]νόκια for ἐνοίκια. The inscription would then run thus:—

Μεγίστω Ἀρτέμι(δι) Σωτείρᾳ [ἐ]νο(ί)κια,

and it may be suggested that the herm took the place of a nominal rent paid by the dedicator for occupying a house erected within a sacred precinct or on sacred land; but I am not aware of any parallel case. The alternative is to read *ἐνοικία* as a title of Artemis, but neither for this have we any authority.

IV. *Livadhíá (Lebadeia)*. Found by Mr. Nákos in 1891. On a block of greyish stone, 9 in. in height, and about 4 in. in width; broken at top, left side, and right-hand bottom corner. At the *back* of the stone the greater part of the surface is broken away, and portions of the four bottom lines only are legible. The letters, whose forms are inadequately represented in the type employed below, are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. high. The most probable date for the inscription is the second or first century B.C.

I give all that I was able to decipher on either side of the stone, doubtful letters being indicated by broken type. Lines 4 and 6 on the front suggest a deed of sale or a bond of some kind.

*Front.*

Δ  
 ΞΚΑ  
 ΗΜΑΓΕ  
 ΤΗΜΠΡΑ  
 5 ΝΥΠΔΡΧΟΝ  
 ΓΥΗΤΩΝ  
 ΩΣΙΝΕ  
 ΟΥΣΙΤΑΔΕ  
 ΑΤΟΠΤ  
 10 ΥΔΕΥΤΕ  
 ΩΝΧΕΙΛΙΩΤ  
 ΗΣΗΚΩΙΤΩΥ  
 ΙΝΔΩ

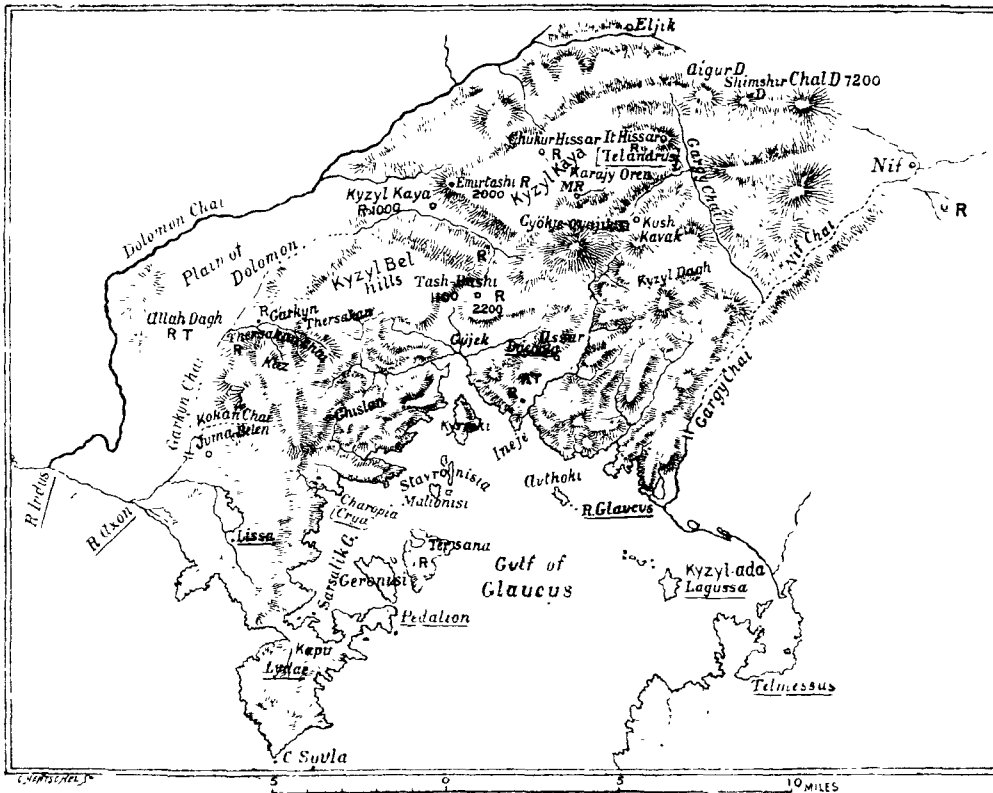
*Back*—near bottom of stone.

ΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕ  
 ΕΠΙΤΑΣΠΑ  
 ΑΔΒΗΣΑΣΤ  
 ΕΤΥΑ

W. LORING.

## THE FRONTIER OF LYCIA AND CARIA.

THE traveller riding westward from Macri soon reaches the Gargy Chai, which is the only perennial stream running into the Telmessian Gulf, and is rightly identified by Kiepert with the everflowing Glaucus. It rises in a



ridge connecting the uplands of Kyzyl Kaya with the Aigür Dagh, a partly detached lower buttress standing out to the north-west of the long mountain commonly called Eljik Dagh in the maps, of which the eastern peak is named Chal Dagh, and the less lofty western peak Shimshir Dagh.



Hence the stream runs to the S.S.E. down a deep glen, and after receiving the Nif Chai from the N.E., turns S.W. round the Kyzyl Dagħ to the sea. Pliny, the only geographer who mentions the Glaucus, says that it had a tributary, the Telmedius.<sup>1</sup> If, as the inhabitants positively assured me, the Nif Chai is merely a tributary of the other, it must be the Telmedius. If so, the name of Telandrus, which was on the Glaucus,<sup>2</sup> must be given to the only ruins in the main valley, those at It-hissar, a site discovered by MM. Collignon and Duchesne,<sup>3</sup> but not exactly described. It stands on the western bank of the river not far below its source, nearly due compass-west of Chal Dagħ, on an isolated hill with a rapid fall to the stream, and consists of a mediaeval castle partly built of ancient blocks. In the cliffs on the south-eastern side are about half a dozen rock-tombs; originally there must have been about a dozen, but a landslip has almost covered several. On one, a temple-tomb, was a long inscription, illegible to me, in Greek letters of a good period and in a little ravine below are many ancient cut stones, including two bases of statues, one of which bore the inscription No. 4.

If the Nif Chai should be the real Glaucus, Telandrus must be placed at Nif, where there are some small and apparently late remains.<sup>4</sup>

Telandrus is put by Pliny<sup>5</sup> among the inland towns of Lycia, by Stephannus Byzantinus (who also quotes Alexander Polyhistor) in Caria. It is mentioned in the Attic tribute-lists. Ptolemy and the Byzantines do not name it. There was a Cape Telandria (St. Byz.) and an island of the same name in the gulf, 'in qua oppidum interiit,'<sup>6</sup> which can hardly be the little rock of Avthoki.

Immediately to the west of the Glaucus Pliny names Daedala, which is rightly identified by Hoskyns with the fortress of Assar in the valley of Ineje. Fellows, the first discoverer, calls the place 'Beenajah,' and the ruins Calynda (*Lycia*, p. 101). In the Doric temple-tomb mentioned by him is said to have been found the inscription No. 3, copied at Tersana. Assar seems to be marked twice over in Kiepert's map, once in nearly the true position without a name, once with the the name of Daedala too far to the N.E. Hoskyns' identification has been accepted with some doubt because the usually accurate Stadiasmus puts Daedala only 50 stades (about 5¾ miles) from Telmessus.<sup>7</sup> But its measurements westward from Daedala agree with those from Ineje (taken close to the land), if allowance be made for the usual slight exaggeration.

<sup>1</sup> v. 27. annis Glaucus deferens Telmedium  
*Calym.* *Id.* Telmessum, evidently corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> Quintus Smyrnaeus, l. 6 (describing the burial of Glaucus)

... δῶκε θεοῖς Ἀνέμοισι φέρειν Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἰης·  
οἱ δὲ μιν αἰψ' ἀπένεικαν ὑπ' ἄγκυα Τηλάνδροιο  
χῶρον ἐς ἱμερόεντα, πέτρην δ' ἐφύπερθε βάλοιτο  
ἔρηκτον· Νύμφαι δὲ περίβλυσαν ἱερὴν ὕδωρ  
ἀνδρὸν ποταυῶο, τὸν εἰσέτι φῖλ' αἰθρώπων

Γλαῦκον ἐπικλείουσιν ἔρπον.

The MS. reading is Τηδαντροιο. The emendation is old.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. de corr. hell.* i. 362.

<sup>4</sup> *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* i. p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> v. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny v. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Muller, *Geographie Græci Minor*, i. 494.

*Actual Distance.**Stadiasmus.*

Ineje to Charopia (Crya) c. 11 m.	Daedala to Crya, c. $12\frac{3}{4}$ m.
Charopia to Kapu (Lydae) c. $4\frac{3}{4}$ m.	Crya to Clydae, c. $5\frac{3}{4}$ m.
Kapu to the neighbouring Cape, c. 3 m.	Clydae to Cape Pedalion, c. $3\frac{1}{2}$ m.
Thence to Cape Suvla, c. 7 m.	Cape Pedalion to the Ancon, c. $9\frac{1}{2}$ m.

Therefore 50 stades should be corrected to 100 or 115, and Daedala is rightly placed at Ineje. It was always a very small place,<sup>8</sup> though often mentioned because it happened to be the frontier town of Lycia and Caria. The boundary was ethnical, not merely political,<sup>9</sup> for a few miles to the E. are found the Lycian inscriptions of Macri, and a few miles to the W. the Carian inscription of Charopia. Accordingly our earliest authority, the pseudo-Scylax<sup>10</sup> (between B.C. 360 and 348), puts the frontier somewhere on the Gulf of Macri, and it is fixed more definitely between Telmessus and Daedala by the Stadiasmus<sup>11</sup> (first century B.C.), and Strabo<sup>12</sup> (A.D. 18): Livy<sup>13</sup> and Mela<sup>14</sup> (A.D. 43) imply the same boundary.<sup>15</sup> In the year 43 began a series of administrative changes; the freedom of Lycia was taken away, restored, and taken away again. Rhodes had a similar fate. In 74 (probably) a definite arrangement was made: Lycia was joined as a province with Pamphylia,<sup>16</sup> and Rhodes, deprived of its Peraca, lost its liberty in the same year. It must have been at this date that the frontier of Lycia was extended westward so as to include part of the old Rhodian Peraca,<sup>17</sup> for an inscription of Lydæ in honour of Sextus Marcius Priscus, propraetor of Lycia-Pamphylia under Vespasian, shows that town to have been included in Lycia.<sup>18</sup> The new boundary was probably the wide river Indus (Doloman Chai), and so Ptolemy<sup>19</sup> (c. 160) puts the frontier between Calinda and Caunus, and Quintus Smyrnaeus (end of fourth century) calls the Lindus (read Indus) the end of Caria and beginning of Lycia.<sup>20</sup> In Byzantine times a further extension included Caunus.<sup>21</sup>

The mountain Daedala which Strabo places east of the town must be the Kyzyl Dag (about 3,000 ft.; 984 metres in Kiepert).

<sup>8</sup> Pliny indeed calls it oppidum, but cf. Ptolemy 5, 3, *Δαίδαλα τόπος*, Livy 37, 22, *Daedala et quaedam alia parva castella*: and Strabo p. 651.

<sup>9</sup> Politically Daedala was the first town of the Rhodian Peraca, Strabo *l.c.*

<sup>10</sup> Muller, *G.G.M.* i. 73-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.* i. 494.

<sup>12</sup> P. 661 and p. 651.

<sup>13</sup> Livy 37, 16, *Telmessus sinus, qui latere uno Cariam, altera Lyciam contingit*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* i. 16.

<sup>15</sup> There may have been temporary fluctuations, e.g. Alexander Polyhistor 1st century B.C. (St. Byz. *s.c.*) puts Daedala in Lycia, though Telandrus<sup>9</sup> was in Caria (*supra*), and Artemidorus (c. 100 B.C.) put Crya in Lycia, according

to St. Byz. *s.c.* I suspect an error.

<sup>16</sup> Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykien*, p. 208 *seqq.*

<sup>17</sup> Pliny (v. 27), writing in 77, still puts the frontier east of Daedala, but he often follows old authorities: cf. Bunbury, *Ancient Geography* ii. 401.

<sup>18</sup> *J.H.S.* x. p. 73: No. 20 does not prove that Lydæ was Lycian earlier, as the Lyciarch may have been on the mother's side.

<sup>19</sup> Pt. v. 3. Also the contemporary inscription of Oprimas (*Revue* ii. p. 113) includes Calynda.

<sup>20</sup> Quin. Smyrn. 8, 81 *παρὰ προχοῆς ποταμὸς Δίνδου ἑυρρεῖται, μενεπολέμων ὄθι Καρῶν πείρατα καὶ Λυκίης ἐρικύδεος ἄκρα πέλονται*.

<sup>21</sup> Hierocles and the *Notitiae Episcoporum*

The Callimache of the Stadiasmus corresponds to the harbour of Güjek, where there are no ruins, but on the mountains behind the village there is a fort (see below), to which the name may possibly belong.

The next place named by our authorities is Crya, and since no ancient site is known between Güjek and Kapu (Lydae) except Charopia,<sup>22</sup> and the distance agrees very well with the Stadiasmus, that position, which is the accepted one,<sup>23</sup> must be correct; the remains are surprisingly scanty, consisting of some traces of rock-cut steps by the landing-place, a small fragment of ancient wall (apparently not town-wall) and part of a mediaeval building. Some early importance is indicated by a number of pigeon-hole tombs, and five regular rock-tombs, on one of which is the well-known inscription in unmistakably Carian letters, usually called the inscription of 'Scopia.' This name should be erased from maps, as it is merely a corruption of Kapu (the door, Kapi in Greek), the modern name of Lydae, or perhaps rather of the isthmus below it: it can have no connection with the island of Scope.<sup>24</sup> Crya is only mentioned by Stephanus (*s.c.* from Artemidorus), the Stadiasmus, Pliny, and Ptolemy;<sup>25</sup> it may, however, be the same as Cryassus, a city of Caria,<sup>26</sup> which was certainly in the Rhodian territory,<sup>27</sup> and was supposed to be a Melian colony;<sup>28</sup> I doubt the identity. Stephanus mentions two islands of the Cryeans *Κάρυσις* (? *Κρυασσίς*) and *Ἀλίνα*, which may be Tersana and Ieronisi.<sup>29</sup> Mr. Bent<sup>30</sup> is mistaken in supposing that Tersana contains no traces of any earlier occupation than in the days of the lower Empire: it has a small fortress of Hellenic masonry and a tomb of large squared blocks.

Lydae was discovered by Mr. Bent, whose description is very accurate.<sup>31</sup> The southern point of the little peninsula, the modern Cape Suvla, which is mentioned in the Stadiasmus merely as 'the angle (*ἀγκών*) into the gulf,' must be the Cape Artemisium, bearing a temple, which Strabo puts immediately west of the Gulf of Glaucus (p. 651).

About nine miles beyond Cape Suvla is the mouth of Garkyn Chai, a river which rises among the offsets of Gyökje-ovajik Dagħ, north of Ineje, and runs N.W. and W. to Kyzyl Kağa; here it turns S.W., and runs along the

<sup>22</sup> The boatmen who know every inch of the shore say there are no ruins on the Ghislan or serpentine coast-hills, except Charopia.

<sup>23</sup> Kiepert, who placed Crya here in the map in the *Reisen*, vol. i., afterwards changed the name to Lydae.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny v. 31.

<sup>25</sup> The Cryans are mentioned in the Attic tribute-lists. Cape 'Crya' in Melis is a doubtful emendation for Cytria; pseudo-Scylax mentions cape *Κράσιος* (Muller, *Geog. Gr. Min.* i. p. 73 note), corrected into *Κρυασσίος*. Ptol. v. 3 writes *Καρία*. It suffered from the earthquakes of A.D. 149. *Reisen* ii. p. 113, xvii. C. Cl. p. 114, xix. C. and p. 132. The ethnic is there *Κρυεύς* as in St. Byz.

<sup>26</sup> St. Byz. *s.c.* evidently quoting Plutarch or his authority. The two separate entries in St. Byz. might easily refer to one town.

<sup>27</sup> *C.I.G.* 2259; 2552: the ethnic is *Κρυασσιεύς*, as in St. Byz.

<sup>28</sup> A curious legend to this effect is preserved by Plutarch *de Virt. Mulier.* p. 246. Cf. *Polyaenus*, Bk. viii. c. 64. Pliny's strange expression 'Crya fugitivorum' seems to refer to some legend, but hardly to this.

<sup>29</sup> Pliny v. 31 says there were three, and puts them on another part of the coast, but this chapter is full of mistakes.

<sup>30</sup> *J.H.S.* x. p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. ix. pp. 52 *sqq.* and x. pp. 55 *sqq.*

eastern side of the plain of Dolomon to the sea, receiving as tributaries the Thersakan Chai at Garkyn, the sulphurous Kokan Chai near Juma-belen, and finally the stream which drains the lake below the ancient Lissa.<sup>32</sup>

Near this river Mr. Davies discovered the ruins which he visited from Güjek and describes as follows: 'Two and a half hours from Güjek brought us well over the ridge to a small hamlet called Thersakan. The road follows a stream which bears the same name, and in an hour more reaches the village of Garkyn-kiöi, almost on the borders of the Dolomon plain. On the southern edge of this stream is a high round-topped hill known as Kuz, and an hour's climb from Garkyn brought us to an eminence on the N.W. slope of this hill, on which are the ruins of an ancient town. The acropolis, which is well preserved, is strongly built of good squared blocks, and has a perimeter of 357 paces; there are five gates, one of which is provided with an external stairway. From the N.E. corner a wall of rougher masonry runs radially down the hill: on the W. are traces of two outer walls parallel to that of the acropolis, and a fragment of another appears just below the S.E. corner. Remains of dwelling-houses are numerous both inside the acropolis and on the northern and north-western slopes; but a careful search failed to disclose any vestige of public buildings, built tombs or other monuments, and the only rock-tombs are of the pigeon-hole character.'

There are strong reasons for believing this to be the long-sought Calynda. After Cape Artemisium (Suvla) Strabo mentions a grove sacred to Leto, and above it the town of Calymna (*sic* in MSS.), sixty stades (nearly seven miles) from the sea (p. 651). Pliny puts after Crya, flumen Axon, oppidum Calydna, Amnis Indus, etc.<sup>33</sup> The river Axon, probably identical with the Ἀζων,<sup>34</sup> can only be the Garkyn Chai, and close to that stream between six and seven miles from the sea are these ruins, only on the east not the west side. Calynda derives its celebrity almost entirely from the fact that a Calyndian ship was run down by Artemisia at Salamis;<sup>35</sup> a passing reference in Herodotus,<sup>36</sup> and one in Polybius<sup>37</sup> are the only other historical notices:<sup>38</sup> but it is said on good authority to have coined money, and, if so,

<sup>32</sup> In answer to careful questioning, the inhabitants of Kyzyl Kaya, of Garkyn, and of Juma-belen independently gave exactly the same account of the course of this river, and this is confirmed by our own observations of the extensive views from Kyzyl Kaya, Kuz, and Juma-belen. No ruins nearer than Kuz are known to the people of this last village (which we reached by a road leading W.N.W. from the inlet just N. of Charopia) except Lissa, and Allah-Dagh, where we found a single Ionic rock-tomb. For Lissa see *J.H.S.* l.c.

<sup>33</sup> v. 27, 28. Probably he does not mean to put it on the coast; cf. Pinara in the same chapter, etc. Ptolemy v. 3 does put it on the sea, but the authority of Strabo, and the silence of the Stadiasmus are conclusive against him.

<sup>34</sup> Meyer, *Bezenberg's Beiträge* x. p. 158,

from Bekker, *anecd.* 1306, Ἀζων a river in Lycia.

<sup>35</sup> Herod. viii. 87.

<sup>36</sup> i. 172, talking of Caunus, he mentions the Calyndian frontier.

<sup>37</sup> xxx. 16, 17. The Calynlians, hard pressed by the Caunians, surrendered to Rhodes.

<sup>38</sup> Besides Κάλυνδα fr. Herod. viii. St. Byz. cites Κύλλανδος, πόλις Καρίας, fr. Hecataeus, *Asia*: = Κελλάνδιοι of Attic tribute-lists, *C.I.A.* 226-233, which have also Κλαυνδῆς, *C.I.A.* 237-239. Either might be Calynda. Two women at Lydae were citizens of Calynda: below, No. 2, and *J.H.S.* x. No. 23. It suffered in the earthquakes of A.D. 149, *Reisen* ii. p. 113, xvii. C and p. 132 (*ib.* xix. B there does seem space enough). It does not appear in the Byzantine lists.

more imposing remains than those at Kuz might naturally be looked for Podalia, however, which also coined autonomous money, has neither theatre built tombs, nor inscriptions.<sup>39</sup> Calynda was certainly in this neighbourhood, and any more important ruins can hardly have escaped notice,<sup>40</sup> especially as the peasants of the district generally observe and eagerly point out the most insignificant building or tomb.

'To the N. of the Thersakan stream lies another ruined fortress, confronting the one last described from the next spur of the hill-range, but smaller and less strongly situated. At one angle of the enclosure, and on the highest point of the eminence, are piled a quantity of very large, carefully hewn blocks, which have evidently been used for some purpose other than that for which they were designed, as one stone with a carved moulding has been built in indiscriminately among others. The explanation may perhaps be found in the modern name of the spot—Monastir. House-remains are scattered about, but only in small numbers.' G.D.<sup>41</sup>

At Kyzyl Kaya, some distance higher up the river, on a low hill are the ruins of a small town, surrounded with walls well preserved in places, and partly ancient, though chiefly 'Byzantine.' In the cliffs above are two very handsome and well-preserved temple-tombs, and a rock-tomb of the common Lycian type. Within the walls are some broken sarcophagi, and a defaced inscription.

On the summit of the steep cliffs to the N. of the valley is another small ancient town, known as Emir-tashi, on one long crest of a double-headed hill, consisting of the closely-packed walls of surprisingly small houses, of which the lower courses, built of great well-squared stones, are very perfect, though the upper part which was probably of wood has disappeared. Below the walls are many tombs, and on one Lycian sarcophagus there is a late Greek inscription.

Some miles eastward of Emir-tashi are some more ruins named, like all the places in this district, Kyzyl Kaya, but distinguished by the further name of Chukur-Hissar. This town, though still small, was a place of more pretensions than its neighbours. It covers the top and part of the sides of a long but very narrow and steep hill. Among a confused mass of house-ruins some good-sized buildings are traceable; in one place are remains of three prostrate columns, in another a white marble capital. There is also an ancient altar for sacrifice with steps, and a channel down the side. The highest point within the walls is occupied by a building which may have served for a keep. Without are a few sarcophagi, one of which, though the upper part is broken down and the great arched lid lies half buried beside it, still measures 8 feet in height and 16½ by 13 feet in area: another has a defaced inscription.

<sup>39</sup> *Revue* ii. p. 161.

<sup>40</sup> We were told of ruins at Kizai kitta, apparently N.E. of Juma-belen, but they sound rather mediaeval than ancient.

<sup>41</sup> It may be noted that the people of Garkyn knew nothing of any town or village called

Dolomon, though they named all the numerous villages in sight upon the plain. The title seems to be applied generally to the whole plain, and perhaps previous visitors have hastily assigned it to the residence of the kaimakam of Dolomon.  
G. D.

Near the head of the Garkyn Chai, where a little side valley runs down it from Güjek Tash-bashi, is a much injured temple-tomb, once very handsome, and nearer the village are the walls of a castle or very small town with many sarcophagi, all broken but one, which has an illegible inscription. East of the village, which is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  hour above the port of Güjek, is a fort on the very summit of the mountains, small but well built of good squared blocks.

I could hear of no other ancient remains in this almost unexplored district, of which the accompanying map, based on Kiepert, will give a fair general idea; though it makes no claim to accuracy, being constructed from compass-bearings and time-measurements noted during two journeys in 1891 and 1894.

W. ARKWRIGHT.

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM LYCIA.

1. At Lydae, on the western edge of the horizontal slabs of a tomb, on the side of which is Mr. Hicks' No. 12.<sup>1</sup>

ΔΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΕΚΟ ΠΕΝΤΕΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΩΝ . . . ΓΑΙ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΔΑΤΗΣ	ΜΕΛΙ ΣΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΩΝΤΕ ΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΙΑ	ΕΡΙΠΠΙΟ
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*τὸ μνημεῖον ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ [θε]μελί[ων...σὺν βάσεσι] | πέντε ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ [Ἡλιοδώρου] | . Ἡλιοδωρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδίτης δήμου Ἀρυμάξων τετειμημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις πολειτείαις . . . .*

This may be compared with the inscription No. 16 of Mr. Hicks, which it very closely resembles. The builder would seem to be the same Heliodoros who is numbered 6 in the genealogical tree. Letters '04m.

Below the three lower heroa and further south we found two inscribed fragments. One had the letters ΑΥΤΟ ('06m.) and obviously had an imperial connection; the other showed

ΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ  
ΝΙΑΗΛΙΟ

and must have referred to the Diophantus family.

2. At Arymaxa, on a statue-base close to the large tomb on which is Mr. Hicks' No. 16.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ  
 ΔΩΡΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ . . IN  
 ΜΑΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΔΑΤΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΥ  
 ΔΙΑΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΜΕΙΛΟΣΤΗ  
 5 ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΠΙΟ  
 ΠΙΝΑΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΔΑΤΙΔΟΣ  
 . ΑΣΑΝΕΤΗ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ

<sup>1</sup> E. L. Hicks in *JHS*, vol. x, pp. 55-59.

. . . . ΓΕΝΝΕΑΓΕΜΝΩΚ . . Γ  
 ΦΡ ΓΑΙΟΕΙΟΥΛΙΟ  
 10 ΟΦΑΝΤΟ ΥΙΟΣΒΟΥΑΤΙΝ  
 ΗΛΙΟΔ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ  
 ΔΑΤΙΗ ΤΗΝ

Ἰουλίαν [. . . Ἡλίο]δώρου θυγατέρα [. . . Ρω]μαίαν καὶ Λύδατιν  
 καὶ Καλυ[ν]δίαν μητρὸς Μείδος τῇ[ς] | Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἑρμαπίο[υ] |  
 Πινάριδος καὶ Λυδάτιδος [ζή]σ[α]σαν ἔτη τριάκοντα [καὶ | μῆνα]ς ἐννέα  
 σεμνῶς κ[αὶ] σ[ω]φρ[όν]ως Γάιος Ἰούλιο[ς Δι]οφάντο[υ] υἱὸς Βουλ-  
 τιν[ία] | Ἡλιοδό[ωρος] Ῥωμαῖος [καὶ Λυ]δάτης τὴν [ἑαυτοῦ | θυγατέρα].

Here again we have apparently the same Heliodoros: his daughter Julia and Hermapias the grandfather of Meis are additions to the genealogy. Letters '038m.

I may add here my reading of lines 17, 18 in the inscription numbered 17 by Mr Hicks:—

ΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΕΙΔΙΑΣΠ . . . ΓΚΑΙΑΛ  
 ΛΩΝΠΟΛΕΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΣΗ

*πόλεως* seems to fit the gap better than *πατρίδος*.

In Mr. Hicks' No. 6. line 10, *ύθεσίαν* should be *νίθεσίαν*.

In No. 7, line 3, there has never been anything after ΚΑΘΥ; the stone lies lower down than there stated.

In No. 12, line 7, read ΠΟΛΕΩΝ . . . ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ; the same curious erasure has been performed here which is noticed on No. 13.

3. On the island of Tersana, from a small limestone block.

ΓΟΡΓΩΝΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΟΣ	Γόργων Ἀνδροχάριος
ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΣ	ἐπιστατήσας
ΤΥΧΑΙΑΓΘΑΙ	Τύχα Ἀγαθῇ
ΚΑΙΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΙ	καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

The block, which measures .23 x .16 x .1m., is finished on all sides except the top, which presumably supported the offering. It was said to have come from the large temple-tomb at Ineje. Letters '01m.

4. At Ut-lissar, on a fragment of a square statue-base.

ΝΟΔΩΡΟ	Μη]νοδώρο[υ
ΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΥ	Μενεκλεοῦ[ς.

Letters '03m.



5. At Telmessos, on the lintel and left jamb of the door of a Lycian rock-tomb.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΤΕΛΜΗ . . ΕΩΝΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕ  
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΝΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ  
ΤΟΥΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΠΕΔΙΕΑΧΡΥΣΩΣΤ  
ΩΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΩΚΑΙΕΙ . ΟΝΙΓΡΑΠΤΗ . . . ΙΣΕΙ  
5 ΕΝΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΩΚΑΙΩΝΟΙΓ . . . . ΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟ  
ΠΑΝΤΕΣΜΕ . Ε . . . . ΙΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ  
ΚΑΙΑΝΑΓ  
ΟΡΕΥΣΕΙ  
ΤΟΙΣΤΙΘ  
10 ΕΜΕΝΟΙΣ  
ΥΠΟΤΟΥΔ  
ΗΜΟΥΑΓΓ  
ΣΙΝΑΝΔΓ  
ΑΚΑΛΟΝ  
15 ΙΑΓΑΘΟΣ  
ΓΕΓΟΝΟ  
Α . . . ΓΡ  
. . . . ΝC

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Τελμη[σσ]έων ἐτείμησε | Διογένην Διογένου τοῦ Διογένου |  
τοῦ Σωσικλέου Πεδιέα χρυσῷ στ[εφάν]ῳ ἀριστείῳ καὶ εἰ[κ]όνι γραπτῇ  
[καὶ] σει[τήσῃ] | ἐν πρυτανείῳ καὶ ὧν οἱ π[ά]ροις τετειμημένο[ι] | πάντες μέ-  
[τ]ε[ι]χον καὶ προεδρία | καὶ ἀναγορεύσει | τοῖς τιθεμένοις | ὑπὸ τοῦ  
δῆμου ἀγῶσιν ἄνδρα καλὸν [κα]ὶ ἀγαθόν | γεγονό[τ]α . . . .

The lines were alternately coloured red and dark blue, the sixth and seventh being both blue. Most of the inscription was covered with a chalky deposit, which came off under the blows of a hammer. Unfortunately the pigment occasionally showed a tendency to come off with it, and the carving was very shallow. The operation was slow and I had to leave it unfinished. It seems odd that an honorary inscription should have been carved on an old tomb.

This inscription was discovered by the Austrian expedition of 1892. I have published it because my reading includes somewhat more than theirs.

6. At Telmessos, on a rock-tomb, on which occurs also the No. 107 of Fellows.

ΑΙΝΔΕΡΟΥΙ  
ΛΗΘΗΜΑ  
ΗΓΥΝΗΜΟΥ  
ΘΗΙ

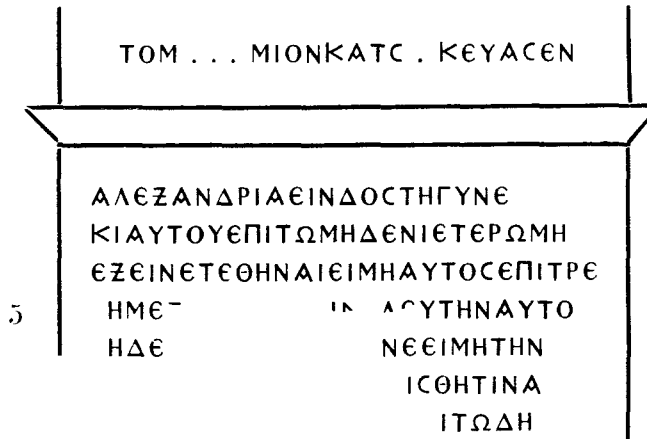
5 ΕΞΕΣΤΩ . Δ  
 ΤΗΚΑΙΟΣΕΓΙ  
 ΟΙΣΑΟΥΠ  
 ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ

This seems to have been the tomb of one Anderas or Ainderas, who was to be buried there with his wife. The last four lines may be

ἐξέστω [δὲ τῷ δέινῳ] | καὶ Ὀσέτ[η τ]οῖς [τοῦ δέινος] | τεθῆναι.

The carving is very rude and much weathered. The name of Osetes occurs in an inscription from Cyaneae (*Reisen*, vol. ii. p. 22). Letters '021m. This is 4224c in the *C.I.G.* supplement.

7. At Telmessos, on a cylindrical stele in the house of Nikola the kolji.



Τὸ μ[νη]μίον κατε[σ]κεύασεν | Ἀλεξανδρία Εἰνδος τῇ γυνεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ μὴ | ἐξείνε τεθῆναι εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέ[ψ]ῃ με[τὰ δὲ  
 τὴν τε]λευτήν αὐτοῦ | μ]ηδε[ν] ἐξείνε τεθῆ]νε εἰ μὴ τὴν | [γυναι]κα πείσαντι  
 ἐὰν δέ τις θῇ τινα | [. . . . ἀποτείσει] τῷ δὴ[μ]ω . . .

The first line is carved round the upper part of the stone, above a small moulding. Letters '023m. in the first line, '015m. in the rest.

8. At Telmessos, large stone in the wall of a house.

ΛΙΟΖ . . . C . ΕΛΕC . . . . ΙΟΥΚΑΙΕ . ΤΥΧΙΑC . . . ΑΤΗC . . . ΧΕΟΥC  
 . ΤΕΛΜΗC . . ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑC . . . Ο . . . . ΙΑΝΤΑΥΤΗΝ  
 ΕΘΗΝΑΙΙ . . . . . ΑΥΤΟΙΖΩΝΤ  
 . ΡΗCΟΜΕΝΕΤΕΡΟC . . Ο . . ΕΙC . ΑΝΟ . . . . . CΠΑΡΑΤΑ  
 CΗΛ . . . . . ΙΙΘCΑ . . . Α . . . .

Ἡλιόδ[ωρο]ς...καὶ Ε[ὐ]τυχία... Ε[ὐ]τυ[χέ]ους | ... Τελμησσ[εῖς] κατε-  
σκευάσ[αντ]ο [τὴν καμάρ]αν ταύτην | [ἐπὶ τῷ τ]εθῆναι [ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ... καὶ  
οἷς ἂν] αὐτοὶ ζῶντ[ες] | συνχω]ρήσωμεν ἕτερος [δὲ] ο[ὐδ]εὶς ἀνο[ίξει ἢ θάψει  
ἢ ὁ] παρὰ τα[ῦτα] | ποιήσας ἀποτεῖσει τῇ... ] θεᾶ....

The blotting-paper is unfortunately much torn owing to the roughness of the stone. Letters '035m.

9. At Assar-jik, near Kaba-agach, on a sarcophagus.

ΕΡΜΟΑΣΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΑΛΟΑΝ  
ΔΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙ  
ΚΙΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ  
ΤΟΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΛ  
5 ΛΩΙΔΕΜΗΘΕΝΙΕΞΕ . ΤΩ  
ΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΕΝΤΩΙΠΡΟ . .  
Γ . . . . ΩΙΤΑΦΩΙΗ  
. . ΣΑΤΩΘΑΨΑΣ . . . .  
ΩΝΩΙΜΟΥΕΡΜΟΛΑΩΙΔΡ .  
10 ΧΜΑΣΤΡΙΣΧΙΛΙΑΣΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ  
ΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΤΟΙΣΟΝ  
. ΛΗΘ . . . ΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΣΕ . . .  
. ΠΑΡΑΤΑΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑΘ . . ΑΣ  
ΘΕΟΙΣΠΑΣΙΚΑΙΠΑΣΑΙΣ

Ἑρμόας Μεννέου Ἀλοανδένος ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν τάφον  
κατεσκευάσατο καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις· ἄλλῳ δὲ μηθενὶ ἐξέ[σ]τω | ταφῆναι ἐν  
τῷ προ[γε]γ[ραμμέν]ῳ τάφῳ ἢ [ἀπότ]ι[σάτω] ὁ θάψας [τῷ νί]ωνῳ μού  
Ἑρμόλῳ δρ[α]χμὰς τρισχιλίας καθάπερ | ἐκ δίκης καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ἴσον  
| [π]λήθ[ος καὶ] ἀμαρτωλὸς ἐ[σ]τω | ὁ] παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα θ[άψ]ας |  
θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πᾶσαις.

Letters '018m.

From Kaba-agach, a village on the most frequented road between Makri and the southern Xanthos valley, a track leads up a steep ravine in a W.N.W. direction to a plateau, where it reaches a tiny hamlet after about an hour's climb. Not far beyond this rises to an elevation of 2,000 feet a wooded hill, known locally as Assar-jik, on the summit of which is a considerable mediaeval fortress. On its N.E. slope are several sarcophagi, for the most part broken and overthrown, on one of which was the preceding inscription. Further search revealed traces of a ring-wall, double on the N.W. side, and apparently of dwelling-houses. In a depression between this and a higher hill on the west is a single Lycian rock-tomb without inscription, and beyond this fragments of an ancient sustaining wall running along the side of the second hill. We followed this wall and found on the ridge behind it further

to the S.E. the ruins of a building composed of large squared blocks: it seemed too small for a fort, and its purpose remains for the present uncertain. In descending northward to rejoin the road to Makri we noticed further traces of ancient inhabitation. We may conclude provisionally that the name of this little town was Aloanda, though the name is not mentioned by any ancient writer, and the evidence of the inscription is of course inconclusive.

10. At Yakabagh, on a cylindrical stele said to have been brought from Pinara.

Τ . ΧΗΣ  
 ΚΛΕΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΛΛ . ΚΙΑΤΟΥ  
 ΤΕΔΙΑΣΑΣΙΟ  
 ΑΡΧΕ . ΤΡΑΤΟΥ . . ΟΥΤΟ  
 5 ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ . . . . ΟΝΟ  
 ΤΟΥΕ . . . Τ

Nothing appears from this except the names of Kleitas, Archestratus, and possibly Kallikrates. Perhaps the third line contains an Asiatic name. Letters 019m. Another fragment of a similar stele or base at the same place gives

ΕΥΚΛΕΟΥ\_  
 ΤΟΥΙΑΣΟΝ  
 ΤΕΡΑΓΕΓΟ  
 ΤΑΡΧΟ  
 ΤΑΥΤ  
 ΚΑΙ  
 Ρ

Reconstruction is impossible.

11. At Xanthos, on a broken white sarcophagus east of the town.

ΟΝΙ  
 ΡΕ . . . ΠΟΣΔΙΑΝ .  
 ΥΛΣ . ΤΟΥΠΑΝΤΑΡΧΟΥ  
 ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣΕΝΩΚΗΔΕΥΘΗ . . . .  
 5 ΑΥΤΟΣΤΕΚΑΙΗΣΥΜΒΙΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΧΡΥ  
 ΣΙΟΝΣΥΜΦΟΡΙΑΝΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥ  
 ΔΕΙΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΞΕΙΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙ  
 ΤΙΝΑΕΠΕΙΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩ  
 ΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩΕΠΙΤΕΙΜΙΟΥ . .  
 10 ΑΚΕΙΛΙΑ

Τοῦτον τὸν τάφον [κατεσκεύασεν | ὁ δεῖνα] δις [τοῦ δεῖνος] τοῦ Παντάρχου | [τοῖς (?)] ἐκ γένους ἐν ᾧ κηδεύθη[σεται] | αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Χρυσίου Συμφοριάνου. ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξουσίαν ἔξει κηδεύσαι | τινα ἐπεὶ ἀποτεῖσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἐπιτειμίου [\*φ] |  
Ἀκειλία.

Letters '032m. I cannot throw any light on the phrase ἐκ γένους, which however may perhaps be found elsewhere. I imagined τοῖς ἐκ γένους to mean 'his family.' But Mr. G. F. Hill suggests τοῦ παντάρχοντος ἐκ γένους ('the hereditary παντάρχων,' whatever he might be). He kindly informs me that παντάρχων occurs in one of the inscriptions copied by Birch from Daniell's MS.<sup>2</sup> Thus ἐκ γένους will be equivalent to ἐκ προγ'ων; and this view, I think, is almost certainly right. Mr. Hill further observes that I may have misread the last line, which might contain a numeral (*c.g.* πεντακισ-χείλια). I took no impression, but felt no doubt at the time.

12. At Xanthos, on the narrow side of a large stone, possibly a lintel, in large well-cut letters.

ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΟΥΗΡΑΝΙΑΣΜΙΟΥΞ ΑΝΘΙΑΣ  
ΕΝΩΤΑΦΗΣΕΤΑ ΙΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΑΕΞΑΥΤΗΣ  
ΤΕΚΝΑΕΤΕΡΩΔΕ ΜΗΕΞΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ  
ΗΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙΤΗΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΧΧ  
5 ΓΕΝΑΜΕΝΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥ  
ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

Τὸ ἡρώον Οὐηρανίας Μίου Ξανθίας | ἐν ᾧ ταφῆσεται αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς | τέκνα· ἐτέρῳ δὲ μὴ ἐξὸν εἶναι τεθῆναι | ἡ ὀφειλέσει τῇ Ξανθίων γερουσίᾳ \* χ |  
γεναμένην γυναῖκα Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ | Πολυστράτου.

The grammar of the latter part is beyond discussion, but the reading is certain.

13. At Xanthos, near the last, on a fragment of a sarcophagus.

ΤΗΝΠΟΙΑΙΔΑΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΕΑΞΑΝΘΙΑΚΑΙΙΔΥΜΙΣ  
ΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΔΙΑΚΣ . .  
. ΙΑΡ . . . . . ΔΕΝΑΙ . .  
5 . . ΝΟΛ . . . . ΑΙΗΑΠΟΤΙ  
. . ΤΩ . . . ΑΤΩΤΑΜΙΩ  
\* . ΦΟΜΗΝΥCΑCΛΗΨΕ  
ΤΕΑΙΖΑΥΤΩΝ\*Φ

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 123, no. 12.

Τὴν ποιάλιδα κατέσκευασεν | Χρυσέα Ξανθία καὶ Σιδύμις | ἐαυτῇ καὶ  
τῷ ἀνδρὶ . . . | [καὶ μῆ]δένα [ἕτερο]ν θά[ψαι ἔστ]αι ἢ ἀποτι[σά]τω [τῷ  
ἱερῶτ]άτῳ ταμίῳ \* [α]φ' ὁ μὲν ὡς λήψετε αἰξ αὐτῶν \* φ.

The restoration suggested for the fourth and fifth lines is barely possible.  
Letters '029m.

14. At Xanthos, on a sarcophagus lid, near the last two.

ΛΙΠΤΟΙΣΗΚΑΙΝΥΝΦΙΔΙΑ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ  
ΡΕΟΣΤΗΝΠΟΙΑΛΙΔΑΚΑ  
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙ  
5 ΤΗΘΡΕΠΤΗΜΟΥΛΩ . . .  
ΛΙΕΤΕΡΟΙ ΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΝ  
ΘΑΨΕΙΤΙΝΑΗΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙ  
ΤΗΠΟΛΙ \* φ

ἡ δαίνα] ἡ καὶ Νυνφιδία | Διονυσίου τοῦ Καλλιθυρέος τὴν ποιαλίδα  
κατέσκευασα ἐαυτῇ καὶ | τῇ θρεπτῇ μου Δω[σιά]δι· ἕτερο[ς] δὲ οὐδείς  
ἐνθάψει τινα ἢ ἀποτείσει | τῇ πόλ[ει] \* φ.

Mr. Hill suggests *Λητωίς* for the name at the beginning, but I cannot  
see an omega on the cast. Letters '035m.

15. At Xanthos, near the last, on a fragment of sarcophagus.

ΤΗΝΠΟΙΑΛΕΙΔΑΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ  
ΣΕΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΕΥΤΥΧΗΧΑ  
. ΤΗΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥΛΕΟ  
ΕΡ . ΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΙΗΕ

τὴν ποιαλείδα κατέσκευάσεν Αὐρήλιος Εὐτυχῆς [ἐ]α[υ]τ[ῷ] καὶ τῇ  
γυναικί μου[ . . . | . . ἐτ]έρ[ῳ] δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔ[σται] | κηδεῦσαί τινα . . .

Line 3. Δεο[υ]τίδι]: Mr. Hill. Letters '028m.

16. At Sidek-Sehili, on a sarcophagus.

ΤΟΜΗΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΙΩ  
ΤΗΡΙΧΟΣΚΑΙΟΜ  
ΠΙΝΑ . ΙΣΛΟ . ΙΤΑΙ  
ΗΝΠΟΛΙΟ . . Λ  
5 ΙΠΟΛΟΧΟΥΠΑΤΑ . /ΣΙ  
ΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΙΙΙ

Most of the letters are rather uncertain. We should probably be right in restoring the names of *Σωτήριχος* and *Ἰππόλοχος*, and the local adjectives *Πιναρίς* and *Παταρεύς*.

About half-way between Sidek-Yaila and Sidek-Schili a sarcophagus above the road has been discovered by the Austrians.<sup>3</sup> On examination it proved to be surrounded by a ring-wall, which encloses the top of a small eminence, but no other ruins were to hand except the lid of a similar sarcophagus.

It is curious that Spratt and Forbes should have missed the village of Schret-Schili, which lies on the road from Sidek-Schili to Andifilo, at two hours' journey from the former. Their track on the map appears to pass right over its position.

17. Near Belenkli-Skelesi, on a sarcophagus.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΜΟΣΧΟΣΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ  
ΦΕΛΛΕΙΤΗΣΕΑΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΝ  
ΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΗΠΕΝΘΕΡΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛ<sup>ω</sup>ΝΙΩΔΗΜΗ  
ΤΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΕΡΠΙΔΑΣΗΕΡΜΟΚΡΑ ΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΛΕΞΑΝ  
5 ΔΡΩΤΩΘΡΕΠΤΩΜΟΥΑΛΛ<sup>ω</sup>ΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤ<sup>ω</sup>  
ΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙΗΟΦΙΛΗΣΙΦΕΛΛΕΙΤΩΝΤ<sup>ω</sup>ΔΗΜΩ<Γ

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκεύασεν Μόσχος Ἰασόνος | Φελλείτης ἐατῶ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἐν γόνοις καὶ τῇ πενθερᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Δημητρίου καὶ Ἐρπιδάσῃ Ἑρμοκράτου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ θρεπτῷ μου. ἄλλῃ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω | κηδεῦσαι ἢ ὀφιλῆσι Φελλειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ <Γ.

This sarcophagus lies with three others in a little valley which faces from the western end of the bay of Assar across to Alimetaria. We reached it by a track which passes under the acropolis at the south end of the harbour of Sevedo (which Prof. Benndorf<sup>4</sup> now identifies—correctly, I am convinced—with Phellos), and roughly follows the coast-line. About a mile eastward of these sarcophagi a hill rises from the shore of the bay, on which are the ruins of two square tower-like forts of ancient masonry, very carefully hewn and laid. Sarcophagi were frequently seen in the neighbourhood, but those which we could examine had no inscriptions. We heard afterwards that there were extensive ruins at Belenkli itself: the report may or may not be worth investigating.

18. Near Belenkli-Skelesi, on another sarcophagus.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΤΟΕΜΝΗΛ . . ΝΒΛ  
ΕΑΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑΥΤΗΣΠΑΣΙΔΗΜΩΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΡΥΝΒΑΣΕΙΚΑΙΠΟΡΑΣΙΜΑΤΕΙ . ΑΙ  
ΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΤΟΥΤΩΝΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΛΛΩΔΕ ΑΙΛΙΩ

<sup>3</sup> *Revue*, vol. i, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeol. et philologisches Jahrbuch von Vienna*, No. xviii, (July 20 1892).

5 ΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΩΘΑΨΑΙΕΙΔΕΜΗΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΕΣΤΩ  
 ΘΕΟΙΣΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΙΕΡΑΣΛΗ . Ο .  
 ΦΕΛΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΩΔΗΜΩ<ΓΤΗΣΠΡΑΞΕΩΣΟΥΧΗΣΠΑΝΤΙΤΩ  
 ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩΕΠΙΤΩΗΜΙΣΕΙ

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσατο Σεμνή Ἀ[ρυν]νβά[σιος] | ἐατῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Πασιδήμῳ Δαμοκράτους | καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Ἀρυννβάσει καὶ Πορασιμάτει [κ]αὶ Λιλίῳ (?) | καὶ ταῖς τούτων γυναῖξι καὶ τέκνοις· ἄλλῳ δὲ | μηδενὶ ἐξέστω θάψαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἔστω | θεοῖς χθονίοις καὶ ὀφειλέτῳ ἱερὰς Λη[τ]ο[ύς] | Φελλειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ <Γ τῆς πράξεως οὔσης παντὶ τῷ | βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει.

Letters '027m. The names of the third son and the deity to whom the fine was consecrated are very uncertain. It is interesting to note that Phellos extended its 'sphere of influence' so far.

19. Near Kyran-Dagh, on a sarcophagus.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣ ΚΕΥΑΣΑΤΟΟΣΕΤΗΣΚΑΡΟΑΔΙ  
 ΟΣΕΑΤΩΚΑΙΤΩΥ . ΩΑΛΩΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΩ  
 ΘΑΨΑΙΗΑΝΟΙΞ . ΙΕΙΔΕΜΗΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΤΩΤΥΙΝ  
 ΔΕΩΝΗΕ . ΠΟΛΙ - ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣΤΡΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΑΣΤΗΣΠΡΟΣ  
 5 ΑΝΓΕΛΙΑΣΟΥΣΗ . . ΑΝΤΙΤΩΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩΕΠΙΤΩΗΜΙ  
 ΣΕΙ . ΑΙΑΜΑΡΤ . ΛΟΣΕΣΤΩΘΕΟΙΣΧΘ . . ΙΟΙΣ .

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσατο Ὁσέτης Καροάδιος (?) ἐατῷ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἄλ(λ)ῳ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω | θάψαι ἢ ἀνοῖξ[α]ι εἰ δὲ μὴ ὀφειλέτῳ τῷ Τυιν-δέων [π]ε[ρι]πολίῳ δραχμὰς τρισχειλίας τῆς προσ'ανγελίας οὔση[ς π]αντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει [κ]αὶ ἁμαρτ[ω]λὸς ἔστω θεοῖς χθ[ον]ίοις.

For the name Osetes see above on No. 6; the name of his father is rather uncertain, and at first appeared to be *Καρλάδιος*. I cannot find elsewhere any instance of a fine made payable to a *περιπόλιον*, which, however, might conceivably be the title of a magisterial body. Mr. Bather suggests *νεωπολίῳ*, which would presumably mean the treasury of the temple service. *ναόπολος* is quoted in the *Thesaurus* from Alcaeus Strabonis, 9, p. 467, and *νηόπολος* occurs in Hes. *Theog.* 991. Letters '027.

A track leads southward from Balijah, on the road between Andiflo and Yaghu, up the range of hills which forms the southern boundary of the Cyaneae plateau. After half-an-hour an eminence on the right shows the ruins of a tiny fort on its summit and other buildings consisting of small unsquared blocks. From this point a stiff ascent of less than half-an-hour leads to a pass containing three or four sarcophagi and a single rough rock-tomb. A few house-ruins and another sarcophagus were found on a little hill to the left. A little further on stands another group of some half-dozen sarcophagi, one of which bears the inscription given above. The track here



bears to to the right, and in a quarter of a mile reaches a poor hamlet called Kyran-Dagh, at the foot of a hill on which are three sarcophagi and a fortress built of large squared masonry and measuring about 70 yards by 18: there are also ruins representing six or seven dwelling-houses. Opposite this fortress on the S.W. is a higher hill of conical form called Chardakly, on the summit of which stands a fort built of small rough masonry.

There is some difficulty in reconciling this with the account given by Dr. von Luschan <sup>5</sup> of a citadel which he discovered near Chardakly. If his Chardakly is identical with ours it seems strange that he should have passed it without finding this monument, and perhaps stranger that the natives, whom we questioned closely, should have known nothing of the ruins which he visited. On the other hand his acropolis, as shown on the map, almost covers the position of Kyran-Dagh, and the identity of name has to be accounted for. As Chardakly only means 'camping-place,' the latter difficulty is perhaps not very considerable; and on the whole I am inclined to think that his position must have been somewhat east of ours.

As to Tuinda, it must remain uncertain for the present whether it is identical with our acropolis or that of Dr. von Luschan or Tüssa, or none of these. The literary authorities are quite silent.

20. At Cyaneae, on a stone built into the wall within the N.E. side of the city.

MATEΥΣΑΝΤΑΙ  
ΤΑΤΩΝΓΕΡΑΙΩΝΧΙΙ  
ΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣΔΕΚΑ  
ΜΕΧΡΙΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΤΕΙΜ  
5 ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ . . . ΕΤΛΙ  
ΥΠΟΓ . . . . . Ζ

γραμ]ματεύσαντα [...ἱερῶν]τάτων γεραίων.... | Λυκίων ἔθνους δέκα  
... | μεχρὶ τελευτῆς τειμ[ηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς] | πατρίδος.....

21. At Cyaneae, on a stone built into the wall outside a little further east than the last.

ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΚΥΑΝΕΙΤ  
ΝΝΗΤΗΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΙΕ

...Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Κυανείτης.. | ..Νά]ννη τῇ μητρὶ....

This fragment has some decorative carving above the letters.

22. At Cyaneae, on a broken sarcophagus outside the wall near the last.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ  
ΝΕΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΕΧΑΡΙΣΑ

<sup>5</sup> *Revue*, vol. ii. p. 27.

ΤΟΟΝΗΚΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΔΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΕΝ ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΑΥ  
ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΝ . . ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΤ

5 ΚΝΑΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ-

Τὸν τάφον κατασκευάσας Ἀλκιμος | Νεικοστράτου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
ἐχαρίσατο Ὀνησικράτη δις ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν κηδευθῆναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν  
γυναῖκα [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τὰ π[έ]κνα καὶ τοὺς [ἐγγόνους] . .

Αὐτόν probably means Onesikrates, though a man who could write  
γυναῖκα might intend it to refer to the subject. The two fathers of  
Alkimos seem to point to adoption.

23. At Cyaneae, on a large base built into the wall just above the last.

ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΩ ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ  
ΟΙ ΝΕΟΙ

Νικοστράτῳ Νικοστράτου | οἱ νέοι.

Possibly one of these Nikostratoi is identical with the one mentioned in  
the last inscription.

24. At Cyaneae, on a base in the wall farther east than the last.

ΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΣΑΡΗΤΙΩ  
ΣΥΝΕΦΗΒΟΙ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΩ  
ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΩ ΣΥΝΕ  
ΦΗΒΩ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕ  
ΗΡΩΙ

Οἱ σὺν Σαρητίῳ | συνέφηβοι Σελεύκῳ | Σελεύκου τῷ συνε|φήβῳ  
μνήμης ἔνεκε | ἥρωι.

Possibly a club is meant. Mr. Hill informs me that *συνέφηβοι* occur  
also in an inscription from Xanthos among Birch's copies.<sup>6</sup>

25. At Cyaneae, on a sarcophagus by the ancient ascent.

ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΗΣΚΕΙΤΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ  
ΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ . ΟΥΝΑΣΤΗΣ ΚΑ  
ΠΛΥΑΣΤΗΣ . Ρ . ΝΑΚΤΟΣΤΟ  
5 ΙΑ . Ο . ΒΤΟΥΣΙ . ΛΙΠΟΥΚΥΑ  
ΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΙΠΤΟ . ΑΤΙΠΣ Δ  
ΟΠΙ . ΟΙ ΠΕΠΙ . . . . . ΛΦΗ . Ο

<sup>6</sup> See below p. 123, no 12.

- ΤΑΙ . ΥΤΟΙΚΑΙΟΙΥΙΟΙΘΕΤΟΙ  
 ΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΩΝΓ . ΝΑΙ  
 10 ΚΕΣΝΟΜΙΜΟΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΑ
- 
- ΕΝΔΕΤΩΥΠΟΣΟΡΙΩΟΙΘΡΕΠΤΟΙΚΑΙΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ  
 ΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΕΝ  
 ΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΗΕΠΙΤΡΕΥΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΗΥΠΟΚΕΙΣΕΤΑΙΤΟΙΣ  
 ΕΚΤΩΝΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝΕΠΙ . . . ΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΞΩΘΕΝΟΦΕΙΛΕ  
 15 ΣΕΙΤΗΚΥΑΝΕΙΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΨΓΛ . . ΥΟΗΕΝΟ . ΤΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΣΑΝΓΕΙΛΑΝΤΟΣΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝ

Τὸ μνημεῖον Κτησκεῖτον | τοῦ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ [Π]α[ρ-  
 θέ]νας τῆς κα[ῖ] | Πλύας τῆς . . . νακτος το[ῦ] | δέινος | β' τοῦ [Ἑρμ]αμόου  
 Κυανειτῶν σὺν [. . — . . | . . . ἐν ᾧ τ]αφή[σ]ο[ν]ται αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ  
 θετοὶ | αὐτῶν καὶ τούτων γ[υ]ναῖκες νόμιμοι καὶ τέκνα | ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορίῳ  
 οἱ θρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀπελεύθεροι | τῶν προγεγραμμένων. ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἕξεσται  
 ἐνταφῆναι ἢ ἐπιτρέψαι ἑτέρῳ ἢ ὑποκεῖσεται τοῖς | ἐκ τῶν διαταξέων ἐπι-  
 [τειμί]οις καὶ ἕξωθεν ὀφειλέσει τῇ Κυανειτῶν πόλει ✕ Γ λ[ην]ψο(μ)ένο[ν]  
 τοῦ | προσανγείλαντος τὸ τρίτον.

Letters 0.26m. In line 5 Mr. Hill suggests Ἰάσονος.

26. At Andriake, on west side of valley, on a sarcophagus.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
 Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου.

27. At Andriake, not far from the last, on a sarcophagus.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕ  
 ΣΤΗΣΕΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ . . . Ο  
 ΤΟΣΔΙΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΜΥ  
 ΡΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙ  
 5 ΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΑΡCΑCΙ

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατέστησεν Αὐρήλιος . . . | τος δις Ἀπολλωνίου Μυρεῦς  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσάσι.

28. At Andriake, on east side of valley, on a sarcophagus.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΕΓΙ . . . ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΝΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤ  
 ΣΥΝΒΙΩΜΟΥΑΥΙ ΗΛΙΩΧΡΙ  
 . ΜΩΚΑΙΤΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΕΙΗΜΩ  
 5 . . ΓΙΝΗΤΗ . ΧΑΤΕΟΥΕΙΑΝΕ

. INTOYANE . IOYKHEYΘHCONTAI  
 IINII . . KAITAΠAIDIAMOYKAI . . A  
 . . WNTENAKAITAΘPEΠTAHM  
 E . . . ANIANO . . ΛIHETEPWΔEOYΔE  
 10 . IENKHEYCAITINAHOEENKHEY  
 . . . . . EIA\*Φ

Αὐρηλία . . . κατ[εσκέυασα τήν] | σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῇ καὶ τ[ῶ] | συνβίῳ  
 μου Αὐρηλίῳ Χρη[σί]μῳ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἡμῶ[ν] | .. | .. κηδευθήσονται |  
 . . . καὶ τὰ παῖδιά μου καὶ [τ]ὰ [ἐξ] | αὐτ[ῶν] τέκνα καὶ τὰ θρεπτὰ ἡμ[ῶν] |  
 . . . . . ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδε[ν] ἐξ[ε]σ[ταί] ἐν κηδεύσαι τινα ἢ ὁ ἐν κηδεύ[σας] |  
 [ὀφειλέτω τῇ γερονσ]ία \*Φ.

An eye-copy taken rather hurriedly. In line 6 Mr. Hill suggests  
 τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ.

29. On the mountain above the port of Phineka, on a sarcophagus.

KAI EI M . . . ΛONACKΛHΠIΔ  
 ΘAΦHNEAΛΛΩΔEMHΔEN  
 TAΦHNEANΔETICTHAYHOΦIA  
 ΛEIMYPEΩNΔHMΩ\*

[Τὸν τάφον κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δεῖνα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὸς καὶ . . .] καὶ Ἐ[ρ]μ[ό]-  
 φι[λον] Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου ἐν]θαφῆνε (sic). ἄλλῳ δὲ μηδεν[ὶ ἐξέ]στω | ταφῆνε·  
 (ἐ)ὰν δέ τις θάψῃ ὀφιλ[ή]σει τῷ | Λειμυρέων δῆμῳ \* [Φ?].

Letters 0·42m. I do not find the spelling *Λειμυρέων* elsewhere. I did  
 not cast the first four lines, thinking them too much weathered to be legible :  
 but judging from the latter part I fancy the whole might be recovered.

This sarcophagus stands with half-a-dozen others on the second 'fortified  
 eminence' mentioned by Spratt and Forbes.<sup>7</sup> The remains are not extensive,  
 but include numbers of large squared blocks and portions of a moulded step,  
 which probably supported a large built tomb. It seems then that the strong-  
 hold, which commands the pass admirably, was connected with Limyra.

30. At Haji-Velilyr (Korydalla), on a stone built into the wall of  
 a hut.

EA . . . . AI . . NA .  
 KAIYOIC . . OTHPIKA  
 ZAN . IΩKAIΓYN . ZIA  
 A . MAIEKAIΘYΓAT  
 5 MAPCIIKAI EΓΓONOI  
 ANEΘPEYATO AΓAOITYXH

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i, p. 142. 'Before we commenced our descent,' &c.

ΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΗΕΙ . ΕΤ . . ΕΝ . Υ  
 CYNΦΕΡΟΥCΗΤΕΡΟCΔΕΟ  
 ΕΝΚΗΔC . ΙΤΙΝ . ΗΟΦΕΙΑ  
 ΙΟ . . ΛΑΛΛ . C .

ὁ δεῖνα τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσεν] | ἐα[υτῷ καὶ [γυ]να[ικὶ . . . ] | καὶ  
 υἱοῖς [Σ]ωτῆρι κα[ὶ] | Ξαν[δ]ίῳ καὶ γυν[α]ξὶ α[υτῶν] | . . . ] καὶ θυγατ[ρὸς  
 Δη]μαρέτῃ (!, καὶ ἐγγόνοι[s καὶ θρεπτοῖς αὐτῶν] | ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
 [καὶ Ἑλ]πίδι καὶ [ . . . . . καὶ] | Συνφερούσῃ ἑτεροῦ δὲ οὐδὲις] | ἐνκηδε[ύσ]ε  
 τιν[α] ἢ ὀφειλ[ή]σι τῷ Κορυδα[λλ]έ[ω]ν δῆμῳ . . .

This inscription had been partly covered with plaster and our endeavours to clean it were only partially successful. The execution is rather careless and the letters vary from 0·22 to 0·13m. I read the name Xandios in an inscription found between Andifilo and Balijah, where however the Austrians have ΝΕΑΝΔΡΟΥ for ΔΙΞΕΑΝΔΙΟΥ.

31. At Rhodiapolis, on a half-buried rock-tomb.

ΤΑΥΤΑΣΤΑΣΘΗΚΑΣΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΤΟΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΙΣ  
 ΙΜΒΡΑΛΟΥΤΗΝΜΕΝΕΞΩΕΑΥΤΩΙΤΗΝΔΕΕΞΩΤΟΙΞΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ  
 ΜΗΕΞΕΣΤΩΔΕΕΙΣΤΗΝΕΞΩΑΛΛΟΝΜΗΘΕΝΑΠΑΡΕΝΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΜΗΔΕΑΔΙΚΗΣΑΙ  
 ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΠΑΡΕΥΡΕΞΕΙΜΗΔΕΜΙΑΙΕΙΔΕΜΗΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΞΕΣΤΩΘΕΟΙΣΠΑΣΙΚΑΙΠΑΣΑΙΣ

Ταύτας τὰς θήκας κατεσκευάσατο Ἀρχέπολις | Ἰμβράλου τὴν μὲν ἔσω  
 ἐαυτῷ τὴν δὲ ἔξω τοῖς ἐγγόνοις | μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ εἰς τὴν ἔσω ἄλλον μηθένα  
 παρεντεθῆναι μηδὲ ἀδικῆσαι | τὸν τάφον παρευρέσει μηδεμίᾳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πᾶσαις.

The letters are very neatly cut. The tomb is divided by an inner front into two chambers, like many other house-built rock-tombs.

It may be useful to add a list of coins purchased in Lycia. Where the provenience is not stated, they were procured at Telmessos or Antiphellos, and may generally be assumed to have been found within a radius of, say, a dozen miles from those ports.

Rhodes, AR 7 (one from Limyra).	Hierapolis (Augustus), AE 1
„ AE 8 (one from Xanthos).	Telmessos, AE 4.
Alexander the Great, AR 2.	Side, AR 2.
Philip III., AE 3.	Chios, AE 1.
Eupolemus (Macedonia), AE 1 (from Xanthos).	Cos, AE 1.
Ptolemies, AE 3.	Samos (Severus), AE 1.
Seleucia, AE 1.	Ephesus, AE 2.
Pergamum (Philetaerus), AE 1.	Tabae (Caria), AE 1.
	Mytilene, AE 1 (from Limyra).

None of the above are of pre-Macedonian date.

Lycian coins:—

Perikles, Æ 4.

League types:—

Masikytos, Æ 6 drachmae.

„ Æ 4.

Kragos, Æ 1 hemidrachm.

„ Æ 2.

Limyra, Æ 1 drachm.

„ Æ 1.

Masikytos and Kragos, Æ 1.

Antiphellos (?), Æ 3.

and a number of small Æ not exactly identified. Also above a hundred Roman coins, none of which are earlier than the empire.

GILBERT DAVIES.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM LYCIA AND PISIDIA COPIED BY  
DANIELL AND FELLOWS.

THE Library of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum possesses a manuscript volume containing a large collection of notes on the antiquities of Lycia made at different times by Samuel Birch. A considerable part of the volume appears to be a transcript from the papers of E. T. Daniell, the scholar who accompanied Spratt and Forbes on their travels in Lycia in 1842. Daniell copied a large number of inscriptions in Lycia, the Cibyratis, Pisidia and Pamphylia, some of which were published by his fellow-travellers in the second volume of their journal. It is particularly unfortunate that Daniell did not live to publish the results of his labours, as they have clearly suffered very seriously at the hands of others. What became of his original MS. is not known, only one page apparently in his hand remaining incorporated in Birch's volume. Birch's copies must be received with a considerable amount of caution, particularly as regards the forms of the letters. At the same time there is much that is worth publishing, and I have to thank the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for his permission to publish what follows.

The volume has of course been seen by various scholars, who have made use of it in various ways. Some extracts from it were made by Benndorf, and references will be found to it in the Notes to the second volume of the *Reisen in Lykien*, etc. The inscriptions here published are selected from the hitherto unpublished ones contained in the MS. I have been careful to avoid to the best of my power the repetition of anything that has already seen the light, mentioning only important variations from already published documents.

The references are to the present paging of the MS. volume, which apparently does not now correspond exactly to that given by Benndorf; to Fellows, *Account of Discoveries in Lycia, being a Journal*, etc. (1841); Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia* (1847); Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et Asie Mineure* (1870); the *Corpus Inscr. Gr.*; Lanckoronski, *Villes de Pamphylie et Pisidie* (1890-93); and the *Reisen in Lykien*, etc. (1884 and 1889).

A few pages included in Birch's volume include transcripts from copies made by Sir Charles Fellows in his third expedition, and there are two pages in Fellows' own handwriting. Some of the inscriptions found on these pages have been included in what follows on the same principle as those owing to Daniell.

There are a few fragmentary inscriptions in Lycian characters, copied by Fellows, which have not been reproduced here.

ΕΓΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝΠΙΓΡΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΚΙΛΛΟΡΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥΚΔ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΣΙΑΚΗΣΕΚΑΗΣΙΑΣΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΗΣΔΕΟΞΕΝΑΚΑΛΙΣΣΕΩΝΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΩΔΗΜΩΝ////  
ΟΚΑΙΚΤΑΣΑΔΑΣΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣΗΜΩΝΑΝΗΡΓΕΝΕΙΚΑΙΑΞΙΑΡΡΩΤΟΙΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΟΣΕΓΙΣΗΜΟΣΔΕΚΑΙΕΝΤΩ  
ΕΘΝΕΙΓΕΝΟΥΣΑΜΠΡΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΟΥΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΜΩΝΕΓΙΣΗΜΟΣΔΕΚΑΙΕΝΤΩΕΘΝΕΙ  
ΓΕΝΟΥΣΑΜΠΡΟΥΚΑΙΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΟΥΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΜΩΝΠΡΩΤΩΝΑΛΑΜΠΡΩΝΚΑΙΕΓΙΣΗΜΟΝ  
ΚΑΙΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΛΑΠΑΡΕΣΧΕΜΕΝΩΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΕΝΤΕΑΙΣΕΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΑΡΧΑΙΣΡΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑΙΣΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΑΙΣ  
ΟΣΥΝΑΙΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝΓΥΜΝΙΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΑΙΣΤΑΜΙΑΙΣΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΚΙΑΙΣΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΤΕΙΑΙΣΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΕΙΑΙΣ  
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΟΑΝΑΔΟΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΠΙΔΟΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΑΝΕΘΕΜΑΣΕΣΙΝΝΑΩΝΤΕΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΚΕΤΩΝ  
ΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΛΟΙΠΟΙΣΟΙΣΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΤΟΕΠΙΣΥΝΦΕΡΟΝΤΙΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΣΤΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ  
ΕΠΑΙΝΩΝΚΑΙΤΕΙΜΩΝΚΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΩΝΤΕΤΕΥΧΕΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΔΕΕΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣΕΚΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝΣΩΜΑΤΩΝΥΠΑΡΧΟΝ  
ΑΙΥΠΕΡΒΕΛΗΣΑΙΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΜΗΚΕΝΤΑΣΠΡΟΓΟΝΙΚΑΣΑΡΕΤΑΣΚΑΙΔΟΞΑΣΕΝΤΕΛΙΣΤΕΛΕΚΕΝΑΡΧΑΙΣ  
ΕΑΡΧΑΙΣΚΑΙΕΓΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΛΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑΡΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΚΟΣΑΠΡΟΤΕΥΩΝΕΡΕΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΗΚΑΙΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΑΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΝΔΟΙΠΗΝΤΟΥΒΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΛΗΝΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΗΝΚΑΙΠΑ  
ΡΟΦΗΝΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΩΝΤΕΙΜΩΝΚΑΙΕΠΑΙΝΩΝΚΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΩΝΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΕΤΕΛΕΥΧΕΝΑΙΗΔΗ  
15 ΑΙΦΙΛΑΣΑΘΩΣΚΑΙΕΝΤΕΤΕΛΗΚΕΝΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΑΓΕΛΑΡΧΙΑΝΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΩΣΣΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΑ ΣΙΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΣΘΑΙ  
ΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΣΕΓΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣΤΕΛΟΥΜΕ . . ΝΑΣΑΡΧΑΣΥΠΕΡΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΚΤΑΣΑΙΔΟΥΚΑΙΤΡΕΒΗΜΟΥΚΑΙΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΙΧΑΙΡΕΣΙΟΥΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣΕΝΔΕΤΩΕΘΝΕΙΗΔΗΥΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑΣΚΤΑΣΑΔΟΥΚΑΙΤΡΕΒΗΜΟΥ  
ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣΔΕΑΓΕΛΑΡΧΙΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΝΛΟΙΠΗΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΔΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΝΥΙΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΣ  
ΓΑΝΤΩΝΜΕΤΑΡΑΣΗΣΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΣΚΑΙΕΥΦΗΜΙΑΣΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙ



## LYCIA.

## 1. P. 320.—ACALISSUS.

ἐπ' ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Πιγρέους τοῦ Κιλλόρτου, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ κ',  
 (ἀ)[ρ]χαιρεσιακῆς ἐκ(κλ)ησίας ὑπαρχούσης, ἔδοξεν Ἀκαλισσέων τῇ(ι) βου-  
 λῇ(ι) καὶ τῶ(ι) δῆμῳ(ι)· ἐ[πεὶ Κτησικλῆς] | ὁ καὶ Κτας(ἀ)δας, πολεΐτης ἡμῶν,  
 ἀνὴρ γένει καὶ ἀξία(ι) πρῶτο(ς) τῆς πόλεω(ς), <ἐπίσημος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶ(ι) |  
 5 ἔθνει, γένους λαμπροῦ καὶ πρῶτου τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν,> ἐπίσημος δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 τῶ(ι) ἔθνει, | γένους λαμπροῦ καὶ ἐπισήμου καὶ πρῶτου τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν,  
 πρῶτων (καὶ) λαμπρῶν καὶ ἐπισήμ(ω)ν, | καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα παρεσ-  
 χ(η)μένων τῇ(ι) πόλει, ἔν τε αἷς ἐτέλεσαν ἀρχαῖς, πρυτανείαις, γραμματεῖαις,  
 [ἱερω]σύναις Σεβαστῶν, γυμ<ι>ασιαρχαῖς, ταμίαις, παραφυλακίαις, ἐπι-  
 μελετεῖαις, δεκαπρωτείαις, | ἐποίησαντο ἀναδόσεσιν καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν καὶ  
 ἀν(α)θέμασ<εσ>ιν ναῶν τε καὶ ἀνδριάντων προσκεκοσμηκ(ό)των | τὴν πόλιν,  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς οἷς ἐπολιτεύσαντο <το> ἐπὶ συνφέρουσι τῆς πόλεως ὡς  
 10 τ(ῶ)ν καλλίστ(ω)ν | ἐπαίνων καὶ τειμῶν καὶ μαρτυριῶν τετευχέναι, αὐτὸς  
 δὲ (ὁ) Κτησικλῆς ἐκ τοιούτων σωμάτων ὑπάρχ(ω)ν [κ]αὶ ὑπερβεβλήσ(θ)αι  
 καὶ προσ(κεκοσ)μηκέν(αι) τὰς προγονικὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ δόξας, ἔν τε (α)ἷς  
 (τε)τέλεκεν ἀρχαῖς | <ε ἀρχαῖς>, καὶ ἐγ δευτέρου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀναλώ-  
 ματα ποιησάμενος εἰκοσαπρω(ω)τεύων ἐπεικῶ(ς) καὶ | (δ)ὴ καὶ ὑσύνκριτα  
 ἀναλώματα, καὶ διὰ τὴν (λ)οιπὴν τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντας καλὴν καὶ  
 ἀγαθὴν καὶ πα[---τ]ροφὴν, τῶν προσηκόντων τειμῶν καὶ ἐπαίνων καὶ μαρ-  
 15 τυριῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετ<ελ>ευχέναι ἤδη [κ]αὶ φιλα(γ)ύθως κα(θ' ἣ)ν?  
 τετέλ(ε)κεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγελαρχίαν ἐπισήμως καὶ φιλαγάθως ὡς  
 διὰ ταῦτα <πα. σι κεκοσμήσθαι>? | καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐπαλλήλους τελουμένας  
 ἀρχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων Κταςά<ι>δου καὶ Τρεβήμου καὶ Κτησικλ(έ)ους |  
 καὶ Χαιρεσίου τῇ(ι) πόλει φιλοτείμως, ἐν δὲ τῶ(ι) ἔθνει ἤδη ὑποφυλακίας  
 Κταςάδου καὶ Τρεβήμου, | Κτησικλέους δὲ ἀγελαρχίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν λοιπὴν  
 (αὐτοῦ)! καὶ τῶν προδηλουμένων νιῶν αὐτοῦ (τροφὴν)? πρὸς | πάντων μετὰ  
 πάσης προθυμίας καὶ εὐφημίας γραφῆναι . . .

vv. 7, 12. δεκαπρωτείας, εἰκοσαπρωτεύων. See the references in *Reisen* i. p. 70, note 1, and for the general cursus honorum in Lycia, *ibid.* ii. p. 119.

v. 15. ἀγελαρχίαν. Petersen in *Reisen* ii. p. 146, note 2 suggests that the agelarchia was an office similar to that of the ἀρχων ἐφήβων or ἀρχέφηβος. Another title connected with the ἐφηβοι is that of παντάρχων, which occurs at Xanthus (No. 12 *infra*).

## 2. P. 323.—ACALISSUS. ('Koorostanlic.')

The inscriptions on this, the last (i.e. *Reisen* ii. No. 176) and the two following pages (*i.e.* Nos. 4 and 5) on one tomb like the above; only one pedestal for a statue is standing; on A to the left has been a short inscription (on it) but the only word remaining is ΑΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ' (*i.e.* Κτησικλῆς).

ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ  
ΔΙΣΤΟΥΣΠΑΔΙΟΣΕΑΥΤΩΤΕΚΑΙΓΥ  
ΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΠΕΝΔΙΔΑΣΗΕΡΜΟΥΑΚΑΙ  
ΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΘΑΨΑΙΗΕΡΕΙ  
5 ΕΝΚΕΙΝΠΤΟΜΑΙ ΟΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙΟΕΠΙ  
ΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΣΤΩΦΙΣΚΩ\*ΓΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ  
ΟΥΣΗΣΠΑΝΤΙΤΩΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩΕΛΕΝ  
ΧΕΙΝΕΡΙΤΩΤΡΙΤΩΜΕΡΕΙΕΚΤΟΣ  
ΕΙΜΗΤΙΝΙΕΝΓΡΑΦΩΣΕΠΙΤΡΕΨΩ

Κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἀνγείον Ἑρμαῖος | δις τοῦ Σπάδιος ἐαυτῶ(ι) τε καὶ  
γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Πενδιδάση(ι) Ἑρμοῦ Ἀκ[α(λ)ισσίδι]. | ἄλλω(ι) δὲ οὐδενὶ  
ἔξεσται θάψαι ἢ ἐπει[σεν] ἐνκεῖν πτ(ῶ)μα (ἦ) ὀφειλήσει ὁ ἐπιχειρήσας τῶ(ι)  
φίσκω(ι) (δηνάρια) γ, ἐξουσίας οὔσης παντὶ τῶ(ι) βουλομένω(ι) ἐλένχειν  
ἐπὶ τῶ(ι) τρίτῳ(ι) μέρει ἐκτὸς | εἰ μὴ τινι ἐνγραφῶς ἐπιτρέψω.

Σπάδιος. Cf. the genitive Ἀππάδιος (*Reisen* ii. No. 27, and note 5).

ἐαυτῶ(ι)—αὐτοῦ. I have throughout, in cases like this, placed the smooth breathing over the shorter form of the word. The lapidary would hardly have used ἐαυτῶ and αὐτοῦ in juxtaposition.

### 3. P. 326.—ACALISSUS.

ΠΑΝΤΑΙΝΕΤΟΣΚΩ	Πανταίνετος Κ(όν)ωνος κατεσκεύα-
ΝΟΣΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ	σεν τὸ ἀνγείον   ἐαυτῶ(ι) καὶ γυναικὶ
ΣΕΝΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝ	καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ Νάρει
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	Σαλάμου, ἄλλω(ι) δὲ οὐδενί.
5 ΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΓ	
ΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΝΑΡΕΙΣΑ	
ΛΑΜΟΥΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥ	
ΔΕΝΙ	

An inscription from Athens (*C.I.G.* i. No. 737) reads Κόνων Ταμφαινέτου  
Ξυπ[ε]ταίων. For the second name the editor suggests Πανταινέτου. For  
the name Νάρις cf. *Reisen* ii. Nos 178, 180.

### 4. P. 324.—ACALISSUS—IDEBESSUS.

ΔΑΦΝΑΙΟΣΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΔΙΣ  
ΤΟΥΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΑΚΑ  
ΑΠΟΙΔΕΒΗΣΣΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ  
ΑΣΕΝΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩ  
5 ΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΕ  
ΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΑΥ

ΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΠΡΟ  
ΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΖΟΣΙΜΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙ

<sup>10</sup> ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙ

Δαφναῖος Ἐρμαίου δις | τοῦ Ἑρμογένους Ἀκα(λίσσευς) | ἀπὸ Ἰδεβησ-  
σοῦ κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἀνγείον αὐτῶ(ι) | καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις  
καὶ γυναιξὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προγόνους αὐτοῦ Ζ(ω)σίμω(ι)  
καὶ γυναικὶ | αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν καὶ | Π[τ]ολεμαίω(ι), ἄλλω(ι)  
δὲ οὐδενί.

The relation between Acalissus and Idebessus, by which the latter counted as a deme of the former, is well known (see Hirschfeld in *Arch. Ep. Mitth. aus Oest.* ix. p. 195).

5. P. 325.—ACALISSUS—IDEBESSUS.

(a) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΚΟΝΔΟΣΑΣΟΙΟΡΕΙΟΥΔΙΣ  
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΟΕΞΕΔΡΙΝΚΑΙΤΗΝ  
ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝΩΣΤΕΤΑΑΝΓΕΙΑΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ  
ΕΧΕΙΝΚΑΘΩΣΕΛΑΧΛΗΝΚΑΙΕΠΕΓΡΑΨΑΝ  
<sup>5</sup> ΣΥΝΤΗΓΡΑΡΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΕΚΑΣΤΩΝΒΑΣΕΙΕΙΣ  
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝ

(b) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣΟΡΕΙΟΥΔΙΣΑΚΑ·ΑΓΟΕΙΔΕΒΗΣΣΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΙ  
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΑΥΤΩΝ

(c) ΚΟΝΔΟΣΑΣΟΡΕΙΟΥΔΙΣΑΚΑ·ΑΓΟΕΙΔΕΒΗΣΣΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙ  
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙ  
ΤΟΙΣΕΞΑΥΤΩΝ

a. Ἐρμαῖος καὶ Κονδόσας οἱ Ὀρείου δις | κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ἐξέδριν καὶ  
τὴν | τράπεζαν ὥστε τὰ ἀνγεία ἕκαστον | ἔχειν καθὼς ἔλαχ(ο)ν καὶ ἐπέ-  
γραψαν | σὺν τῇ(ι) παρακειμένη(ι) ἐκάστων βάσει εἰς | ἀνύστασιν ἀν-  
δριάντων.

In v. 6 ΝΑΣ apparently in ligature. For the name Oreios see *Reisen* ii. p. 136, note 4. With ΕΞΕΔΡΙΝ cf. such forms as ΥΠΟΣΟΡΙΝ (Cibyra, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* vol ii. p. 603, No. 14). ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΝ (Ephesus, *Gk. Inser. in Brit. Mus.* No. 656).

b. Ἐρμαῖος Ὀρείου δις Ἀκα(λίσσευς) ἀπὸ Εἰδεβησσοῦ | κατεσκεύασεν  
αὐτῶ(ι) καὶ γυναι(κί) καὶ | τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ αὐτῶν.

c. Κονδόσας Ὀρείου δις Ἀκα(λίσσευς) ἀπὸ Εἰδεβησσοῦ | κατεσκεύασεν  
αὐτῶ(ι) καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ | τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ αὐτῶν καὶ | τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν.

## 6. P. 485.—LIMYRA.

ΟΥΚΙΟΣΒΕΡΝΑΚ      ΛΟΕΦΥΣΕΙ  
 ΑΣΚΑΙΠΑΘΩΝΟΔ      ΟΙΟΝΚΑΙ  
 ΘΕΙΣΛΕΥΓΟΤΡΟ      ΜΟΥΤΟΥΚ  
 ΡΟΥΔΩΡΡΑΕΥ      ΑΝΙΣΤΩΑ  
 5                      ΟΛΙΚΙΣ  
 ΕΥΧΑΡΙ              ΤΩΘΕΩΟΤΙ  
 ΕΣΩΘΗ              ΑΙΤΗΤΥΧΗΤΗΣ  
 ΡΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ  
 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΙΑΤΡΩ  
 10 ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΑΝΤΙΜΕ

Α]ούκιος β' 'Ερ(μ)ακ ? [ . . . . . ]λο(ς) φύσει [δὲ . . . . . ]ας καὶ παθων  
 οδ . . . . οιον καὶ [ . . . σω]θεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Τρο[φί]μου τοῦ κ . . . . | . ρου, δω-  
 ρ(έ)ας? εὐ . . . . | . . . . . | εὐχαρι[στήριον] τῶ(ι) θεῶ(ι) ὅτι | ἐσώθη [ . . . .  
 κ]αὶ τῇ(ι) Τύχη(ι) τῆς | πόλεως καὶ Διονυσίω(ι) | Διονυσίου ἱατρῶ(ι) [τῶ(ι)]  
 |θεραπεύ(σ)αντί με.

## P. 302.—PODALIA ?.

'Three tablets cut in the rock (on stelae) high up in the mountains on  
 the left of the descent to the plain of Eske Hissa from that of Injdelar (?)  
 May 15.'

7.                      ΤΕΡΒΗΜΙΣΟΚΔΑΜΟΤΟΥΕΑΥΤΟΝ  
                             ΚΑΙΠΟΚΚΕΙΝΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙ  
                             ΚΑΘΕΟΙΣ

Τερβήμις 'Οκδαμότου ἑαυτὸν | καὶ Πόκκειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα  
 θεοῖς.

Cf. the inscription *Reisen* ii. p. 147 τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Πόττει . . . τοῖς  
 δὲ ἐτέροις ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ Τρεβήμι . . . . Also Πόττεις 'Οσαεὶ at Isinda  
 No. 18.

8a.                      ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΑΣΜΙΔΟΥΟΞΟΑΔΟΥ  
                             ΕΑΥΤΟΝ

Τροκόνδας Μίδου 'Οξοάδου | ἑαυτόν.

8b.                      ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΑΣΜΙΔΟΥ  
                             ΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ  
                             ΑΡΜΑΣΤΑΝ

• Τροκόνδας Μίδου | τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα | 'Αρμάσταν.

For the name of the woman cf. among other places *Reisen* ii. No. 223 (Αὐρηλία Ἀρμάστα Ἀπολλωνίου) and S. and F. ii. p. 280 (Ἐρμάστα), and No. 19 below.

9. P. 388.—RHODIAPOLIS.

ΑΥΡΝΕΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΟΚΑΙ  
 ΖΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣΕΡΠΙΟΥΡΟ  
 ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩ  
 ΚΑΙΓΥΝΕΚΙΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΙΕ  
 5 ΑΡΙΝΟΥΡΟΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙ  
 ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙ  
 ΕΙΜΗΤΙΝΙΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΩΗΟΚΗ  
 ΔΕΥΣΑΚΤΙΝΑΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΙΠΕΡΑΘΕΑ  
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΗΙΕΡΩΜΕΧΦ

Αὐρ. Νεικόστρατος ὁ καὶ | (Ξ)άνθιππος Ἐρπίου Ῥο(διαπολείτης) | το  
 μνημεῖον ἐαυτῶ(ι) | καὶ γυνεὲν Δρακοντίδιν Ἐαρινοῦ Ῥο(διαπολείτιδι) καὶ  
 τέκνοις καὶ | ἐγγόνοις, ἄλλω(ι) δὲ οὐδενί. | εἰ μὴ τινι συνχωρήσω, ἣ ὁ κη-  
 δεύσας τινὰ ὀφειλ(ή)σ[ε]ι ἱερά(ι) θεᾶ(ι) | Ἀρτέμιδι...ἱερῶ(ι) με? (δηνάρια) φ'.

10. P. 432.—TLOS.

Commencement of an inscription at Tlos. I had no time to finish it.  
 Fellows' hand.

ΟΙΔΕΒΥΣΕΒΩΣΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙΠΡΟΣΤΟΥΣΣΕΒΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΟΣΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΕΠΗΝΓΙΑ...

ΕΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΝΤΟΥΘΕΑΤΡΟΥ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣΑΝΤΟΥΓΙΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟ  
 5 ΟΙΕΡΕΥΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΥΣ  
 ΘΕΩΝΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΚΑΒΙΡΩΝ ΚΠΡΙΣΧ  
 ΒΡΥΩΝΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥΦΥΣΙΔΕΒΡΥΟΝΟΣΚΑ

There appeared to be a continuation of names and subscriptions.

Οἷδε (ε)ὕσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Σεβασ[τοὺς] | καὶ φιλοδόξ(ω)ς  
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπηγγίλ[αντο] | εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεάτρου | Ἀρι-  
 στείδης Ἀντ(ι)γ(ι)έ(ν)ους! τοῦ Ἀριστείδου | ὁ ἱερεὺς Διονύσου διὰ βίου καὶ  
 ἀρχιερέ(ε)ς | [τῶν] θεῶν μεγάλων Καβίρων (δηνάρια) (τ)ρισχ[ίλια]. | Βρύων  
 Μενελάου φύσι δὲ Βρύωνος (δηνάρια) α.

11. P. 432a *vers.* and 434 *vers.*—XANTHUS. Fellows' hand.

ΓΑΙΟΣΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΟΣΛ	Γάϊος Λικίνιος Λ[ικιν]νίου Κρα-
ΝΙΟΥΚΡΑΤΙΠΡΟΥΥ	τίππου υ[ίος]   Σεργία Φλαβιανός
ΣΕΡΓΙΑΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟΣΙΑ	Ίά[σων ?]   Γάϊον Λικίνιον Ίάσο[να]
ΓΑΙΟΝΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΟΝΙΑΣΟ	τ(ὸ)ν πάππου μνήμης ἔ[νεκεν].

5 ΤΩΝΠΑΡΡΟΝΜΝΗΜΗΣΕ

Inscriptions relating to a G. Licinius of Oenoanda and his family are given in *Reisen* ii. p. 179, Nos. 226—228. See p. 181. He belongs to the same tribe, Sergia, but the names Φλαβιανός, Κράτιππος, and Ίάσων are not mentioned. It is hence uncertain whether the two G. Licinii are more than relations.

A second transcript by Birch, apparently from another copy made by Fellows, on p. 375, presents no important variations.

12. P. 432 *vers.*—XANTHUS.

‘On a stone in a Turkish burial-ground.’ Fellows' hand.

ΕΥΤΥΧΕΑΑΠ	Εὐτυχέα Ἀππελλεΐδου   τοῦ Εὐ-
ΠΕΛΛΕΙΔΟΥ	τυχέους βουλευτὴν παντάρχοντα
ΤΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΕ	μνήμης χάριν   οἱ συν(έ)φηβοι.
ΟΥΣΒΟΥΛΕΥ	

5 ΤΗΝΠΑΝΤΑΡ  
ΧΟΝΤΑΜΝΗ  
ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ  
ΟΙΣΥΝΒΦΗΒΟΙ

This inscription allows us to add Xanthus to the list of cities (Daremberg et Saglio, vol. ii. p. 634) where colleges of Ephebi are known. The title *παντάρχων*, if right, is new. (See pp. 106, 111 above).

## 13. P. 432.—XANTHUS.

‘On a stone built into wall.’ Fellows' hand.

ΤΟΗΤΩΝΚΑΤΕΣΚ . . . .  
ΝΑΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥΣΙΔΥΜΙΣΣΑΤΑΥΤ . . . .  
ΚΑΙΚΝΔΡΙΑΥΤΗΣΚΑ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ  
ΚΑΙΜΑΥΣΩΛΩΔΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥ  
5 ΩΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΑΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΗΘΥΓΑ  
ΤΗΡΑΥΤΗΣΛΑΛΛΑΝΕΥΜΟΝΟΣΤΟΔΕΥΠΟ  
ΣΟΝΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣ  
ΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΑΝΟΙΞΗΗΘΑΨΗΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΟ  
ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΤΩΔΗΜΩΜΥΡΙΑΣΚΑΙ  
10 ΟΛΕΞΑΣΤΟΗΜΙΣΥΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ

Το ἡ(ρ)ῶ(ι)ον κατεσκ[ευάσατο? Νάν]να Φαρνάκου Σιδύμισσα (έ)αυτ[ῆ(ι)] |  
καὶ (ἀ)νδρὶ αὐτῆς κα[ὶ] τέκνοις | καὶ Μανσώλω(ι) δις τοῦ Μενεκράτου | ὦ(ι)  
συνεχώρησ(ε)ν κηδευθῆναι ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Λάλλα Νεύμονος, τὸ δὲ ὑπο|σό-  
(ρι)ον δούλοις αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δέ τις | παρὰ ταῦτα ἀνοίξη(ι) ἢ θάψῃ(ι) ὀφειλέτ(ω)|  
Ξανθίων τῶ(ι) δῆμω(ι) (δραχμὰς) μυρίας, καὶ | ὁ λέξας τὸ ἡμισυ λήψεται.

ἐλέγξας is the usual phrase, and λέξας has been corrected to ἐλέγξας Le Bas-Wadd. 1321, but it would seem from this inscription that both terms are admissible, λέξας probably in the sense of 'giving information.'

14. P. 385.—XANTHUS.

'On a small pedestal in a Turkish burial-ground about two miles N.E. of Xanthus.'

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΞΤΙΩΝΟΣ

NANNISIMBPEOYΣ : ΞΑΝΘΙΟΙ

Ornament of wreaths pendent.

ΦΙΛΙΞΤΙΩΝΙΑΣΘΕΝΟΥΣΞΑΝΘΙΩ

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΜΕΝΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ

5 NANNISΔΕΤΩΑΝΔΡΙ : ΗΡΩΙ

Απολλώνιος Φιλιξτίωνος, | Νάννις Ἰμβρέους. Ξάνθιοι, | Φιλιξτίωνι  
Λασθένους Ξανθίου(ι), | Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν τῶ(ι) πατρί, | Νάννις δὲ τῶ(ι)  
ἀνδρὶ ἥρωι.

15. P. 385 *vers.*—XANTHUS.

In the same place. 'March 3, 1842. On a slab in shape of a tessera.'

ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟCΒΤΟΥΠΑΝΚΑΛΟΥΞΑΝΘΙΟC

ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ

ΤΗCΥΝΒΙΩΑΥΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΥΧΗΚΑΙΤΟΙC

ΤΕΚΝΟΙCΑΥΤΩΝΕΠΙΤΩΜΗΔΕΝΑΕΤΕΡΟΝ

ΕΞΟΥCΙΑΝΕΧΕΙΝΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΗΜΟΝΟΝΤΟΥΕΠΡΟΔΗ

ΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥCΕΚΤΟCΕΙΜΗΑΥΤΟCΕΓΩΒΟΥΛΗ

ΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΝΑΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΗΤΟΝΤΟΛΜΗCΑΝΤΑΘΑ

ΨΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝΑΠΟΤΕΙC ΙΤΗΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΧΑ

ΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΟΕΛΕΝΞΑCΛΗΝΨΕΤΑΙ

10

ΖΩΜΕΝ

Μουκιανὸς β' τοῦ Πανκάλου Ξάνθιος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῶ(ι)ον ἐαυτῶ(ι)  
καὶ | τῇ(ι) συνβίω(ι) αὐτοῦ Λαμπροτύχη(ι) καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶ(ι)  
μηδένα ἕτερον | ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ταφῆναι ἢ μόνον τοῦ(ς) προδηλουμένους, ἐκτὸς  
εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ βουλη[θῶ] | ἕτερόν τινα ταφῆναι, ἢ τὸν τολμήσαντα θάψαι  
ἕτερον ἀποτεῖσ[α]ι τῇ(ι) Ξανθίων πόλει (δηνάρια) ,α, | ὧν τὸ τρίτον ὁ ἐλέγξας  
λήνψεται. | ζῶμεν.

## 16. P. 436.—XANTHUS.

*C.I.G.* 4278 h (add p. 1125). Birch's transcript from Fellows' copy gives in v. 3 the reading ΑΡΣΑΣΙΝ. This form may be compared with the genitive ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΙΝ published by Headlam (*J.H.S. Supp. Paper*, No. 2, 1892, p. 30, No. 31, where a reference for similar genitives is given to Ramsay in *Kuhn's Ztschr.* 1886, p. 386—θαλάμειν).

## 17. P. 475.—CARALITIS.

'On the road descending to the Marsh Carabliz.'

ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣΠΡΟΘΥ	Μάρκιος Πρόθυμος καὶ Μαρκία]
ΜΟΣΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΙΑ	Γοργονίς ἀπελεύθεροι Μαρκ(ί)ου
ΓΟΡΓΟΝΙΣΑΠΕΛΕΥ	Θόαντος Ἀρτεμειν   τὴν ἐαυτῶν
ΘΕΡΟΙΜΑΡΚΟΥΘΟ	θυγ[ατ]έρα φιλοστο[ργίας   καὶ μν]ή-
5 ΑΝΤΟCΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΝ	μης [χάριν].
ΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΘΥΓ	
.. ΕΡΑΦΙΛΟCΤΟ .	
.. ΗΜΗC . .	

For the name Μάρκιος Θόας see *Reisen* ii. p. 181.

## PISIDIA.

## 18. P. 489.—ISINDA.

'Copied at Istaneez. May 12th.'

ΠΟΤΤΕΙΣΟΣΑΕΙΤΟΝ	Πόττεις Ὅσαεὶ τὸν   ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα
ΕΑΥΤΗΣ	ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΝ.   Χρηστὲ χαῖρε.
ΑΝ	
ΔΡΑΓΑΜΦΙΛΟΝ	
ΧΡΗΣΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ	

The gen. Ὅσαεὶ is common. Cf. *C.I.G.* iii. p. 182, 4366 w 11 (Μῆνις Ὅσσοαεὶ), *ibid.* 30, 50 (Ἀττης [Ὅσ]αεὶ τοῦ Ὅσαεὶ).

For the woman's name see note to No. 7.

## 19. P. 491.—ISINDA.

Near the above.

ΕΡΜΑΣΤΑΜΟ	Ἑρμάστα Μοιλέους Δώμου ἱερ[α-
ΛΕΟΥCΔΩΜΟΥΙΕΡ	τεύσασα   δ]ιὰ βίου θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος
Δ . . . ΙΑΒΙΟΥ////ΘΕΑΣΑ	κατεσ[κ]εῦασεν τὴν σωματοθήκην
ΡΤΕΜΙΔΟCΚΑΤΕC	(ἐ)αυτῇ(ι) καὶ τ(ῶι) υἱ(ῶι) Δώμα(ι)
ΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΗΝCΩΜΑ	τετράκι[s] μόνοις.
ΤΟΘΗΚΗΝCΑΥΤΗΚ	
ΑΙΤΟΥΙΟΔΩΜΑΤΕ	
ΤΡΑΚΙ ΜΟ ΝΟΙC	



The head and attribute (quiver) of Artemis occur as types of the small quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Isinda.

20. P. 291.—TERMESSES.

ΗΣΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗ ΚΛ· ΠΡΙΜΙΤΙΒΟΥ  
ΕΑΥΤΩΜΟΝΩΤΟΔΕΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΤΟ  
ΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΤΕΡΩΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΑΝΥΞΘΗΕΠΙ  
ΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΟΠΕΙΡΑΣΑΣΕΝΟΧΟΣΕΣΤΕΕΝΚΛΗ  
5 ΜΑΤΙΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΙΑΣΚΑΙΑΡΑΙΣΕΠΙΤΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΤΟΙΧΟΜΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΔΙΙΣΟΛΥΜΕΙΧΦ

Ἡ σωματοθήκη Κλ. Πριμιτίβου | ἐαυτῶ(ι) μόνω(ι), τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο | οὐδενὶ ἐτέρω(ι) ἔξεσται ἀνῦξ(ε) ἢ ἐπιθάψαι τινά· ὁ πειράσας ἔνοχος ἔστω ἐν κλήματι τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἀραίς ἐπὶ τοῦς | κατοικομένους καὶ Διὶ Σολυμεῖ (δηναρίοις) φ'.

21. P. 292.—TERMESSES. 'April 27 and 29, 1842.'

ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ  
ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΤΑ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝΙ ΕΞΕΣΤΑΙ ΕΠΙΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑ ΕΠΕΙ ΕΚΤΕΙΣΕΙ  
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥΤΟ Λ  
ΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΕΙΡΩΤΑ  
ΤΩΤΑ ΜΕΙΩΔΗ  
ΝΑΡΙΑ ΔΙΣ ΜΥΡΙΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΚΕΘΗ  
10 ΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΤΗΣΑΣ ΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΛΗΜΑΤΙ

Οὐαλέριος Πύρρος Κράτιστος | κατέστησεν τὴν σωματοθήκην ἐαυτῶ(ι) καὶ τῇ(ι) γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ | Δημοκλήτα(ι). ἐτέρω(ι) δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται ἐπιθάψαι τινά, ἐπεὶ ἐκτείσει | ὑπὲρ τοῦ τολμήματος τούτου ἱερωτάτῳ(ι) ταμείῳ(ι) δηνάρια δις μύρια | καὶ ἐν σ(χ)εθῇ σεται τ(ῶι) τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐν κλήματι.

'Underneath in a square'—

ΓΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ

Π(λ)ατωνικὸς φιλόσοφος.

Apparently of a different date, and already published in *C.I.G.* iii add. 4366 t<sup>2</sup>.

22. P. 295.—TERMESSUS.

ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ	Τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον   κατεσκεύασαν
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ	Τριένδασις Κόνων[ος]   καὶ Ὅρας
ΤΡΙΕΝΔΑΣΙΣΚΟΝΩΝ	Τριενδάσεως   ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γυναιξίν
ΚΑΙΟΡΑΣΤΡΙΕΝΔΑΣΕΩΣ	καὶ τέκνοις.

5 ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΝ  
ΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ

For other inscriptions, probably from the same neighbourhood, see Nos. 23, 24, 25, 27.

23. P. 483.

ΑΥΡΑΡΤΣ . . . ΕΚΑΤΕCΤΗCΕΝΤΗΝCΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΝΥΝΩΠΟΝΤ||ΚΡΗ  
ΠΙΔΩΜΑΤΙΚΑΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΙCΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙCΜΟΝΟΙCΕΤΕΡΩ  
ΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕCΤΑΙΑΝΥΞΑΙΚΑΙΕΠΙΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΕΠΕΙΟΤΟΑΥΤΟΠΕΙΡΑCΑC  
ΕΚΤΕΙCΕΙΔΙΙCΟΛΥΜΕΙ\*ΦΚΑΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ\*Φ

Αὐρ. Ἀρτ[είμα]ς κατέστησεν τὴν σωματοθήκην σὺν τῶ(ι) π(α)ντ(ι) κρηπιδώματι <κα> καὶ τῇ(ι) γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τέκνοις μόνοις· ἐτέρω(ι) | δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται ἀνῆξαι καὶ ἐπιθάψαι τινά, ἐπεὶ ὁ τὸ αὐτὸ πειρίσας | ἐκτείσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ (δηνάρια) φ' καὶ τῶ(ι) ἱερωτάτῳ(ι) ταμείῳ(ι) (δηνάρια) φ'.

Possibly from Termessus, where the worship of Ζεὺς Σολυμεύς was localized, though not entirely restricted to that neighbourhood.

24. P. 488.

ΑΥΡΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΟCΔΟΥΛΟΥΚΑΤΕCΤΗCΕΝCΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΝ  
ΚΕΤΗΓΥΝΕΚΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΚΕΤΟΙCΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙC  
ΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΞΟΝΕCΤΕ ΕΠΙΘΑΨΕΤΙΝΑΕΠΙΕΚΤΕΙCΙ  
ΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩ ΤΑΜΙ  
W  
5 \*ΜΝ ΚΕΤΩΔΙΙ  
CΟΛΥΜΩ\*ΜΝ

Αὐρ. Θεόδουλος Δούλου κατέστησεν σωματοθήκην [ἑαυτῶ(ι)] καὶ τῇ(ι) γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρτεμι καὶ τοῖς | ἐξ αὐτῶν τέκνοις· ἄλλω(ι) δὲ οὐδεν[ι] ἔξον ἔσται ἐπιθάψαι τινά, ἐπὶ ἐκτείσει | τῶ(ι) ἱερωτάτῳ(ι) ταμείῳ(ι) | (δηνάρια) μν' καὶ τῶ(ι) Διὶ | Σολύμω(ι) (δηνάρια) μν'.

The form Σόλυμος for Σολυμεύς is unusual: it occurs again on an inscription on p. 493. This, for the same reason as the preceding, may be conjecturally assigned to the neighbourhood of Termessus. The fine here



28. P. 510.

ΟΣΣΑΣ ΕΡ  
ΜΑΙΟΥ ΠΕΝ  
ΤΑΚΙΣΕΙΡΗ  
ΝΑΡΧΗΣΑΣ  
5 ΘΕΩΣΩΖΟΝ  
ΤΙΕΥΞΑΜΕ  
ΝΟΣ

Ὅσσας Ἑρμαίου πεντάκις εἰρη-  
| νάρχῃσας | Θεῶ(ι) Σώζοντι εὐξά-  
μενος.

The deity here mentioned is well known from inscriptions and reliefs (see A. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* viii. (1887), p. 238 and Lanckoronski ii. p. 9). He is represented mounted, riding rapidly, with chlamys flying behind his shoulders, and brandishing in one hand a javelin, a club, or a bipennis. The head is in some cases radiate. Full descriptions of these reliefs are given in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iv. p. 291 ff.

A congener of the *θεὸς σῶζων* seems to be Kakasbos (see Lanckoronski. *l.c.*, Drexler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, and Petersen in *Reisen* ii. p. 3). Mr. W. Arkwright informs me that reliefs of the kind figured by Petersen are found in quantities at Makri. Under one at least of the horsemen seen by him was a heraldic arrangement of two snakes with an uncertain object between them. From this symbol, and from the fact that the reliefs come from the cemeteries, it is clear that Kakasbos is a chthonic deity.

The coins of two places in Lycia offer illustrations of a mounted deity evidently related to the *θεὸς σῶζων*.

(1) Arycanda :—

(a) Small bronze of the third or early second century B.C. *Obv.* Male head r., radiate. *Rev.* Apollo nude, leaning on column, and holding bow over lighted altar. AP in monogram.



(b) Imperial of Gordian III. *Rev.* Horseman wearing short chiton with sleeves, chlamys flying behind his shoulders, trousers, and radiate Phrygian cap. In his right hand he brandishes a club. (See Figure.)

Arycanda was celebrated for the worship of Helios. The Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* vii. 33 says: ἐν Λυκίᾳ δέ ἐστι πόλις Ἀρύκανδα καλουμένη, ἣς πλησίον ἱερόν τι χωρίου, ὃ πρότερον μὲν Ἐμβολος ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ χωρίου· ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν καὶ πλατέων τῶν παρακειμένων πέτρων εἰς ὃξὺ λήγει μέρος ἡ χώρα· νῦν δὲ προσονομάζεται Τριήρης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας. ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ πλοῖον προσέοικεν ἡ θέσις τοῦ τόπου. ἐπεὶ οὖν μάλιστα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ θρησκευτήριόν ἐστιν Ἡλίου κ.τ.λ. The radiate head of the type of the imperial coin symbolizes a solar character; and the same deity who is there figured must have suggested the types of the autonomous coins. Cf. the solar type of the θεὸς σῶζων at Adalia (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iv. p. 293, No. 4), and the radiate head on the coins of Themisonium in Phrygia.

(2) Choma:—

Imperial of Gordian III. *Rev.* Horseman wearing a short tunic, chlamys, and Phrygian cap, but not radiate, similarly brandishing a club.

The above evidence seems sufficient to establish a connection between the θεὸς σῶζων in some of his aspects, and Helios ἔφιππος (see Lanckoronski, *loc. cit.*). It is possible that the club is here also a solar symbol of oriental origin, and that this deity bears it for the same reason as the sun-god Heracles.

With the Kakasbos-types may perhaps be connected the helmeted rider on the coins of Isinda and Panemoteichos in Pisidia. He is armed, on the coins of the former place, with a spear, and rides to the right, accompanied by a snake. In a few cases he appears to be attacked by the latter, but in the great majority it seems to be merely an adjunct to the type. A snake also occurs on the late Imperial coins of the same place as an adjunct to the type of a female figure seated on a throne nursing an infant (*not* Isis and Horus, *v.* Drexler in *Nom. Zeit.* 1889, p. 201). These two types then would seem to be chthonic. At Panemoteichos the horseman is represented without attributes, and with both hands engaged with his horse, much as on some of the reliefs already referred to.

I append an alphabetical list of the more interesting names occurring in the inscriptions which are not included in this selection:—

Ἀγεσίστρατος Ἀγεσιστράτου. Antiphellus, p. 330.

Ἄννιος Ἀννιανοῦ. Cibyra, p. 277.

[Ἀρβ]ίννας! P. 502.

Ἀρτείμας. Acalissus, p. 329.

Ἀστικός. Antiphellus, p. 330.

Ἀστρανία Πρίμα. Cibyra p. 416 = *B.C.H.* xiii. p. 333.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀππατίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεσάνδρου. Xanthus, p. 434.

Αὐρήλιος Τειμόθεος (= Λήτηλλος Θειμόθεος of *C.I.G.* iii. 4366 f.), Termessus, p. 298.

Αὐριάς. P. 494.

Γάιος Ἀβούρνιος Εὐτυχιανός. Heraclea Salbace, p. 515 *vers.*

- Δάμα ? Arsa, p. 400.  
 Δατάμης. Arsa, p. 400.  
 Δελέπιμης. Acroterium, p. 352.  
 Εἰφιάνασα. Heraclea Salbace, p. 515 *vers.*  
 Ἐμβρομος ? Arsa, p. 400.  
 Ἐρμαδάπιμης. Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Ἐρμακότας. Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Ἐρ[μαπία]ς ? Ἐρμαδάννου. Acroterium, p. 352.  
 Ἐρμάστα ἢ Παρίνης ? Acalissus, p. 329.  
 Ἐρμαφίλιος Ἐρμαδαπίμιος. Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Ἐστικός. Xanthus, p. 432 *vers.* and 434 *vers.*  
 Εὐφραιέτα. Olympus, p. 424 (= Le Bas-Wadd. 1344).  
 Ἠγέμανος β' ? Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Θεμίσων Ἀλέξανδρου. Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Κόττης. 'Lagon Pisidiae,' p. 306.  
 Λαλλαῖον. Arsa, p. 399.  
 Μάγας Ἐρμ[αίου τ]οῦ Ἐρπίου. P. 502 *vers.*  
 Ναυνήλις ? P. 502 *vers.*  
 Ὀπλόξενος ? Ἀλέξανδρος. Xanthus, p. 473.  
 Οὐλφία. Heraclea Salbace, p. 515 *vers.*  
 Παλέστιης Ἰάσονος. Xanthus, p. 386.  
 Σάνθος (ὁ θεός). Xanthus, p. 434.  
 Σεληνίς. Tenger, p. 476 ; Oenoanda, p. 412.  
 Σέλτιος ? P. 493. Cf. Σέλλιος, *J.H.S.* vi. p. 360.  
 Σισάμας. Attalia, p. 317.  
 Σορτίας ? Arsa, p. 399.  
 Στράτος. Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Σωσικλῆς Νικαρότα. Megiste, p. 351 (= Le Bas-Wadd. 1268).  
 Σῶσος Πολέμωνος. Oenoanda, p. 412.  
 Τανωλσσοδάσις ? Acroterium, p. 352.  
 Τροκόνδας Κυδρησσέως, p. 514.  
 [Τ]ύμνης ? Antiphellus, p. 330.  
 Φιλίστα ἢ Δημητρίου. Myra, p. 348 (= Le Bas-Wadd. 1313).

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## ON TWO TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

## [PLATE IV.]

AMONG the recent additions to the collection of terracotta figurines in the British Museum are two which I am permitted to publish by the kindness of Mr. A. S. Murray.

The first (Fig. 1, Plate IV.) was found at Myrina in Asia Minor and represents a youthful winged male figure, leaning on a pillar and burning a butterfly over the flame of a small altar at its base.<sup>1</sup> This statuette is of very good workmanship, every line has been carefully retouched, and drapery, wings and hair are so disposed as to form a background for the figure, which is entirely nude with the exception of a chlamys fastened on the right shoulder and thrown back over the left. The full soft face is framed by long curls; the wings, each feather carefully indicated, are as usual placed high on the shoulder and serve to throw the head into high relief, while the curves and pose of the body are further emphasized by folds of drapery added, for greater effect, behind the right side and thigh, after the figure was taken out of the mould, as is shown by a similar figure of very rough workmanship which has no drapery on that side and has not been retouched.<sup>2</sup> The attitude is a familiar one,—the youth is leaning carelessly with crossed feet against the pillar on which his left arm rests, but—and herein lies the interest of the figure—with his left hand he is holding a butterfly over the flame of an altar in front of the pillar, while the right hand is held up to his face, apparently to shut out the sight of the victim's sufferings, though to judge by the executioner's expression he was not affected, otherwise than pleasantly, by his occupation. The attributes of the male figure and his occupation force us to conclude that we have here some allusion to the relation of Eros with Psyche, but the Psyche myth, as we know it, had no literary existence until Apuleius gave the names of Cupid and Psyche to the hero and heroine of his charming

<sup>1</sup> Height, 8½ inches: base, cast in one with the figure, square; vent. square; back, roughly modelled. Traces of pink colour on the chlamys, of green on the altar, and of brown on the hair. Flakes of white adhering to some parts of the figure. Terracotta Room, case 8.

<sup>2</sup> Height, 8 inches, no traces of colour: base square, with signature **APTEMONI** at the back. Brit. Mus. Terracotta Room, case 23. The oc-

currence of the artist's signature on the rougher of two similar statuettes is noted by MM. Pottier and Reinach, *Fouilles de Myrina* i. 186, 190, for which see also further examples of this artist's work. Similar figure in Berlin (Antiquarium) inscribed on base **APTEMΩ-NOC**. Traces of pink on chlamys and rim of altar, and of blue on the pillar.

version of an old folk story (*Met.* iv., vi.—viii.), and this, though the basis of all later representations, had of course no influence on classical art. It is therefore only valuable as showing that in his day (second cent. A.D.) the two names were so indissolubly linked together that they could be fitly given to the actors in a 'passion of true love,' for there is little in common between the Psyche of Apuleius and the Psyche of classical art except their union with Eros. The former is a wingless mortal maiden persecuted by Aphrodite on account of her beauty, the other is the winged companion of Eros. She seems in fact to be a creation of art, not of literature, called forth by the artistic necessity for a female counterpart of Eros; hence she has wings, but these, as shown in the earliest representations,<sup>3</sup> are bird wings. In this winged companion of Eros, literature, aided by the Platonic conception of a winged soul, may have seen the embodied soul ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ) of man, but we cannot prove that she had any distinctive name until she appears with butterfly wings<sup>4</sup> which were obviously given to her because of the double meaning of the word  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ . These afterwards became her distinctive attribute and the butterfly was even substituted for her—but all three forms appear on Pompei wall-paintings,<sup>5</sup> thus showing that the earlier conceptions were not superseded. In post-Christian times Psyche, both as maiden and as butterfly, became the emblem of the immortal soul, and had an independent existence in art, but such representations are of course valueless for the purposes of the present note. The three different forms under which Psyche is represented seem to be the natural outcome of the changed conception of Eros. In the fourth and succeeding centuries he is no longer the great god, "Ἔρως ἀνέκατε μάχαν, of Sophocles; two subordinate traits in his character are brought forward, and insisted on, to the exclusion of all others,—the mischievous boyish side and the passionately erotic one. His absorption into the Dionysiac circle helped to intensify this latter, and his winged companion became Psyche, the maiden with butterfly wings, whose existence was so merged in his that nothing but suffering inflicted by him, or joy shared with him, had power to move her. On the other hand the mischievous boyish Eros would naturally be represented with the butterfly, playing with it, teasing it, torturing it, for which latter purpose the torch he often carries is a useful and obvious weapon, and there are at least twenty<sup>6</sup> authentic gems which show an Eros burning a  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  over a torch; in some of these in sport, but in others he is weeping bitterly over a task imposed on him by some outside force. This is the rendering adopted in the two most important monuments, a sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Clementino<sup>7</sup> and a crater from the Palazzo Chigi.<sup>8</sup> In the former two weeping Erotes hold a butterfly between them over two torches which rest against a small altar, and in the latter an Eros standing on a

<sup>3</sup> (1) Eros seated opposite winged female figure. Bronze relief from Corinth, end of 1th century (Walters, *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, plate I.). (2) Eros embracing female winged figure. Corinthian mirror relief, 4th cent. (*Bull. de Cor. Hell.* 1884).

<sup>4</sup> See Furtwangler, *Annali* 1877, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, *Handm. Comp.* 828...850, 854.

<sup>6</sup> Gerhard, *Ueber den Gott Eros.* Plate I., II.

<sup>7</sup> Zoega, *Abh.* Plate IV. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Zoega, *l.c.* V. 13. 14.



pedestal holds a butterfly over a torch with one hand and wipes away his tears with the other. Into these an idea of suffering and purification, possibly derived from the Dionysiac circle, has crept,—the suffering Love inflicts reacts on himself even though he is only an Amoretto.

The terracotta from Myrina differs from both these monuments and from many of the gems in several points; the Eros is not an 'Amoretto,' he is a youth, he is burning the butterfly deliberately over an altar not over a torch, and finally, if we may not lay too much stress on the face of so small a figure, the whole pose of the body proves that he was perfectly indifferent to the fate of his victim and barely interested in it. This indifference very much simplifies the interpretation of the figure: Eros is tired of his playmate and destroys her; hence there is no idea of purification by suffering unwillingly inflicted.

The rendering is not one that the coroplast would be likely to invent for himself—the butterfly, the altar, and the uplifted hand are all part of the mould—he may have misinterpreted his model, for the pose and the uplifted hand are at variance, but we may fairly infer that Meleager had something of the same kind in his mind when he wrote:—

τὴν πυρὶ νηχομένην ψυχὴν ἂν πολλάκι καίης,  
φεύξεται Ἐρως· καὐτὴ, σχέτλι', ἔχει πτέρυγας.

*Anthol. Pal.* v. 67.

The second terracotta (Fig. 2, Plate IV.) found at Eretria in Euboea represents a winged youth darting through the air in the attitude so commonly seen in work from Tanagra and Asia Minor, and also in the wall paintings of Pompei. The figure,<sup>9</sup> which is extremely clumsy, with badly modelled legs and feet, wears a short thin tunic with full sleeves—the back of which is arranged over the head as a hood—while the front is drawn up by the right hand so as to muffle the lower part of the face. The left hand holds a pair of boots in front of the left thigh. The wings are clumsy and conventionally treated, the outer feathers being indicated by a spiral. The face is as roughly modelled as the rest of the figure, but one thing is clear, the eyes were shut. I have not found any other terracotta with which this one can be compared as to subject. A tiny Eros figure<sup>10</sup> found in the same grave carries a pair of boots in his uplifted right hand, another wrapped in a chlamys and carrying a pair in his left hand was found at Myrina,<sup>11</sup> while a Pompei wall-painting<sup>12</sup> represents a Cupid brandishing a boot in his right hand and balancing another with his left on his head. These representations however are all scenes from everyday life parodied by the Amoretti; the terracotta under discussion represents a full-grown person, the Eros plait is

<sup>9</sup> Height, 10½ inches: no base: vent. square: back modelled. Traces of reddish pink colour on the nude portions, of red on the lips, and of white on the cloak. Boots, white with lines of black round the ankle: soles pink. Terracotta Room, case 18.

<sup>10</sup> Brit. Mus. Terracotta Room, case 20. Height, 3 inches, wreath bound with fillet on head. Boots white.

<sup>11</sup> Pottier and Reinach. *Fouilles de Myrina*, vol. ii., plate XI.

<sup>12</sup> Helbig. *Wandmal. Camp* 711.

distinctly indicated under the thin tissue of the hood, while the shut eyes, muffling veil, and the boots carried, not worn, by the figure, all convey a suggestion of secrecy and silence. The costume is unusual, the full-sleeved tunic is generally worn by Asiatic divinities, such as Atys and Adonis or by Amoretti masquerading as such.<sup>13</sup> The figure is so clumsy that it could hardly have been imported and is more likely to be of local manufacture: though I have not so far found any local legend in connexion with Eros which would account for this unusual presentment of him, beyond that general impression of his noiseless power to which, as Mr. Murray reminds me, Meleager also gave expression when, appositely enough, he wrote:—

ἀλλ' ἴθι, δυσνίκητε, λαβὼν δ' ἐπὶ κοῦφα πέδιλα  
ἐκπέτασον ταχινὰς εἰς ἑτέρους πτέρυγας.

*Anthol. Pal.* v. 179.

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<sup>13</sup> Brit. Mus. Terracotta Room, case 20.

## THE TEXT OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS: I.

THIS article is a sequel to the text of the Homeric Hymns published by the Clarendon Press in the year 1893. For that edition it was my duty to write a preface, which under the circumstances did no more than enumerate the manuscripts and summarize the views as to their relations held by the principal writers. Since that time I have studied the subject of the tradition of these Hymns at greater leisure, and I now present such conclusions as I have been able to attain.

The reviewers of Mr. Goodwin's edition, while indulgent to the book as a whole, took exception to our neglect of modern criticism, the few conjectures that had been inserted in the text, and the scanty record of others, usually accepted, in the notes. As this circumstance, so far as it depended on myself, was the fruit of conviction, and since I have followed out the principle upon which I then acted more at length in this article, I may be allowed to spend a few words in explanation of the position which in these matters I take.

The Greek classics have been read, studied, and edited for above four hundred years; the simple and easy corrections that the early editors, Greeks and Italians, made in their texts have been followed by the more learned but of necessity less and less certain attempts of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Germans, English, who have provided every ancient writer with an accumulation of alternative readings which exceeds in bulk his own words. The past and present ages of scholarship have been generous in accepting these conjectures, partly from a natural desire to present a currently legible text to the reader, partly from an *a priori* theory as to the depravation of the ancient books that have come down to us. The growing familiarity of the new generation with the circumstances of mediaeval scribes, and the methods by which MSS. were produced, and, in especial, the discoveries of a considerable number of early fragments of papyrus in which ancient texts appear in materially the same form as that in which the first printers received them, have made it an open question whether the hospitality that has been extended to these conjectures of four centuries be not too wide.

It may be said at least that the scholar who proposes to produce a new text of any of these much-edited authors must justify his undertaking (after he has collected and arranged the existing documentary evidence) by passing through the narrowest of sieves the conjectures that have held the field and sold themselves as genuine ware for so many generations. I will state my

own opinion that, whoever be the author that is taken, the percentage of tolerable conjectures on him will be found to be very small indeed. Ignorance of language, ignorance of the usage of writing and of MSS. on the one hand, and the sheep-like acquiescence of editors on the other, have produced and perpetuated a crowd of *monstra* which overlies the words of all the ancients, and of the minor and less-read writers among them in particular.

To lay down the canons that determine a good emendation is not an easy task. I will content myself with stating one principle, not the only one, but that which is in most danger of being overlooked, namely, that no emendation is certain the passing of which into the actual documentary reading cannot be explained according to recognized graphical laws. If this condition be unfulfilled, not the most brilliant or witty substitute for the text can be accepted. The datum, the evidence given by the MSS., is that from which we start, and to which we come back; to depart therefrom is to compose, to rewrite the author, to write better than the author. We are tied by the document, and within the radius of graphical change about it lies the field for our invention.

How few conjectures are satisfactory, if this rule be strictly applied, is manifest, and it will be said that to admit the rule is to reduce the classics in many cases to a meaningless series of syllables. We may allow that much corruption has taken place which does not come under any definite case of permutation of letters. Such corruptions however, though their detection may be morally certain, do not admit of positive proof; they are suggestions not substitutes, and their proper place is in the commentary, not, unless we are to draw our facts of Greek from tainted wells, in the text.

In editing the portion of the Homeric Hymns for which I was responsible, I followed this principle, and thought myself deserving well of the author if I stripped him of his false skin of Batavian, Teutonic and British accretion and presented him, his wounds and sores clearly indicated, to the critical public. It has been said that even so a larger selection of conjectures should have been offered beneath the text. I admit that the amount of previous labour that should be retained and exhibited in an edition is a point upon which opinions may vary; but personally I am disposed to maintain that a bad conjecture is best soonest buried, both out of consideration for the author of it, and also that the reader's interest and critical sense may not be dulled and blunted. To take an instance—can anything be more disheartening and stupefying, and at the same time more intrinsically worthless, than the vast congeries of conjectures in the appendix to Wecklein's Aeschylus? If the classics are to continue to be studied with effect, the student's path must not be blocked with this dead matter of the past. A rigorous selection must present to the reader such suggestions as are probable, interesting, and helpful. The rest an editor will seek where they lie buried. In Mr. Goodwin's edition therefore the absence of a record of conjectures is to be taken to imply disapproval of them. My grounds for such an opinion are put out in the following pages.

This dissertation is so arranged that in the first part the manuscripts are

described, arranged in families and traced to archetypes. In the second the relations of these archetypes are investigated, the history of the text taken back to its furthest point, and incidentally many passages wherein tradition varies discussed. In the third part such conjectures as are at hand to the writer are offered on lines where the MS. testimony is unanimous. That these conjectures fulfil the canons I have indicated not even a critic will expect; they have at least this defence, that they are suggestions in a commentary, and do not in a printed text pose as the transmitted document.

## I.

The Homeric Hymns are contained in twenty-six MSS. now extant. For a detailed description of them I may refer to Mr. Goodwin's edition. I here give a list of them according to the letters by which they are quoted. All except M (s. xiv.), F (s. xvi.) and G (s. xvi.) are of the fifteenth century.

A	Paris grec 2763.
At	Athous. Vatopedi 587.
B	Paris grec 2765.
C	<i>id.</i> 2833.
F	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale 11377—11380.
D	Milan. Ambrosiana B 98 sup.
E	Modena. Estense iii. E 11.
G	Vatican. Regina 91.
H	British Museum. Harley 1752.
J	Modena. Estense ii. B 14.
K	Florence. Laurenziana 31, 32.
L	<i>id.</i> 32, 45.
L <sub>2</sub>	<i>id.</i> 70, 35.
L <sub>3</sub>	<i>id.</i> 32, 4.
M	Leiden. (Mosquensis) 33 H.
Mon.	Munich. Royal Library 333.
N	Leiden. 74 C.
O	Milan. Ambrosiana C 10 inf.
P	Vatican. Palatino greco 179.
Π	Paris grec suppl. 1095.
Q	Milan. Ambrosiana S 31 sup.
R <sub>1</sub>	Florence. Riccardiana 53 K ii. 13.
R <sub>2</sub>	<i>id.</i> 52 K ii. 14.
S	Vatican. Vaticani greci 1880.
T	Madrid. Public Library 24.
V	Venice. Marciana 456.

F was written by Aristobulus Apostolides, E by Giorgio Valla, L<sub>2</sub> and R<sub>2</sub> by Giovanni Scutariota, L<sub>3</sub> by Giovanni Rhoso, T by Constantine Lascaris in the year 1464. G is a copy of the editio princeps of 1488. L<sub>3</sub> and V present the Hymns in company with the Iliad and Odyssey, M (in its present

state) with the Iliad only; the remainder include them in a sort of corpus of hymnographers and cognate literature, such as Callimachus, Proclus, Orpheus, Musaeus, the Batrachomachia, and parts of Hesiod, Phocylides, Theocritus, Pindar.

Collations of all these MSS., with the exception of At, Mon. and T, were made by or for Mr. Goodwin. Since the appearance of the edition the readings of the Madrid MS. have been published by E. Bethe, *Hermes*, 1893, p. 522 *sq.* The collation is, by Bethe's own account, incomplete; but the information is very welcome and throws a great deal of light on the  $\alpha$  family. The acute guess of Hollander (*Hermes*, 1891, p. 170 *sq.*) that the Matritensis would turn out a close connexion of E is fully confirmed. The position of the MS. is discussed further on in this article. The remainder of Bethe's paper is a repetition of the notions of his predecessors.

The readings of the Athos MS. have been published by Professor Ingram Bywater in the *Classical Review*, October 1894, from a collation by Professor M. Constantinides. See *infra*, p. 149.

I have had an opportunity to re-examine the two Modena MSS., E and J, and below (pp. 160—1) I give a list of wrongly-reported readings. The blame for these errata falls upon myself, for my collations of these MSS. were used for the edition.

The critical question of the Hymns has been discussed in the following works:

A. Gemoll, *Homerische Blätter*, Striegau, 1885, p. 12 *sq.*, reprinted with additions in his edition, Leipzig, 1886.

H. Hollander, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der homerischen Hymnen*, Leipzig, 1886: 'Zur Ueberlieferung der homerischen Hymnen,' *Hermes*, 1891, pp. 170, 636; 'Ueber den Codex Estensis der hom. Hymnen,' *Neue Jahrb. f. Philologie*, 1892, f. 544.

E. Abel, preface to his edition, Lipsiae-Pragae, 1886.

More recent work upon these poems has not touched the subject of the manuscripts. In general, the views of Hollander may be said to be established: Mr. Goodwin agreed with them, and Professor Ludwich has given his assent (*Index Lect. Regimont.* 1890, p. 4). In points of detail I differ often from Dr. Hollander, but my obligations are none the less great to his admirable and illuminating treatise.

## M

This manuscript, known as M because it was found at Moscow (I will not repeat the familiar story<sup>1</sup>), and now marked 33 H in the public library at Leiden, is a book of fifty pages, written according to general agreement in the fourteenth century. The pages measure 293 by 210 millimetres, there are two columns on each page, and about twenty-five lines to a column. The hand, as the facsimile in Mr. Goodwin's edition shows, is clear and

<sup>1</sup> Which will be found in Matthaei's words in Geel's *Catalogue of the Leiden Library*, p. 9

regular, the material is paper, which has now come to have a brownish colour, and is soft and fragile. Size and writing taken together, the book is above the average of fourteenth century MSS. The sheets are fastened in quinions, an arrangement not unusual at all periods of minuscule, but most frequent in MSS. written after the fall of Constantinople. The book has a well-marked character, and I do not remember to have seen another that exactly resembled it; at the same time its peculiarities are not sufficient to support a conjecture as to its place of origin.

The quinions are signed back and front in minuscule letters exactly in the middle of the bottom of the page. The present state of the book is as follows:

Quires.

- (1) f. 1 r. The numeral has gone. Inc. Iliad Θ 435.  
f. 10 v. There are the remains of some sign, but not an iota proper.
- (2) f. 11 r.  $\iota\alpha$ .  
f. 20 v.  $\iota\alpha'$ .
- (3) f. 21 r.  $\iota\beta'$ .  
f. 30 v.  $\iota\beta'$ . Expl. N 134.
- (4) f. 31 r. No sign. Inc. *καὶ οἱ ἀναστήσουσιν ἀγάλματα πόλλ' ἐνὶ νηοῖς* (h. Dion. i. 1), and on the same page h. Dem.  
f. 39 v.  $\iota\delta'$ . This gather consists of only nine leaves; the last leaf, 39 v., is only half a sheet and is glued to the back of the quire. The first leaf therefore of the outside sheet has perished.
- (5) f. 40 r.  $\cdot\varsigma\cdot\iota\epsilon$ .<sup>2</sup>  
f. 49 v. Sign wanting.
- (6) f. 50 r. and v. Sign wanting. This single leaf is glued at the back. On the recto expl. h. Herm. xviii. 4; the verso is blank.

From this table it appears that the nine first quires of the MS. are missing. It is natural to suppose that they would have contained the Iliad down to Θ 434, and as we have a statement, resting on information given by Matthæi to Heyne (ed. Iliad I. xiii., xiv., III. xc.), that an MS. containing exactly this amount of the Iliad exists or existed in the Imperial College at

<sup>2</sup> The former of these two signs is planted exactly in the centre of the lower margin of f. 40r, so that the number  $\iota\epsilon$  which was written afterwards had to be put somewhat to the right. The sign  $\varsigma$  is an equivalent of the somewhat more frequent  $\tau$ , and when applied to a quire denotes 6. There can be no doubt that it was marked on f. 40r with the purpose of signing the gather before it was filled. It might therefore be supposed that it was part of another system of signatures, and this of course would be of great importance in determining

the original state of the MS. As however there is no trace of any other such figure, before or after, and the figures  $\iota\alpha$ ,  $\iota\beta$ , etc., in the gathers that precede occupy exactly the middle of the margin, I cannot think that  $\cdot\varsigma\cdot$  has anything to do with the composition of our MS. Possibly the gather had been numbered to form part of some other book, but from some accident was left over, and used up for the MS. of Homer. Such an explanation at least is suggested to me by the juxtaposition of the two numerals.

Moscow, it is an obvious conclusion that this MS. and M are parts of the same book. Next, the fifty pages that are at Leiden have lost the first page of quire  $\iota\delta'$ , and the whole of  $\iota\gamma'$ ; this appears clearly from the signatures. Accordingly in M, as it was originally, there stood between N 134 and the first line of the fragment to Dionysus eleven leaves; eleven leaves, that is twenty-two pages of two columns of twenty-five lines each, give a total of 1,100 lines, less some few to be deducted for headings, ornaments, etc. What are we to suppose that these 1,100 verses consisted of? I am afraid that, beyond the general presumption that they were Homeric, we cannot say. An attempt has been made by R. Thiele (*Philologus*, 34, p. 193 *sq.*) to compute the extent of the original Hymn to Dionysus, by supposing that the scribe stopped writing the Iliad at one or another definite point, and giving the 1,100<sup>3</sup> lines, less this continuation, to the hymn. Thus, if the scribe ended with the last line of N, there will be 397 lines over for the hymn; if, on the other hand, he included  $\Xi$  also, there is a minus quantity! Really, I am afraid, it is impossible to set bounds in this gap of eleven leaves, and therefore to reconstruct the Dionysus-Hymn. Such an attempt rests on the supposition that the scribe deliberately composed an anthology of part of the Iliad and the Hymns, leaving off the Iliad somewhere between N and  $\Xi$ , in order that he might take in a perfect hymn to Dionysus. This is too artificial an hypothesis to be entertained. Surely the idea of any scribe designedly presenting his readers with an abridgment of the Iliad is absurd. Fragmentary copies of the Iliad and of the Odyssey do exist, and in plenty; Laur. 32, 31 ends at  $\Xi$  5, Ven. 458 begins at  $\Xi$  419, Ven. 459 ends at M, Laur. 32, 25 at H, Laur. 32, 38 at A 523, Ven. 431 at  $\Xi$ , Laur. 91 sup. 2 at  $\xi$  422—but these are all real fragments. The MSS. contained more, but they have been mutilated, or the scribe has lighted on a mutilated archetype and copied what there was to copy. Designed excerpts from the Iliad we do not meet with until the Renaissance, when, and chiefly in the sixteenth century, A, or A and B as far as the catalogue, or AB $\Gamma$  are often found separately. No parallel exists between these Italian schoolbooks and the case of M.

A somewhat similar omission of pages occurs in the Florence MS. of Aeschylus (Laur. 32, 9). Here a more extensive loss has taken place; f. 134 v. ends with Agamemnon 310, the next gather has gone completely and the whole of the following one except the first sheet, of which the first leaf contains part of the Agamemnon, the last part of the Choephoroi. There is of course independent evidence by which to control these data, but supposing there had been none, the amount of the Agamemnon lost in the first gather might have been roughly estimated, but no guess could have been made as to where, in the second, the Agamemnon ended and the Choephoroi began.<sup>4</sup>

I may notice in passing that the quire-signatures in M are all in the first hand. I find a suggestion in Mr. Goodwin's papers that this might not

<sup>3</sup> Thiele by some error makes the number (ed. 1869, praef. p. 2).

2080. I am glad to find that my view agrees more nearly with that of Professor Buehler

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Philology* xxii, p. 157 *sq.*



be the case, and it is an idea that might occur to any one reading Thiele's argument. Were they in a later hand, the whole argument would of course fall, but I think there is no doubt that they are in the hand that wrote the text. In the Iliad-part of the MS., the arguments, periochae and glosses are in the text-hand, though smaller than the text, and the signatures are in the same writing.

We cannot therefore reconstruct the contents of the lacuna in M, but we can on the other hand draw a conclusion as to the condition of its archetype. If the circumstance that eleven pages were allotted by the scribe of M to complete the Iliad from N 134 and commence the Hymns cannot be due to deliberate choice on his part, it must follow that the archetype, at the time when the scribe of M copied it, was defective at that point. The archetype obviously contained the Iliad and the Hymns, and there is no reason to suppose that originally they were anything but complete; but by the fourteenth century a great gap had been made near the beginning of the second half of the Iliad, and the scribe of M found a truncated Iliad running on without a pause to the Hymns. He copied his materials as they stood, without seeking to complete them from other sources; it is conceivable that he even made no division between the Iliad and the Dionysus-Hymn. In the archetype when perfect, the Odyssey may have stood between the Iliad and the Hymns, possibly Quintus also. It is obvious how far we are from fixing the length of the Hymn to Dionysus.

The archetype was not only defective in the middle, but mutilated at the end. The Mosquensis ends at xviii. 4, but the last two lines are written below the usual level upon the recto of f. 50; the verso is blank. That is to say, M is not itself mutilated here, but the archetype also stopped at xviii. 4, and the scribe seeing this economized his last page by finishing on the recto. Prof. Ludwig has already drawn this conclusion (*Index Lect. Regimont.* 1891, p. 18).

The next question is that of the age of the archetype, or at least of its style of writing: was it uncial or minuscule? This sort of inquiry is often too confidently decided; it must be based upon the consideration of such blunders in a MS. as appear to be purely graphical, and may therefore arise from confusion between letters, ligatures and the like. It is necessary to exclude all emendations, ancient and modern, and phonetic variations in spelling. The small remainder, especially if cases can be found where the scribe has faithfully copied obvious corruptions, may allow a conclusion to be drawn. It must be remembered in addition that with a minuscule MS. there is always a presumption that its archetype was minuscule, and when the minuscule MS. is late, the presumption is almost a certainty. Moreover, while a single instance of minuscule corruption is sufficient to prove a minuscule archetype, any number of uncial corruptions may prove merely an uncial stage in the manuscript's history, a circumstance which naturally does not require demonstration. Also, even clear uncial corruptions are not necessarily evidence for an uncial original, for, it is well known, several uncial forms, H, N, II, T, F are frequent in minuscule also.

With these cautions we may consider the mistakes in M which appear to be graphical. The following seem due to an uncial confusion:—

<i>Dcm.</i>	421	ὠκύρθη	:	ὠκυρόη	Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 354.
	424	ταλαξάυρη	:	γαλαξάυρη	<i>ib.</i> 353.
	482	χρησμοσύνην	:	δρησμοσύνην	Pausanias ii. 14. 3.
<i>Ap.</i>	156	θ'οὔ	:	ῥου	cett.
	306	τυφλόν τε	:	τυφάονα γ' (τυφλόν γ')	
<i>Ap<sup>hr.</sup></i>	158	δίνησι	:	χλαίνησι	cett.

On the other hand, we have these certain examples of minuscule corruptions:—

<i>Ap.</i>	88	κωμός	:	βωμός	cett.
	119	πρός	:	πρό <sup>δ</sup>	cett. (πρ).
	367	δυσκλεέ'	:	δυσηλεγέ'	cett.
	457	ἐκ μὴ τοῦ δέ	:	ἐκβῆτ' οὐδὲ	cett.
<i>Dion.</i> vii.	17	δεσμά ἐθέλοντες	:	δεσμεύεθ' ἐλόντες	cett.
<i>Diosc.</i> xvii.	5	ἐπ' ἀμήτων	:	ἐπιβήτορες	cett.

The minuscule character of the archetype of M therefore admits of no question. That M and no doubt also its predecessors were carelessly copied, and that errors once in existence were generally allowed to remain, will appear from these other mistakes, which I arrange under heads:—

(1) Mis-division.

<i>Ap.</i>	272	προσάγοι ἐννεῖ παιήονι	:	προσάγοιεν ἡπαιήονι,	cett.
	439	λιμένος δ'ἀμάθοισιν	:	λιμέν' ἡ δ' ἀμάθοισιν	cett.
<i>Herm.</i>	38	ζώουσι δέ	:	ζώουσ' ἦν δέ	cett.
	82	νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν	:	νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης	cett.
	238	όλοσποδός	:	ὕλης σποδός	cett.
	308	ἐνέχων δέ	:	ἐνεχ' ὦδε	cett.
	406	νεογρίων	:	νεογνὸς ἐών	cett.
	556	διδασκαλίαν	:	διδάσκαλοι ἦν	cett.

This class of error is perhaps more natural in uncial MSS. In any case the nature of the corruption presupposes a long period of time. *Νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν* probably contains an independent reading, as Hermann observed, *praef.* p. xxx. *Ἐνέχων δέ* turns on the sign — for ν, more frequent in uncial than in minuscule. (Ludwich's excellent emendation *θεὰν σύ περ* for *θέας ὕπερ* *Dcm.* 64 rests on the same supposition.) *Νεογροίων* probably is the result of ΝΕΟΓΝΕΩΝ; cf. K 336 *ἀριστεύωσι* vulg., *ἄριστοι ἔωσι* Aristarchus and a minority of the MSS.

## (2) Omission of syllables or letters.

<i>Dem.</i>	228	ἐπηλσίησι	: (ἐπηλυσίη Ruhnken). <sup>5</sup>
	420	ρόεια	: ῥοδεία Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 351.
	422	contra, ἀκατάστη	: ἀκάστη Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 356.
<i>Ap.</i>	540	ἡέτ' ἐτήσιον	: ἡύτε τηύσιον cett. <sup>6</sup>
	220	τῶ τ' ουχάδε	: τό τοι οὐχ ᾗδε cett.
<i>Herm.</i>	28	σκύλα	: σαῦλα cett. <sup>7</sup>
	522	μήτ'	: μηπότ' cett.
<i>Arphr.</i>	42	τέκε	: τέκετο cett.
	49	γελάσασα	: γελοιήσασα cett.
	66	κῆπον	: κύπρον cett. <sup>8</sup>

## (3) Certain permutations of letters.

<i>Ap.</i>	125	ἐπώρξατο	: ἐπήρξατο cett.
	213	ἐλέλιψεν <sup>9</sup>	: ἐνέλιπεν cett.
	216	πετρίην	: πιερίην cett. <sup>10</sup>
	217	ἡδ' ἀγνιήνας	: ἡ μαγνιήνας cett. <sup>10</sup>
	234	κεῖνον <sup>11</sup>	: κείν' cett.
<i>Herm.</i>	55	ἦντε <sup>12</sup>	: ἡύτε cett.
	79	σάλδαλα	: σάνδαλα cett.
	137	οὐλοκάρηβα	: οὐλοκάρηνα cett.
	138	ἡύλησε	: ἦνυσε cett.
	373	ἀνάγκης <sup>13</sup>	: ἀναγκαίης cett.
	543	μῆ <sup>14</sup>	: μέν cett.
<i>Arphr.</i>	159	ἐκ τῶν	: ἄρκτων cett. <sup>10</sup>
<i>Ar. s. viii.</i>	10	πρὶν <sup>15</sup>	: πρηύ cett.

## (4) Mistakes that do not fall under any particular head.

<i>Dem.</i>	13	κῶδεις τ' ὀδμῇ (unmetrical).
	28	πολυκλίστω : idem <i>Ap.</i> 347, ubi πολυλλίστω cett. <sup>16</sup>
	51	φαινόλη (a vox nihili).

<sup>5</sup> This is made comparatively certain by the metre and the context.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* iii. 651 τήσιοι 'L' for τηύσιοι.

<sup>7</sup> Σκύλα arrives apparently through σ[α]ῦλα σῶλα.

<sup>8</sup> Similarly κῆπον seems a correction of κύπ[ρ]ον.

<sup>9</sup> Intended for ἐνέλειψεν.

<sup>10</sup> These three examples seem unusual. πετρίην it has been suggested to me = ΠΕΙΡΙΗΝ *i.e.* ΠΙΕΡΙΗΝ. Hollander plausibly explains ἡδ' ἀγνιήνας as = ΑΙΝΙΗΝΔC, ΕΝΙΗΝΑC, Matthiae's conjecture, and ἐκ τῶν as = ΑΙΚΤΩΝ, ΑΡΚΤΩΝ.

<sup>11</sup> *I.e.* out of κείν', the accent being mistaken for the abbreviation of ον.

<sup>12</sup> The minuscule ligature ην resembles the minuscule letters ην.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly from the omission of the insignificant symbol for αι, ἀναγκῆς.

<sup>14</sup> The ligature εν mistaken for the minuscule η.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *χ* 411, 481 γρην 'P' for γρηῦ. The ligature for ην was copied as ην, then itacistically πρην became πριν.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ε* 445 πολύλλιστον, where 'W' has πολύκλυστος. It is probably a semi-conscious correction to make metre after one λ had fallen out.

<i>Dem.</i>	122	δῶς (unmetrical).	
	267	συναυξήσουσ' (unmetrical).	
	362	θυσθύμαινε (vox nihili).	
	421	μηλοβόστη : μηλόβοσις Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 354.	
	430	δρεπομένη (unmetrical).	
<i>Ap.</i>	76	αἶδης	: αἶδη οἱ cett.
	475	κείνοι	: ξείνοι cett.
	543	ῥήματα	: ἥματα cett.
<i>Herm.</i>	108	τύνη	: τέχνη cett.
	151	δύσαχ'	: ἦ τάχ' cett.
	338	τέρτομον	: κέρτομον cett.
	400	ῥχου	: ἦχ' οὐ cett.
	404	γαίη κατ'	: πέτρη ἐπ' cett.
	417	ἔθετ'	: ἔθελ' cett.
	493	θ' ἔξουσι	: τέξουσι cett.
	504	δραπέτην	: ἐτραπέτην cett.
	565	ἄνδρ' ἀδαή	: ἄνδρα δαείης cett.
	576	νομίζων	: -ν ὀμιλεῖ cett.
<i>Aphr.</i>	135	δοιῶ τε κασιγνήτω	: σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις cett.
	157	αὐτή	: ἄνακτι cett.

Suggestions as to the origin of several of these variants will be found at the places where they occur. I call attention to them here, since their number and the remarkably unmetrical and ungrammatical character of many of them will have an important bearing on the question how far M is an intentionally corrected manuscript. The purely phonetic variants I omit; they are common to all MSS. and their rarity or abundance does not warrant any conclusion as to the nature of the original. They are collected by Dittmar, *Prolegomenon ad hymnum in Cererem homericum specimen*, Halis Sax. 1882.

There are two omissions of some length in M, *Apoll.* 22—74 and *Aphr.* 68—122. These are relied upon by Thiele (*l.c.*) to prove that M's archetype was uncial. After the evidence adduced above, it will probably seem more likely that the archetype of M was a book of much the same form as M itself, namely with about twenty-five lines on a page. As some of the minuscule corruptions (*Ap.* 119, 234, *Dion.* vii. 17, *Herm.* 373, 565 ?) appear to be due to abbreviations or ligatures, we may imagine *m* to have been a small book written in the common fluent hand of the tenth to twelfth centuries, the period to which we owe our most valuable copies of Greek writers. Did it resemble the MS. Laur. 32, 15 (D) of the *Iliad*, or Laur. 32, 24 of the *Odyssey*, or any of the various tenth to eleventh century MSS. of Hesiod, or perhaps Barocci 50, a book which contains the *Batrachomachia*, Musaeus and Phocylides? It was of course written in the East, and it was supposed by Matthaei that M itself was brought to Moscow from Athos (Geel *l.c.*).

In the course of time, like so many other books, *m* lost a number of

quires, which were not replaced, and when in the fourteenth century the scribe of M took it to copy, nearly half the Iliad, and an unknown amount of the Hymns, had disappeared. As far therefore as our positive evidence goes the canon of the Homeric Hymns is unclosed, and a papyrus from an Egyptian tomb may any day give us a hymn to Zeus or Athena.

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After M we come to a group of MSS. DELΠT, which have been held to belong to one family. The following list of absolute agreements justifies this statement :—

*Ap.*

17	κύνθειον DELΠT	κύνθειον ρ κύνιον M.
35	αὐτοκανῆς DELΠT	αὐτοκάνης ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
46	σοι DELΠT	om. ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
ib.	γαιέων DELΠT	γαιάων ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
59	full line DELΠT	half line ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
65	γ' ἐροίμην DELΠT	γενοίμην ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
71	ἴδης DELΠT	ἴδη ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
72	ἀτιμήσω DELΠT	ἀτιμήσας ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
73	ᾧσει DELΠT	ᾧση ρ ( <i>deest</i> M).
74	κράτος DELΠ(? T)	κρατὸς ρ M.
174	ἡμέτερον DELΠ(? T)	ὑμέτερον ρ M.
216	πιερίης DELΠT	πιερίη ρ πετρίην M.
224	τευμησσὸν DELΠ(? T)	τελμησσὸν ρ τέμμισον M.
272	προάγειεν DLΠ( <i>desunt</i> ET)	προσάγειεν ρ M.
284	ὑποκρέματα DLΠ( <i>desunt</i> ET)	ἐπικρέματα ρ M.
322	μήσσαι DELΠT	ἔτι μήσσαι ρ μητίσσαι M.
326	καὶ νῦν μὲν τοὶ γὰρ DELΠT	καὶ νῦν τοὶ γὰρ ρ καὶ νῦν μέντοι M.
339	ἡ πόσσον DELΠT	ἡ παρόσον ρ ἐστιν. ὅσον M.
346	φραζάσκετο DELΠT	φραζέσκετο ρ M.
538	hab. DELΠT	om. ρ M.

*Hym.*

36	τὸ om. DELΠ(? T)	hab. ρ M.
45	αἰ ὅτε DELΠ(? T)	αἶς ὅτε ρ ἡ ὅτε M.
59	ὄνομα κλυτὸν DELΠ(? T)	ὄνομακλυτήν ρ ὄνομακλυτὸν M.
72	ἀκειρασίου DELΠ(? T)	ἀκηρασίου ρ M.
286	δραύλους DELΠ	δ' ἀγραύλους ρ M.
	δ' ἀγραύλους } T	
	δραύλους }	
303	οἶωνοῖσιν εὖ DELΠ(? T)	οἶωνοῖσι σὺ ρ M.
361	ἀλεγύνων DELΠ(? T)	ἀλεείνων ρ ἀλεγίζων M.
397	σπεύδοντο DELΠ(? T)	σπεύδοντε ρ M.
398	δ' ἐπ' DELΠ(? T)	ἐπ' ρ M.
560	θυῖωσι DEL( <i>deest</i> II, ' T)	θύσωσι ρ θυῖωσιν M.

*Aphr.*

16 χρυσήλατον DELT( <i>1<sup>st</sup></i> II)	χρυσηλάκατον <i>p</i> M.
20 πόλεις DELT( <i>1<sup>st</sup></i> II)	πόνος <i>p</i> πόλεις M.
267 ἔστασ' DELIIT	ἐστᾶσ' <i>p</i> M.
vi. 12 κοσμίσθην DELIIT	κοσμείσθην <i>p</i> κοσμήσθην M.

The list need not be continued beyond *Dion.* vii. 34, where L breaks off. DELIIT are thus descendants of an archetype (*x*) which is not that of M or *p*.<sup>16a</sup> We shall see later that ELIIT are the most exact representatives of this archetype; before proceeding to establish their position and value, we may examine D and several other MSS. which appear to belong to the *x* family.

## D.

It will be shown afterwarde that *x* parts into two branches, ET (*a*) and LII (*b*). The following passages prove that D belongs to *b* rather than to *a*:—

<i>Ap.</i> 4 φαίδιμος ET	φαίδιμα LPII.
20 τοι ET	τε LPII.
38 νήσος ET	νήσων LPII.
<i>ib.</i> λιπαροτάτη ET	λιπαρωτάτη LPII.
44 πετρήεσσα ETD	πετρήδεσ(σ)α LPII.
51 κε θέλεις ET κ' ἐθέλεις D	κε θέλεις II κέλης L.
60 πείας ET	πείαρ LPII πείαρ D.
75 ἀδὴ οἷ E ἀδὴ οἷ T	ἀδὴ οἷ DL ἀδὴ οἷ II.
76 ἀκηδέα ἄχη τεῖ λάων ET	ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν LPII.
86 τε om. ETD	hab. LPII.
88 σ' ἔξοχα ET	σέ γ' ἔξοχα LPII.
96 om. ET	hab. LPII.
128 ἀσπαίροντες ET	ἀσπαίροντα LPII.
162 βαμβαλιαστὺν ET	βαμ κρεμβαλιαστὺν LPII κρεμβαλιαστὺν D.
171 ἀφ' ὑμέων ET	ἀφ' ἡμέων LPII.
176 ἐπειδὴ ET	ἐπειδὴ LPII ἐπὶ δὴ D.
180 μίλητον ET	μίλητον LPII.
197 οὔτε λαχεῖα E(? T)	οὔτε λάχεια LPII.
217 ἡ μαγνήνας ET	ἡ μαγνηίδας LPII.
260 τελειέσσας ET	τελεέσσας LPII.
261-89 om. ET	hab. LPII.

Out of 21 variants in 300 lines, D agrees 3 times with ET, 18 times with LPII. A continuation of the comparison would establish the same proportions. Plainly D was constructed on a basis of LPII. It differs from them in the following points; I omit places in which D coincides with *p*.

<sup>16a</sup> I use *p* to denote the Paris family and its archetype (Hollander's π).

- <sup>1</sup>*Ap.* 41 this verse in D stands after v. 36. The eye of the scribe passed from ὄρος αἰπύ in 35 to ὄρος αἰπύ in 40.  
 60 πείαρ D πείυσ ET πείαρ LΠ πῖαρ <sup>1</sup>.  
 72 ἀτιμήσω D ἀτιμήσω <sup>η</sup>. The process of correcting D seems here displayed.<sup>17</sup>  
 74 κατα κράτος D κατὰ <sup>η</sup>. Cf. 71 where D (with NP) has το πρῶτον for τὸ πρῶτον of *x*.  
 83 ὄμωσεν D ὄμοσεν <sup>η</sup>. Evidently a correction to make metre.  
 114 ἴδμαθ' D ἴσμαθ' <sup>δ</sup> (ἴσμαθ' <sup>1</sup>).  
 130 ἀθανάτοισι D ἀθανάτησι <sup>η</sup>.  
 223 ἴξας D ἴξες <sup>η</sup>.  
 402 ἐπιφράσσατο D ἐπιφράσσατο <sup>η</sup>.  
 514 ἀγατὸν D ...ατὸν <sup>η</sup>. This is the clearest case of conjecture in D.  
 540 τηύσιόν γ' ἔπος D τηύσιον ἔπος <sup>η</sup>.  
*Herm.* 38 θάνοις D θάνης <sup>η</sup>. M also has θάνοις, but it was not available in Italy in the fifteenth century.  
 47 λαβὼν D and <sup>η</sup>. D in marg. γρ. ταμών. Cf. *Ap.* 72, another instance of the process of correction in D.  
 70 θέων D θεῶν <sup>η</sup>. Not an accidental difference, cf. T 53 θεῶν ἐπὶ καλλικολώνῃ, where θεῶν is Aristarchus' reading, θέων Herodian's and our MSS. are about equally divided. Cf. also A 503, νέων and νεῶν. *Dem.* 490 θεῶν of M is necessarily wrong.  
 99 σκοπιῇ D σκοπιῇν <sup>η</sup>.  
 100 μεγαμηδείας D; μεγαμηδείδ(ο)ιο LΠ, μεγαμηδείοιο ET. Here D seems closer to the ET branch.  
 103 ἥλανον D; ἵκανον *cet.* The effect of ἥλασεν before and ληνοὺς after?  
 124 κατὰ στυφέλω D, κατα <sup>η</sup>. Cf. *Ap.* 71, 74.  
 151 εἰλυμένος D εἰλυμένος <sup>η</sup>.  
 186 ὀγχηστὸνδ' D ὀγχηστόνδ' <sup>η</sup>.  
 238 ἀμφικαλύπτοι D ἀμφικαλύπτει <sup>η</sup>.  
 261 εἶπες D εἶπας <sup>η</sup>.  
 284 καθίσαι D καθίσσαι <sup>η</sup>.  
 289 πύματον καὶ ὕστατον D, πύματόν τε καὶ <sup>η</sup>.  
 425 δὲ λιγέως D δὲ λλιγέως <sup>η</sup>.  
 540 βούλεται D μῆδεται <sup>η</sup>. Would seem an obvious conjecture, but cf. ξ 300 βούλετ' 'XD' for μῆδετ', τ 326 βουλῇν 'PU' for μῆτιν.

<sup>17</sup> The same correction seems to be found in T. Bethu Le. p. 524 says ἀτιμήσω verbessert zu ἀτιμήσης ['].<sup>1</sup>

*Apoll.* 3 κατὰ θνητῶν D κατα *v.*

13 σκύτινα D σάτινα *v.* Conjecture.

22 ἐστὶν D ἰστίη *v.* Cf. the contrary, *Hesl.* xxix. 6, 11. ξ 159, τ 304 we have the same variant.

118 χρυσηλακάτου D χρυσηλάτου *v.* Conjecture.

174 ἦρε D  $\begin{cases} \betaυρε\ a. \\ \etaυρε\ b. \end{cases}$  A conjecture and not a happy one.

203 ἐὸν D ἐνὸν *v.*

205 τετιμένος D τετιμενόνος *v.*

214 ἀγήραος D ἀγήρωσ *v.*

*Ge* xxx. 3 ὑπέρχεται D ἐπέρχεται *v.*

*Hcl.* xxxi. 4 ἀγακλειτὴν D ἀγακλυτὴν *v.* A conjecture to help the metre, cf. *v.g.* I 165 κλητοὺς, κλειτοὺς, κλυτοὺς, E 491 al.

*Diosc.* xxxiii. 1 ἔσπετε D ἔσπετε *v.*

#### At.

In 1889, Prof. J. P. Mahaffy published in the *Athenaeum*, p. 631, an account of a MS. in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos, which contained the Homeric Hymns. The MS. did not include the Demeter-hymn, but still considerable hopes were excited by the discovery. These have been dissipated by the publication, in the *Classical Review*, October 1894, by Prof. Ingram Bywater of a collation of the MS. made by Prof. M. Constantinides. The facsimiles made by Mr. Constantinides, which Prof. Bywater had the kindness to show me, prove clearly, both from the writing and the style of illumination, that the Athos MS. is a specimen of an ordinary fifteenth-century book; and this coincides with Mr. Constantinides' description of the material, ἐπὶ χάρτου ἀρχαίου παρεμφεροῦς μεμβράνῃ. It is only in the fifteenth century that we find white glazed paper that looks like vellum.

This fifteenth century MS. closely resembles D, and (accordingly) its effect upon the text of the Hymns is limited to the immediate position of this MS. Its closeness to D may be judged from the following readings which the two have in common: *Ap.* 19 ὑπ' ἰνόποιο, 41 the line takes the place of 36, οἰσεῖς (with E), 372—4 om., 403 ἀνασείσασκε (with NV), *Herm.* 54 κονάβισε, 93 μηκέτι, 100 μεγαμηδείας, 103 ἡλαννον, 156 δέσε, 224 ἔστιν ὁμοῖα (with *p*), 420 γέλασε, 539 χρυσάραπι, 540 βούλεται, 572 δ' om., *Apoll.* 13 σκύτινα, 22 ἐστὶν, 46 μιγημένοι, 174 ἦρε, 214 ἀγήραος, *Aschl.* xvi. 3 φλεγύος (with KN). The points in which it differs from D are unimportant; they are according to the collation as follows: *Ap.* 136—8, not added in marg., 147 ἰάγονες, 152 ἰάονες, 211 om. (accidental, cf. *p*), 217 μαγνηίας, 339 πόσοσον, 347 πολυάλιστοισι, 359 χώραν, 402 νοήσας, 468 ἐκγεάγασιν, 501 om. and in 500 νηόν for αἰεῖδιν, 509 δ' for τ', 522 τετιμημένος (with MF), 544 δὲ om., *Herm.* 5 ἡλαύνετ', 45 δυνηθῶσι (with *p*), 446 φηλητὰ (with *p*), *Apoll.* 203 ἦρπασε ὄν, 244 τάχα om., *Met.* *Ap.* xxv. 1 Ζηνὸς for διὸς, *Hesl.* xxix. 9, 10, after v. 11.



D and At therefore are copies of one archetype, and as commerce in Greek MSS. set Westwards and not Eastwards, we must suppose that this archetype was an Eastern Greek MS. and that D was copied from it in the Eastern world and exported to Italy. This archetype differed from the general *v* family, or more nearly from the branch *b*, in these points: (1) it omits the variants which we shall see belong to the family; (2) it exhibits certain readings which are not found in any other extant MS., and as it seems unlikely that the scribe had access to any different and now perished stock, are to be called conjectures. That is to say, the original of At D was a type of MS. intended to present a readable text of the author at the expense of tradition. In this respect it occupies an entirely different position from M, ELΠT and nearly all the *p* family. It resembles S, and approximates to the ed. pr. The critical faculty of the scribe was not great, far less than that of S, Γ, or of Demetrius Chalcondyles; he lets pass the palpable *x* corruption *τυφλόν* *Δρ.* 306, and but few of his corrections are acceptable.

## HJK

D or some MS. very like it has itself descendants, and these may next be disposed of. They are H (Harley 1752), J (Estense ii. B 14), K (Laur. 31, 32). That these belong to the general family *v* is proved by these passages where (H)JK agree with *v* against *m p*:

<i>Act.</i> ix. 3 <i>μελήτης</i> HJK <i>v</i> (and L <sub>3</sub> )	<i>μελήτης p μέλητος m.</i>
<i>Mat. dv.</i> xiv. 3 <i>τρόμος</i> HJK <i>v</i>	<i>βρόμος m p.</i>
<i>Apoll.</i> 35 <i>αὐτοκανῆς</i> HJK <i>v</i>	<i>αὐτοκάνης p (deest M).</i>
<i>ib.</i> 59 full line HJK <i>v</i>	half line <i>p (deest M).</i>

and by these where (H)JK agree with *v* and *m* (with the latter of which they can have had no direct connexion) against *p*:

<i>Act.</i> viii. 9 <i>εὐθαρσέος</i> HJK <i>v m</i>	<i>εὐθαλέος p y.</i> <sup>17a</sup>
<i>Mat. dv.</i> xiv. 3 <i>τυμπάνων</i> HJK <i>v m</i>	<i>τυπάνων p.</i>
<i>Apr.</i> 78 <i>ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν</i> JK ( <i>deest H</i> ) <i>m v</i>	<i>ἑκαστά τε φύλα ιεποῦδων p.</i>
152 <i>οἱ τότε' ἐπ'</i> JK ( <i>deest H</i> ) <i>m v</i>	<i>οἱ δὴ ποτ' ἐπ- p.</i>
162 <i>κρεμβαλιαστήν</i> JK ( <i>deest H</i> ) <i>m</i>	} <i>κρεμβαλιαστὴν p.</i>
<i>κρεμβαλιαστὴν v</i>	

The difference between *v* and JK is only of itacism.

<i>Apr.</i> 172 <i>ἡμέων</i> JK ( <i>deest H</i> ) <i>m v</i> ( <i>ύμέων E</i> )	<i>ύμῶν p.</i>
176 <i>ἐπιδὴ</i> JK ( <i>deest H</i> ) <i>v</i> ( <i>ἐπειδὴ m</i> )	<i>ἐπιδὴν p.</i>

That HJK are more nearly descended from D appears from the following passages:

<sup>17a</sup> By *y* I designate the marginalia of *z*.

<i>Asclap.</i> xvi. 3 φλεγύος DK } φλεγέος HJ }	φλεγύου <i>x p</i> (φλεγύος N).
<i>Ap.</i> 41, after v. 35 DHJK	after v. 40, cet.
49 ἐβήσατο DK } βήσατο HJ }	ἐβήσετο cet. (ἐβήσσατο L).
60 πείαρ DJK	πείαρ <i>x</i> , πῖαρ <i>p</i> .
72 ἀτιμήσω <sup>η</sup> D	ἀτιμήσω <i>x</i> ἀτιμήσας <i>p</i> .
ἀτιμήση JK (K in ras.)	

Here J seems to have followed the correction of D, K to have followed the text of D and then to have been altered to the correction.

<i>Ap.</i> 83 ὄμωσεν DK } γρ. ὄμωσεν } ὄμοσεν J }	ὄμοσ(σ)εν <i>x p</i> .
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Here contrariwise K follows D, J follows the vulgate reading but is corrected into the reading of D.

<i>Ap.</i> 114 ἴσμαθ' DJK	<sup>δ</sup> ἴσμαθ' <i>x</i> ( <sup>δ</sup> ἴσμαθ' Π) ἴσθμαθ' <i>p</i> .
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The close connexion between H, J and K is shown by their fragmentariness, and by the curious order of the Hymns (viii.—xviii. *Ap.* 1—186) that they contain; their archetype, which intervened between them and D, must have consisted of a few gathers, survivors of some more complete MS., bound up in a wrong order. The half-verse *Ap.* 186 ἐνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον may have been the catch-word or guard of the quire with which the archetype ended. The copyists incorporated this morsel in their texts. How v. 185 came to be omitted, and v. 184 written after this catchword, does not appear.

The various members of the family differ amongst themselves, and if the variants in the original D are due to conjecture, much more so are these in its descendants. They are, in H,

<i>Arct.</i> viii. 4 θέμιστα H	θέμιστος cet.
<i>Ap.</i> 46 οἱ H (. . οἱ T)	σοι cet.
in J	
<i>Ap.</i> 57 ἀγινήσουσ' J	ἀγίνουσιν S ed. pr. ἀγινήσουσιν cet.
59 δὴ ῥὰ θεοὶ κε σ' ἔχωσι J	δὴ ῥὰ om. cet.
65 γενοίμην J cum <i>p</i> S	γ' ἐροίμην <i>x</i> cum K.
70 αἰνῶς γε J	γε om. cet.
74 ἄλλυδις J	ἄλις cet.
82 ἔσται, γρ. J (cum <i>m</i> )	ἐστίν cet.
86 πέλεται, om. τε J	πέλει cet. (om. τε DET ed. pr.).
<i>Ap.</i> 139 γ' ἀνθεῖι οὔρεος ἄνθεσιν	τε ῥίον οὔρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης cet.
• ὕλη J	ἀνὴρ K <i>x</i> αἰεὶ <i>m y p</i> .
151 ἄνδρας J	

Of these *ἀγινήσουσ'* and *ἔσται* are excellent original conjectures, *γενοίμην* is an easy correction of the *ρ* of *ε*.

Two of the family possess common variants in

*Dem.* xiii. 1 *δημήτρ'* HJ      *δημήτηρ'* KET (*δημήτηρ* Π) *δημήτερ'* D *ρ*.  
*Ap.* 31 *κυδνή* add. HJ      om. K cet.

This variant I cannot explain, unless it is a relic of <sup>κλυτή</sup>*ναυσικλειτή*.

39 <i>κουρίκου</i> H } <i>κουρύκου</i> J }	<i>κορύκου</i> K <i>ε</i> <i>κωρύκου</i> , <i>ρ</i> .
51 <i>κ' ἐθέλοις</i> H } <i>κεθέλοις</i> J }	<i>κ' ἐθέλεις</i> KD <i>κεθέλεις</i> ET <i>ρ</i> <i>κεθέλης</i> LII.
55 <i>οἴσεις</i> HJ	<i>οἴσεις</i> E <i>ρ</i> <i>οἴστεῖς</i> LPII (def. M).
158 <i>ἄν</i> HJ	<i>ἄρ</i> cet.

Traces of the conjectures of J appear in K.

*Ap.* 65 *γενοίμην* J *γενοι* K *m.* 2.

*Ap.* 151 *ἄνδρας* J, K *m.* 2. and cf. 72.

Lastly all three MSS. differ from D in reading

*ἐπὶ* for *ἐν* D *Ap.* 52.

*ὑπ' οἰνώποιο* for *ὑπ' ἰνόποιο* D *Ap.* 18.

## S.

S (Vat. 1880) is a fragment of eight pages, the first gather of a fifteenth century MS. That it belongs in stock to *ε* appears from the following passages :

<i>Ap.</i> 22 <i>ἄδον</i> S <i>ε</i>	<i>ἄδον</i> M <i>ρ</i> <i>ἄδον</i> Γ.
35 <i>ἀντοκανῆς</i> S <i>ε</i>	<i>αὐτοκάνης</i> <i>ρ</i> (def. M).
46 <i>σοι</i> S <i>ε</i>	om. <i>ρ</i> (def. M).
59 full line S <i>ε</i>	half-line <i>ρ</i> (def. M).
73 <i>ὄσσει</i> S <i>ε</i>	<i>ὄση</i> <i>ρ</i> .
75 <i>ἀδήοι</i> S <i>ἀδηοί</i> <i>ε</i>	<i>ἀδοίη</i> <i>ρ</i> .
78 <i>ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν</i> S <i>ε</i>	<i>ἑκαστά τε φύλα νεπούδων</i> <i>ρ</i> .
129 <i>δέσματ'</i> S K <i>δεσμάτ'</i> <i>ε</i> M	<i>δεσμάσ'</i> <i>ρ</i> .
136. 7. S hab. S II; in marg. <i>ε</i>	om. M <i>ρ</i> .
152 <i>οἱ τότ'</i> S <i>ε</i> M	<i>οἱ δὴ ποτ'</i> <i>ρ</i> .
162 <i>κρεμβαλιαστὺν</i> S <i>ε</i> }	<i>κρεμβαλιασὺν</i> <i>ρ</i> .
<i>κρεμβαλιασὴν</i> MJK }	
176 <i>ἐπειδὴ</i> SME <i>ἐπιδὴ</i> <i>ε</i>	<i>ἐπιδὴν</i> <i>ρ</i> .
197 <i>οὔτε λάχεια</i> S <i>ε</i> <i>οὔτε λαχεῖα</i> ME	<i>οὔτ' ἐλάχεια</i> <i>ρ</i> .
211 <i>ἐρευθεῖ</i> S <i>ε</i> <i>ἐρεχθεῖ</i> M	vers. om. <i>ρ</i> .
272 <i>προάγοιεν</i> S <i>ε</i>	<i>προσάγοιεν</i> M <i>ρ</i> .
274 <i>δέξαι</i> S M <i>ε</i>	<i>δέξαιο</i> <i>ρ</i> .

Next there are several places in which S agrees with  $\rho$  against  $\omega$ ; although it seems more likely that they also are pure conjectures on the part of S, still it might be maintained that they were taken from a member of the  $\rho$  class. I therefore give them apart:—

41 $\rho$ .	3 ἐπισχεδὸν S $\rho$	ἐπὶ σ <sup>σ</sup> χεδὸν $\omega$ .
	65 περὶ τιμήεσσα S $\rho$	περιτιμήεσσα $\omega$ .
	ib. γενοίμην S $\rho$	γ' ἐροίμην $\omega$ .
	83 ὁμοσσεν S $\rho$	ὁμοσεν $\omega$ .
	114 ἴσθμαθ' S $\rho$	ἴσμαθ' $\omega$ .
	151 αἰεὶ S $\rho$	ἀνῆρ $\omega$ .
	306 τυφάονα S $\rho$	τυφλόν $\omega$ .

In some other places S coincides with HJK or a member of  $\rho$ , e.g.

41 $\rho$ .	30 ὅσσους S A ὅ <sup>σ</sup> σους E ὅσους cet.	
	51 κ' ἐθέλοις S H κε θέλοις J κεθέλεις and κεθέλης cet.	
	53 ἄλλως S J ἄλλος cet.	
	59 δηρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκοις θεοὶ κε σ' ἔχωσι S. The nearest is J's δηρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκεις· δὴ ῥὰ θεοὶ κε σ' ἔχωσι, and this is the only other MS. that has the accusative ἄνακτ'.	
	72 ἀτιμήση S J ἀτιμήσ <sup>η</sup> ω D ἀτιμήσω corr. in η K { ἀτιμήσω $\omega$ . ἀτιμήσας $\rho$ .	
	88 σε ἔξοχα S J σ' ἔξοχα E T σε γ' ἔξοχα S correctus, cet.	
	129 δέσματ' S K (δεσματ' J) δεσμάτ' M $\omega$ δεσμάσ' $\rho$ .	
	139 ὅτε ρίον S ὅτε ρρίον D ὅτε τε ριον or ρρίον cet.	

The list however is more important of readings that are found in S only:—

41 $\rho$ .	18 ὑπ' ἰνώποιο S ; the nearest is M's ὑπὶ νώποιο.	
	44 ῥήναιά S ; the rest accent ῥηναία.	
	53 λήσει S ; λίσσει cet.	
	54 εὐβωλο σε ἔσσεσθαι S εὐβων or εὐβουν σε ἔσσεσθαι cet.	
	57 ἀγίνουσιν S ἀγινήσουσ' J ἀγινήσουσιν cet.	
	128 ἔσχον S ἴσχον cet.	
	165 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι S (cum Thuc.) ἀλλὰ γε λητὼ M ἀλλάγε δὴ λητὼ cet.	
	209 ὀππότ' ἀνωόμενος S ὀππότεν ἰέμενος M ὀπποτ' αἰωόμενος cet.	
	216 περιήην S (πετρίην M) περιήης $\omega$ περιήη $\rho$ .	
	234 κείν' S κείν' cet.	
	297. νίέες ἐργίνου S νίέε σεργίνου cet.	

There being, as in the case of D, no other source existing from which different readings might be drawn, one must call these variants conjecture

of the scribe of S; and it must be admitted that he was a scholar of unusual attainments and penetration. Of all the *anonymi* that have dealt with the Hymns the second hand of Γ alone is comparable to him. The mutilated form of the variants vv. 54 *εὐβωλο* and 325 *ῆ* might suggest that they were not original to S but were copied from its archetype. At 165 we see the Thucydidean original reappear; naturally there can be no question of a survival of the genuine tradition; the scribe either took the reading from the text of Thucydides or conjectured it independently. I do not know which is the more probable hypothesis. It is to be noticed that in the other case of corruption in the passage quoted by Thucydides, 171, S does not revert to the Thucydidean *ἀφῆμος*, but reads with Ep *ἀφ' ὑμέων*.

S then belongs to the *ε* stock, but omits the *γ* variants and presents a corrected text. Like D it was a copy intended for current reading, and the rough places in the text were intentionally smoothed over. This character, of D and S, is the result of our comparison and inference; the two MSS. find an analogy in a contemporary recension where the aim of polishing the text is avowed, and the name of the reviser known—the first printed edition.

#### ED. PR.

This was published in Florence in the year 1488, in two volumes, the first of which contains the Iliad, the second the Odyssey and Hymns. For a description of the book see Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* i. p. 9 *sq.* The subscription, at the end of the Hymns, names Bernardo and Nerio Nerli to whose munificence, and Demetrius of Milan the Cretan to whose labour and skill, the edition was due; the latter according to Legrand, p. 10, was the printer. The name of the editor, to whom the scientific merit of the edition is owing, is given by Bernardo Nerli in the Latin dedication to Piero dei Medici<sup>15</sup> prefixed to the first volume: *Nam ut omittam Nerii fratris liberalitatem: et Ioannis Accaioli auxilium: Demetriique Cretensis decenteritatem: id imprimis mihi opportunum fuit: maximeque optatum: quod ad hanc rem Demetrium Chalcondylem Atheniensem nactus eram: Virum profecto tempestate nostra doctissimum: preceptorumque morum: a quo huiusmodi opus accuratissime recognosci possit. Perdifficile enim mihi videbatur sine eruditissimo viro id operis castigatissimum emendatissimumque fieri posse. Itaque ei illius consilio Homericum ut vetustate primum: ita etiam divino quodam ingenio summum potam: ac litterarum fontem elegi: qui quidem ob incuriam atque negligentiam librariorum ita sui dissimilis videbatur: ut in nullo fere codice quarevis perreteri integer agnosceretur. Quamobrem eruditissimi sane viri opera; qualem Demetrium nactus est: summopere indigebat: qui et amore quo me non mulierci prosequitur: et communis utilitatis gratia maxime adductus ipsa Homeri opera singulari diligentia summoque studio cum Eustathii commentariis conferens examinavit: atque emendavit:.....* The life of Demetrius Chalcondyles may be read in Legrand i. p. xciv. *sq.* He had been at this time some sixteen

<sup>15</sup> The unfortunate son of Lorenzo, killed in 1503 near the mouth of the Garigliano, and whose tomb is at Monte-Cassino. The Anthology also was dedicated to him (1194).

years public teacher of Greek at Florence, having succeeded Argyropoulos in 1471. Other books in which he appears as editor are the Isocrates of 1493, printed at Milan (Legrand i. p. 16) and the Suidas of 1499 also printed at Milan (*ib.* p. 63). For a specimen of his work as a scribe, see Omont, *Fac-similés des Manuscrits Grecs des XIVe. et XVe. siècles*, plate 16. To Homer Demetrius prefixes an address to the reader, following the dedication of Nerli, in which the essential passages are the following:.....καλόν τε καὶ τέλειον πάντη τὸ ἔργον ἀπετέλεσαν· τῆς δυνατῆς καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν διορθώσεως τετυχηκός· σφόδρα γὰρ ἡμῖν πλειόνων ἔνεκα διὰ σπουδῆς ἐγένετο, ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν διορθώσασθαι τά τε ὁμήρου ποιήματα προσχρησασμένοις καὶ τοῖς εὐσταθίου ὑπομνήμασι, καὶ τὰ τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπονημένα· εἰ δέ τι καὶ διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοσαύτῃ πραγματείᾳ, συγγνώμης ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγνωμόνως κρίνειν ἐθέλόντων δικαίως ἄξιοιτο· καὶ μάλιστα ἐφ' οἷς ἡ οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ἐν κομιδῇ ὀλίγοις, οὔτε ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ἔννοια οὔτε μὴν ἡ ἀκολουθία ἐλλέλειπται. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα, ἐν γε ὀρθογραφίᾳ ἔστιν οὐ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ μέτρου ἀπαρτίσει εἴη ἂν τι τυχὸν ἐλλιπές· τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ γράμματα συντιθέντων, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παροφθέν· δεῖ μέντοι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὡς ἔν τε τῇ βατραχομυομαχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐν ἰαχοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφθοράν, οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν εἶρμος οὔτε μὴν τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὑγιὲς ἀπαρτίζεται· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῷ δίνωνος συγγράμματι. οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ τά τε τῆς βατραχομυομαχίας καὶ τῶν ὕμνων ὀλόκληρά γε τυγχάνοντα, οὐ φαύλως ἴσως ἂν εἶχε· διεφθαρμένα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τῶν λογίων ἀμελείας, οὐκ ἂν πολλὴν τὴν ζημίαν ἐπιφέρειεν τοῖς φιλομαθεῖσι· τὰ δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παροφθέντα καὶ ὁ βραχέα πεπαιδευμένος ἐν τοῦτοις οὐ χαλεπῶς συνίδοι. That is to say, Demetrius explains that he has made a recension, *διόρθωσις*, of the poem, assisted (for the Iliad and Odyssey) by the commentaries of Eustathius and the works of other (Byzantine) writers. He apologizes for errors and oversights, where tradition has lost both the meaning of words and the construction of sentences, and for mistakes in spelling and metre, due partly to the printers, partly to himself; in particular, in the Hymn and the Batrachomyomachia the badness of the MSS. has caused here and there the loss of the connexion of the lines and the soundness of the sense. We expect therefore to find an eclectic text, with the tradition improved in many places, left as it stands in others for want of a remedy.

The class of MSS. that Chalcondyles took as the foundation for his text is clear from the following passages (M, being still in the East, naturally does not enter into the question):—

1p. 39 κορύκου ed. pr. <i>x</i>	κωρύκου, p.
46 σοι hab. ed. pr. <i>x</i>	om. p.
59 full line ed. pr. <i>x</i>	half line, p.
65 γ' ἐροίμην ed. pr. <i>x</i>	γενοίμην, p.
71 ἴδης ed. pr. <i>x</i>	ἴδη, p.
• 73 ὥσει ed. pr. <i>x</i>	ῶση, p.
74 κράτος ed. pr. <i>x</i>	κρατός, p.

<i>Ap.</i> 75 ἀδῆοί ed. pr. ἀδῆοί etc. <i>σ</i>	ἀδοίη, <i>ρ</i> .
78 ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἕκαστά τε φύλα νεπούδων, <i>ρ</i> .
114 ἴσμαθ' ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἴσθημαθ, <i>ρ</i> .
129 δεσμάτ' ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	δεσμά σ', <i>ρ</i> .
136, 7, 8 hab. ed. pr. hab. in marg. <i>ε</i>	om. <i>ρ</i> .
151 ἀνήρ ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	αἰεὶ, <i>ρ</i> .
152 οὐ τότε' ἐπαντία ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	οἱ δὴ ποτ' ἐπαντία, <i>ρ</i> .
174 ἡμέτερον ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ὑμέτερον, <i>ρ</i> .
176 ἐπιδῆ ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	ἐπιδὴν, <i>ρ</i> .
197 οὔτε λάχεια ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	οὔτ' ἐλάχεια, <i>ρ</i> .
211 ἐρευνθεῖ ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	om. <i>ρ</i> .
216 πιερίης ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	πιερίη, <i>ρ</i> .
224 τευμησσόν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	τελμησσόν, <i>ρ</i> .
227 πώποτε ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	πωτότε, <i>ρ</i> .
237 πρώτιστ' ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	πρώτισθ', <i>ρ</i> .
272 προάγοιεν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	προσάγοιεν, <i>ρ</i> .
274 δέξαι ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	δέξαιο, <i>ρ</i> .
284 ὑποκρέμαται ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	ἐπικρέμαται, <i>ρ</i> .
291 οἷδ' ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἡδ', <i>ρ</i> .
292 τῆσιν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	τοῖσιν, <i>ρ</i> .
304 ταναύποδ' ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	τανύποδ', <i>ρ</i> .
328 αἰσχύνας ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	αἰσχύνασ', <i>ρ</i> .
525 τῶν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	τὸν, <i>ρ</i> .
538 τε ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	δὲ, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Hym.</i> 1 ὕμναι ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ὕμναι, <i>ρ</i> .
45 αἶ ὅτε ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	ἄς ὅτε, <i>ρ</i> .
59 ὄνομα κλυτὸν ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	ὄνομακλυτὴν, <i>ρ</i> .
72 ἀκειρασίους ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	ἀκηρασίους, <i>ρ</i> .
86 αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	αὐτοτροπήσας, <i>ρ</i> .
119 αἰῶνας ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	αἰῶνος, <i>ρ</i> .
152 περ' ἰγνύσι ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	παρ' ἰγνύσι, <i>ρ</i> .
159 φιλητεύσειν ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	φιλητεύσειν, <i>ρ</i> .
168 ἄπαστοι ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἄπαστοι, <i>ρ</i> .
224 ἔστιν ὁμοῖα ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἔλπομαι οἶναι, <i>ρ</i> .
232 ταναύποδα ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	τανύποδα, <i>ρ</i> .
303 οἰωνοῖς· εὐ ed. pr. οἰωνοῖσιν εὐ <i>ε</i>	οἰωνοῖσι· σὺ, <i>ρ</i> .
313 ἐρέεινεν ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἐρέεινον, <i>ρ</i> .
342 δοιὰ ed. pr. <i>σ</i>	δια, <i>ρ</i> .
356 κατέρεξε ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	κατέερξε, <i>ρ</i> .
397 σπεύδοντο ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	σπεύδοντε, <i>ρ</i> .
398 δ' ἐπ' ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ἐπ', <i>ρ</i> .
519 ὄμβριμον ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	ὄβριμον, <i>ρ</i> .
560 θύσωσι ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	θύσωσι, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Apoll.</i> vi. 7 εὐτύκτον ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	εὐτυκτον, <i>ρ</i> .
12 κοσμίσθην ed. pr. <i>ε</i>	κοσμείσθην, <i>ρ</i> .

<i>Dion.</i> vii. 39 κατεκριμνῶντο ed. pr. <i>α</i>	κατεκρημνῶντο, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Arct.</i> viii. 9 εὐθαρσέος ed. pr. <i>α</i>	εὐθαλέος, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Art.</i> ix. 3 μελήτης ed. pr. <i>α</i>	μιλήτης, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Mat. de.</i> xiv. 3 τρόμος ed. pr. <i>α</i>	βρόμος, <i>ρ</i> .
<i>Pan.</i> xix. 7 κίρρηνα ed. pr. <i>α</i>	κέλευθα, <i>ρ</i> .
26 θαλέων ed. pr. <i>α</i>	θαλέθων, <i>ρ</i> .

Chalcondyles thus showed his judgment by selecting the *α* family, the excellence of which has only of late years been definitely recognized, for his basis; he did not however follow any of the nearest representatives of the original (ELΠΤ). He required an authority that did not offer alternative readings, or flagrant impossibilities in the text; he therefore had recourse to a corrected member of the family, namely D, or a MS. very like it. This appears from the following places in which D and ed. pr. coincide:—

- 1p.* 51 κ' ἐθέλεις (κε θέλεις ET, κε θέλης LIΠ).  
60 πείαρ (πείαρ LIΠ, πείας ET).  
72 ἀτιμήση, ἀτιμήσω D (ἀτιμήσω ELΠΤ).  
74 κατα (κατὰ *α*).  
130 ἀθανάτοισι (ἀθανάτησι *α*).  
402 ἐπεφράσσατο (ἐπιφράσσατο *α*).  
515 ἀγατὸν (...ατὸν *α*).  
540 γ' ἔπος (ἔπος *α*).  
*Herm.* 11 μείς (μείς *α*).  
38 θάνης (θάνοις *α*).  
70 θέων (θεῶν *α*).  
100 μεγαμηδείαο (μεγαμηδείοιο ET, μεγαμηδεῖδ(ο)ιο LIΠ).  
124 κατὰ (κατα *α*).  
224 ἔστιν ὁμοῖα (ἦστιν Π, ἦστην E).  
238 ἀμφικαλύπτει (ἀμφικαλύπτοι *α*).  
261 ἔειπες (ἔειπας *α*).  
289 om. τε (hab. *α*).  
*Aphr.* 118 χρυσηλακάτου (χρυσηλάτου *α*).  
174 ἦρε (ηυρε *α*).  
203 ἦρπας' ἐὸν (ἐνὸν *α*).  
*Terra* xxx. 3 ὑπέρχεται (ἐπέρχεται *α*).  
*Sol* xxxi. 4 ἀγακλειτήν (ἀγακλυτήν *α*).

Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that D is one among several manuscripts that Chalcondyles consulted, and whose readings he sometimes prefers to those of ELΠΤ. At all events, the ed. pr. not unfrequently coincides with other extant MSS., as in the following passages. M, as already noticed, is put out of consideration.

- Ap.* *Title* : ομηρου υμνοι εις απολλωνα. So exactly only Π.  
18 ὑπ' ἰνώπιο. So exactly only S.  
• 25 ἦ ὥς (ἦ ὡς A, rough breathing apparently erased).



- Ap.* 57 ἀγίνουσιν with S.  
 59 δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκεις· θεοὶ κέ σ' ἔχουσιν; so exactly DII.  
 82 ἐπειὴ with J.  
 136, 7, 8 hab. in text. SH, though only by accident in II.  
 210 ἐλατιονίδη with EB.  
 223 ἴξας cum DS.  
 230 ἴξεις cum S.  
 233 οἱ δὲ cum *p* (οὐ δὲ *ι*).  
 244 ἄδε cum S *p* (ἄδε *ι*).  
 259 ἀνθρώποις cum *p* (ἀνθρώποισι *ι*).  
 297 υἱέες ἐργίνου cum S.  
 306 τυφάονα cum S *p*.  
 322 ἔτι μήσεαι cum *p* (ἔτι om. *ι*).  
 326 καὶ νῦν τοι γὰρ cum *p*.  
*Herm.* 138 ἐπεὶ τοι cum A (ἐπεὶ *ι*).  
 254 λίκνω cum *p y* (κλίνη *ι*).  
 322 ἴκοντο κάρηνα cum *p y* (τέρθρον ἴκοντο *ι*).  
*Apoll.* 16 χρυσήλακατον cum *p*.  
*Dion.* vii. 8 ἦγε cum *p*.

It is possible that some of these apparent agreements with MSS. may be mere conjectures on the part of Chalcondyles, but according to strict method it would be improper to call them so. The following readings however, for which no other authority can be quoted (except M in the East, and the second hand of Γ, the latter very possibly drawn from the printed book), may be fairly called Chalcondyles' own editorial contribution.

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Ap.</i> 63 μὲν   | κεν cet.   |
| 93 ρείη             | ῥέη cet.   |
| 96 μεγάροις         | μεγάροις cet.  |
| 220 ἄδε             | άδε cet.   |
| 223 ἀπ'             | ἐπ' cet.   |
| 317 in marg. λείπει |  |
| 318 ἔμβαλον         | ἐμβαλεν.   |
| 325 ἦν ἄρ           | ἦρ' or ἦρ' cet. ἦ ἄρ S seems to point to the same conjecture.      |
| 339 ἦ ὅσσον         | ἦ πόσσον <i>ι</i> , ἦ παρόσον <i>p</i> .                           |
| 361 καὶ ἔνθα om.    | this is perhaps one of the printer's mistakes to which he alludes. |
| 392 νῆα θοὴν        | ἡμαθόην cet.   |
| 407 οἱ τὰ πρῶτα     | τὰ πρῶτα cet.  |
| 411 ἴξον            | ἴξον cet.  |
| 414 ἦδ'             | ἦδ' cet.   |
| 419 παρὲκ           | παρεκ cet.   |
| 450 χαίτη           | χαίτης cet.  |
| 452 τίνες           | πόθεν cet.   |
| 502 ἔφαθ'           | ἔφατ' cet.   |

<i>Herm.</i> 65 ἀλτο	ᾠρτο cet.
94 φὰς συνέσευε	φασὶν ἔσευε cet.
175 φιλητεύων	δὲ φιλητεύων cet.
214 φηλητῆν	φιλητῆν α, φηλωτῆν ρ.
236 χωόμενος	χωόμενον cet.
Perhaps another printer's error.	
292 φηλητέων	φιλητέων α, φηλιτέων ρ.
303 οἰωνοῖς· εὔ	οἰωνοῖσιν εὔ α, οἰωνοῖσι σὺ ρ
400 ἀτάλλετο	ἀτιτάλλετο cet.
474 αὐτάγρετόν	αὐτ' ἄγρετόν cet.
482 ἄρ'	ἄν cet.
491 αὖ	αὐτ' cet.
533 ἐρεείνης	ἐρεείνεις cet.
<i>Apul.</i> 20 πτόλις	πόλις α, πόνος ρ.
39 καταθνητήσι	κατὰ cet. Cf. 50, 51, 52.
229 καὶ εὐγενέος	εὐγενεός cet.
<i>Dion.</i> vii. 13 λύγοι	λυδοὶ cet.
<i>Pan.</i> xix. 31 κυλληνίου	κυλληνίου cet. Another printer's error.
<i>Posid.</i> xxii. 3 αἰγὰς	αἰγας cet.
<i>Ge</i> xxx. 15 παίζουσαι	παίζουσι cet.

Of these conjectures of Demetrius several were found in M on its discovery in 1780, viz. *Ap.* 223 ἀπ', 318 ἔμβαλον, 392 νῆα θοὴν (though only in a late hand), 502 ἔφαθ', *Herm.* 65 ἀλτο, and these all are correct, though ἀλτο on *Herm.* 65 has probably no stronger position than that of an independent variant.

These also are correct, though no MS. evidence has since been found to support them: *Ap.* 93 ρείη, 96 μεγάροις, 220 ἄδε, 317 the marginal remark λείπει coincides with the judgment of most modern editors, 325 ἦν ἄρ, 411 ἱξον, 419 παρέκ, 452 τίνες, *Herm.* 94 φὰς συνέσευε, 214 φηλητῆν, 292 φηλητέων, 400 ἀτάλλετο, 474 αὐτάγρετόν, *Apul.* 20 πτόλις, 39 καταθνητήσι and other forms of καταθνητός, *Dionys.* vii. 13 λύγοι, *Posid.* xxii. 3 αἰγὰς, *Ge* xxx. 15 παίζουσαι.

The following appear to be incorrect: *Ap.* 63 μέν for κεν which is demanded by grammar; 339 ἦ ὅσσον, where the real reading is quite uncertain; Demetrius seems right in deserting the πόσσον and παρόσσον which his MSS. offered him. 407 οἱ τὰ πρῶτα; here M shows πρῶτιστα to be the original; Dem. sought to emend the unmetrical πρῶτα of his MSS. by inserting οἱ. 414 ἦδ', perhaps a printer's mistake. 450 χαίτη, probably because he did not recognize a dative in the MS. χαίτης. *Herm.* 175 φιλητεύων, perhaps intended for φηλητέων as he corrects 214, 292; at least he is right in omitting the δὲ of the MSS.; 303 οἰωνοῖς· εὔ, which at least is an improvement on the unmetrical οἰωνοῖσιν εὔ. 482 ἄρ' for ἄν, 491 αὖ for αὐτ', 533 ἐρεείνης. *Apul.* 229 καὶ εὐγενέος; an attempt to correct the unmetrical MS. εὐγενεός; M shows the real reading to be εὐγγενεός; the case is parallel to *Ap.* 407.

With a total of some 33 conjectures, of which 23 are certain, the first editor of the Hymns brought a very solid contribution towards the restitution of his author's text; and when we consider that Stephanus' corrections were clerical, and that most of Joshua Barnes' suggestions that deserve consideration are taken up with introducing parallel phrases from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it may be said without hesitation that Demetrius has, to find his equal as an editor, to wait for Ruhnken.

To recapitulate the results up to this point, we see that these MSS. which appeared generally to belong to the *v* family, viz. AtDHJKS and the MS. basis of the ed. pr., do not exhibit the influence of any other stock of tradition, unless in the ed. pr. we may recognize traces of the other family *μ*. The variants between these MSS. and ELIIT, the principal representatives of *v*, are seen to be due to conjecture. When therefore we proceed to investigate the relations of ELIIT<sup>19</sup> and to reconstitute their archetype, we may leave out of account AtDHJKS.

<sup>19</sup> Errata in the readings of E and J given in Mr. Goodwin's edition.

*Apoll.* Title εἰς ἀπόλλωνα <sup>ος</sup> ιβ J

3 ἐπισχεδὸν J.

36 ἐκτισμένη E.

51 κεθέλοις J.

53 ἄλλως J.

58 ἐνθάδε γ' ἀρόμενοι J.

59 in marg. οἷ ex οἷ E.

61 φᾶτο E.

65 γενοίμην J.

68 δε E.

71 <sup>ου</sup> το J.

ib. after ἴδης for E read D.

72 ἀτιμήση J.

ib. ἐπειή E.

73 ὥσει J.

75 ἀδῆ οἱ E.

77 φῶκαι τὲ E.

79 for ὁμόσσαις read ὁμόσσαι.

ib. εἰ E.

82 ἐπειή J.

83 instead of ὄμωσαν margo J read ὁμοσσαν J. <sup>γρ. ὄμωσαν</sup>

86 τε om. J.

ib. πέλεται J.

91 ἄλλαί τε, ἥτε for ἰχναίη τε J.

101 τέξασθαι J.

102 προῦπεμψαν E.

ib. ἐκτισμένης E.

105 ἤνωγεν E.

112 ἔχοντες E.

114 Ἰσμαθ' not Ἰσθμαθ' E.

119 ἀπασσαι E.

128 σε E.

ib. ἀσπέρουντα J.

131 αἰδ' E.

135 ἀπασσα E.

136 ηἰ. σῆ ἐν ἐτέρω κεῖνται καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι;  
' the mark ss is prefixed to the three  
vv. E.

141 βήσας J.

156 σου E.

166 χ' pro δ' J.

172 ἐν E.

176 οἷδ' J.

188 κίθαρις E.

208 μνηστῆρσιν E.

210 ἐλατιονίδη E.

211 ἐρευθεῖ not ἐρωθεῖ E. Valla's εὔ is very straggling and like a large ω; but the matter is settled by the word ἐρευθεὺς in the marg., where both syllables are represented by the sign in question.

213 ὄδ' E.

226 πω, and ἐν E.

235 ἄγησιν not ἀγῆσιν E.

238 δε E.

240 ἀρ E.

248 οἱ τέ E.

256 εἶπε τε E.

291 οἷδ' E. and τὲ E.

292 τῆσιν E.

304 ταναῦποδ' E.

307 ἀρ E.

309 ἥδ' E.

311 πᾶσαι E.

312 ὥς ἐμ' E.

313 κεδν' E.

320 κόμισεν E.

325 ἥρ' E.

325a γρ. καὶ E.

326 καὶ εὖν μὲν τοὶ γὰρ ἐγώ E.

## ELΠΤ.

An inspection of the variants of these four MSS. shows at once that they fall into two groups, ET and LH; *c.g.*

1ρ. 4 φαίδιμος ET	φαίδιμα LH.
38 νήσος ET	νήσων LH.
ιβ. λιπαρωτάτη ET	λιπαρωτάτη LH.
44 πετρήεσσα ET	πετρήδε(σ)σα LH.
51 κε θέλεις ET	κε(θέ)λης LH.
59 <sup>θ</sup> περίτας ET	οιη. LH.
60 πείας ET	πείαρ LH.
75 οἷ ET	οἷ LH.
78 ἄχη τειλάων ET	-α χήτει λάων LH.

329 ἀπο E.	525 ἀν' E.
331 ἀπὸ E.	526 ἡῶδα E.
335 τιτῆνες E.	533 τὲ E.
347 ἥγ' E.	<i>Herm.</i> 13 τότε γείνατο E.
348 ἱεροῖς E.	42 αἰῶν E.
351 ἥδ' E.	<sup>η</sup>
355 πολλ' E.	111 πυρία E.
356 φέρεσκε E.	119 correct this to διαίωνας M δῖαίῳνας DELP
357 πρὶν γε E.	<sup>α</sup>
358 ἥδ' E.	δῖαίῳνος Γ δῖαίῳνος Parisiensis.
362 βοττανείρη E.	143 ὄρθρια E.
367 τι E.	158 διεκ E.
375 ἐπὶ in the text is a misprint.	163 τιτύσκεαι E.
376 καλλίροος E.	171 πολυλήϊλον E.
386 εὐχετόωντι E.	232 ταναύποδα E.
392 ἡμαθό' ( <i>i.e.</i> ο) E.	233 λάιον E.
393 κνώσσου E.	241 marg. ἥδ' E.
403 ἀνασσείσας κε E.	259 ἐρήεις E (as L).
410 παρ E.	<sup>ρ</sup>
412 τὲ E.	269 πόθου E.
428 ὑπ' ἐκ E.	303 ταύτοις E.
439 ἥδ' E.	394 ὅπτη E.
ιβ. ἐσ ex ἐλ [λιμέν'] E.	426 ἔπετο E.
441 ἄπο E.	<i>Apoll.</i> 61 χρίσαν E.
445 αἶδ' E.	74 συνδύο E.
447 ῥριπῆς E.	113 read ἡμετέρην pro ὕμετέρην E.
454 οἶα E.	131 κεδν' E.
463 ἡῶδα E.	167 θεὰ E.
476 οὐ' E.	168 ἀδλίφιν as printed is really ἀδλίον with ο
495 ὦ E.	crossed out.
499 ἔρον E.	<sup>κ</sup>
513 ἔντο E.	<i>Apoll.</i> x. 1 εὐπρογενῇ E. with ε crossed out.
516 οἷ E.	<i>Met. de.</i> xiv. 3 τυμπάνων J.
<sup>ζάθεον</sup>	ιβ. τυπάνα in E marg. is by Valla, not
523 δειξε δ' ἄγων ἄδυτον ζάθεον E. ζάθεον above	'a man, rec.'
the line is in Valla's hand, much smaller	<i>Pan</i> xiv. 46 δ' ὀμβάκχειος E.
than the rest.	48 ἰλάσσαι with one σ E.

86	τε om. ET	hab. LII.
88	σ' ἔξοχα ET	σέ γ' ἔξοχα LII.
96	om. ET	hab. LII.
102	ἐυκτισμένης ET	ἐυκτιμένης LII.
128	ἀσπαίροντες ET	ἀσπαίροντα LII.
136	in marg. ση. ET	ση. om. LII.
162	βαμβαλιαστὺν ET	<sup>βαμ</sup> κρεμβαλιαστὺν LII.
171	ἡμέων ET	ἡμέων LII.
176	ἐπειδὴ ET	ἐπιδὴ LII.
180	μήλιτον ET	μήλιτον LII.
217	μαγνιήνας ET	μαγνιδας, marg. μαγνιήνας LII.
260	τελείεσσας ET	τεληέσσας LII.
261—S9	om. ET <sup>20</sup>	hab. LII.
325	ἦρ' ET	ἦρ' LII.
348	ἱεροῖς ET	ἱεροῖσι LII.
423	ἐυκτισμένον ET (cf. <i>Ap.</i> 102)	ἐυκτιμένον LII.
414	ἦθελον ET	ἔθελον LII.
466	γάρ ET	δέ LII.
479	καλλοῖσι ET	λλοῖσι I ) πολλοῖσι II )
506, 7, 8	om. ET	hab. LII.
523	<sup>ζάθεον</sup> ἄδυτον ζάθεον E ) ἄδυτον ζάθεον T )	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον, marg. ἄδυτον ζάθεον LII.
<i>Herm.</i> 45	ἀμάλδυναι ET	ἀμαρναί, marg. ἀμάλδυναι LII.
81	συμμιότων ET	συμμίσγ(τL)ων LII.
86	αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς ET	αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς, marg. αὐτοτροπήσας LII.
100	μεγαμειδείοιο, priore ei ex η correcto ET	μεγαμηδειδ(ο)ιο LII.
168	ἄλιστοι ET	<sup>λι</sup> ἄπαστοι LII.
288	ἀντήσεις ET	ἀντήσης LII.
296	μετὰ post τλήμονα add. ET	om. LII.
400	ἀντιβάλλετο E ) ἀντιτάλλετο T )	ἀτιτάλλετο LII.
<i>Apoll.</i> 10, 11	in one ET	in two LII.
68	θεῶν, marg. γρ. θηρῶν ET	θηρῶν LII.
97	om. ET	hab. LII.
113	ἡμετέρην ET (cf. <i>Ap.</i> 171)	ὑμετέρην LII.

<sup>20</sup> Accidentally, owing to ἐνθάδ' 260 and 289; cf. 506, 7, 8 where θαλάσσης in 505 and 508 has caused the omission.

123 ἄκτιστον ET	ἄκτιτον LII.
156 μεταστραφθεῖσα ET	μεταστρεφθεῖσα LII.
174 βυρε ET	ηυρε LII.
186 ἔειπας ET	ἔειπες LII.
207 τρώς E } τρώς T }	τρώα LII.
214 ἴσα θεοῖσι ET	ἦματα πάντα, marg. γρ. ἴσα θεοῖσι LII.
256 ἦδη ET	ἰδη LII.
262 σεληνοὶ ET	σιληνοὶ LII.
265 ἔφυγαν ET	ἔφυσαν LII.
<i>Dion.</i> vii. 3 νεανίη ET	νεηνίη LII.
29 ἐκατέρω ET	ἐκαστέρω LII.

I need not continue the list beyond *Dion.* vii. 34 where L breaks off. The number of literal variants that are common to E and T makes it abundantly clear that they are direct copies of the same archetype ( $\mu$ ).

It is remarkable that these two MSS. E and T, so closely related, are among the few MSS. of the Hymns of which we know the scribes' names. E was written by the personage who signs himself *γεώργιος οὐάλλα* or *βάλλας πλακεντίνος*, Giorgio Valla or Valle of Piacenza. This scribe, collector, author and teacher, after passing a life in Lombardy, Liguria and Venetia, died as public teacher of Greek at Venice in 1499. His name has been obscured by the better known Lorenzo, perhaps his relative, and his biography remains to be written.<sup>21</sup> His library, including many MSS. in his own hand, passed at his death to Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi near Modena, and now forms the nucleus of the Greek collection in the Estense.<sup>22</sup> Constantine Lascaris, the scribe of T, is a better known man; see Legrand *l.c.* I. p. lxxi. *sq.* When he wrote our MS. he had been some four years at Milan, teaching Greek under the patronage of Francesco Sforza. In view of the usual belief that late MSS. were generally corrected by their writers, it is noticeable how few novelties are the result of the editing of these two considerable scholars. To Valla belong the corrections *οἰσεῖς* *Ap.* 54, *ῥον* *Ap.* 156, *μνηστῆρσιν* *Ap.* 208, *ἀντιβάλλετο* *Hom.* 400; to Lascaris *ἀνασσεύασκε* *Ap.* 403, *κρισσαίων* *Ap.* 446, *ῶρτο* *Hom.* 65, *δ' ἀγραύλους* *Hom.* 286. The value of Lascaris' emendations it is evident exceeds that of Valla's. The archetype  $\mu$ , about whose date we can only say it was earlier than 1464, contained a number of gross graphical errors, which I need not

<sup>21</sup> See however Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 1823, p. 1561 *sq.*, and Gabotto, 'Giorgio Valla e il suo processo in Venezia nel 1496,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 1891, p. 201 *sq.* Valla unfortunately rarely dated his MSS., and therefore we do not know to what period of his

life they are to be assigned. The only exception appears to be Estense ii. F. 9, written in Venice in 1488.

<sup>22</sup> For the authorities see *Notes on Greek MSS. in Italian Libraries*, 1899, p. 3.

repeat, and two or three noticeable variants, namely *Ap.* 479 the obvious conjecture *καλλοῖσι* for *λλοῖσι* of *x*, *Herm.* 296 *μετὰ* between *τλήμονα* and *γαστρός*, *Ap. h.* 174 *βυρε* which is *a*'s reading of the original *λυρε*.

L and II are not connected in the same degree of closeness. It is true that they have a certain number of graphical errors in common, e.g. *Ap.* 20 *τε* for *τοι*, 44 *πετρῆδεσ(σ)α*, 51 *κε[θέ]λης*, 60 *πείαρ*, 84 *ἴστω*, 95 *ἥρης*, 155 *ἦδ'*, 171 *ἡμέων*, 175 *ἐπιδῆ*, *Herm.* 362 *ἀπολεγέως*, 364 *μηνύσσαιμ'*, 412 *πάσσησιν*, *Ap. h.* 174 *ηυρε*, but each of them, and especially L, has a much greater number which are not common to the other. II's errors are not worth collecting; those of L testify to a certain cautiousness on the part of the scribe (e.g. in the lacunas *Ap.* 7 *λ ρεσσιν*, 8 *ἀνεκρ μασε*, 12 *π τνια*, *Herm.* 5 *μ ἄρ*, *Ap. h.* 6 *ἔρ μέμηλεν*, 133 *ἀπ ρήτην*) and also apparently to a misunderstanding of some abbreviations in the archetype (e.g. *Ap.* 17 *πρὸ* for *πρός*, 42 *μεερόπων* for *μερόπων*, 64 *δεξαίμ* = *δεξαίμην*, 178 *λυκι* = *λυκίην*, *μῆνοι* = *μηνούην*, *Herm.* 565 *φρέντα* a misunderstanding of *φρέν*). It is possible therefore that L and II are not direct copies of the same manuscript; whether they are or not, however, is of little practical importance; their ultimate archetype (*b*) is represented very closely by them, and had well-marked characteristics which distinguished it from *a*—viz. fidelity and absence of conjecture and, in particular, the retention of the marginalia of *x* (= *y*) as marginalia and not as readings in the text. This will more clearly appear as we proceed to tabulate the readings of *a* and *b* and to reconstruct from them the general archetype of the family, *c*.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Ap. 55 } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{oίσεῖς E} \\ \text{oίστεῖς T} \\ \text{oίστεῖς L} \\ \text{oίστεῖς II} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{!} \\ \text{"} \\ \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{oίστεῖς b} \end{array} \right\} \text{oίσ(τ)εῖς } x. \end{array}$$

The source of this error is evidently a confusion between *σ* and the ligature for *στ*. It might be questioned whether *σ* is a correction of E (as would certainly appear at first sight) or *στ* in T was accidental. On the whole following the majority it is safer to say that *x* had *οίστεῖς*, the more so as it is in the older sort of minuscule that there is a close resemblance between *σ* and *στ*.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{ib. } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{oίσεῖς πολλὸν E} \\ \text{πολλήν} \\ \text{oίστεῖς οὐτ' T} \\ \text{πολλήν} \\ \text{oίστεῖς L} \\ \text{oίστεῖς, marg. πολλήν II} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{πολλήν} \\ \text{oίστεῖς } a \\ \text{oίστεῖς,} \\ \text{marg.} \\ \text{πολλήν } x. \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{oίστεῖς,} \\ \text{πολλήν above or in marg. b.} \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$

All four MSS. here record the variant of *x*; II alone keeps it in the place which it apparently occupied in *c*, the margin: E puts it, corrupted, into the text.

<sup>μ</sup> 1 p. 59 <sup>θ</sup> δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις περίτας σ' ἔχωσιν E in text.  
 γρ. εἰ βοσκοισθε οἷ (ex οἷ) κε σ' ἔχωσιν E in marg. }  
<sup>θ</sup> δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις περίτας σ' ἔχωσιν T }  
<sup>μ</sup> <sup>θ</sup> δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις περίτας σ' ἔχωσιν u }  
<sup>μ</sup> δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις σ' ἔχωσιν L }  
 δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις θεοὶ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν Π }  
<sup>μ</sup> δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις [θεοὶ κε] σ' ἔχωσιν b.

This deep corruption has left a certain divergence between the members of either family; thus E in *a* and L in *b* alone preserve the important variant  $\mu$  above  $\delta\eta\rho\acute{o}\nu$ , which T and II omit. On the other hand E and T

agree literally in the curious  $\overset{\theta}{\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\varsigma}$ —a considerable test of relationship; and we may thence conclude that E's marginal variant  $\gamma\rho. \epsilon\acute{\iota} \beta\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon \omicron\acute{\iota} \kappa\epsilon \sigma' \epsilon\chi\omega\sigma\iota\nu$  was not in *a*, but was either conjectured by Valla or, more probably, taken from a MS. such as  $\Pi$  or the archetype of  $\Pi$  and  $L$ , *b*. In *a* the theta over  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  is evidently a relic of the word which followed  $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$  or  $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . The letters  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  are most ingeniously explained by Hollander, p. 13, who supposes them to mean  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\grave{\alpha} \varsigma$ , 'about six,' and to be a marginal note of a scribe defining the extent of the lacuna; this interpretation is very attractive, though I am not aware of any instance of a copyist giving such precise particulars about his original, and the expression as it stands is necessarily imperfect. Nothing less than  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\iota (\lambda) \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$

( $\gamma\rho$ ).  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\bar{s}$  would be intelligible Greek. With this provision it is possible that the note stood in the margin of  $\alpha$ , and that  $a$  incorporated it (thinking it represented the actual reading) in his text, while  $b$  omitted it altogether. This process may suggest that a stage or stages intervened between  $a$  and  $\alpha$ .

The relation between L and Π seems simpler; L leaves a lacuna which Π fills up: *b* therefore had either a lacuna or a few unintelligible letters between *βόσκοις* and *σ' ἔχωσιν*. Π either filled the lacuna with a conjecture or read these letters as *θεοί κε*. The survival of the letter *θ* in the other family *u* suggests the latter view.

We may therefore reconstruct the reading of  $p$  as—

δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις θ σ' ἔχωσιν,  
 marg. λ γρ. περὶ τὰ ὄ.

In the lacuna may have stood traces of *εοικε*. The corruption does not begin with *x*, but goes back to the common archetype of *x* and *p*, i.e. to the full uncial period.



*ib.* 114 ἴσμαθ' ET, ἴσμαθ' *a* }  
           ἴσμαθ' L } ἴσμαθ' *v*.  
           <sup>δ</sup>  
           ἴσμαθ' Π } ἴσμαθ' *b* }

The same corruptions occur E 778 where ἴσθμαθ' is common, ἴσμαθ' and ἴδμαθ' rarer. Π's δ is evidently a correction of the scribe's; it occurs in DJK.

*ib.* 136, 7, 8 in text. om. ET

in marg. praefixis σῆ ἐν ἐτέρω κείνται καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι ET

ita *a*.

in text. om. L

in text. hab. Π

in marg. praefixis ἐν ἐτέρω καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι κείνται LΠ }

ita *b*.

Π evidently included these verses in the text by error; *v* omitted them in the text, but had them in the margin with the formula in the words of either *a* or *b*.<sup>23</sup>

*ib.* 151 ἀνὴρ ET  
           αἰεὶ marg. ET } ἀνὴρ, marg. αἰεὶ *a* }  
           ἀνὴρ αἰεὶ L }  
           ἀνὴρ Π } ἀνὴρ, marg. αἰεὶ *b* }  
           αἰεὶ marg. Π } ita *v*.

L here has put the marginal reading into the text.

*ib.* 162 βαμβαλιαστὺν ET βαμβαλιαστὺν *a* } κρεμβαλιαστὺν,  
           <sup>βαμ</sup> βαμ <sup>βαμ</sup> }  
           κρεμβαλιαστὺν LΠ κρεμβαλιαστὺν *b* } ita. βαμβαλιαστὺν *v*.

In *a* the marginal reading was put into the text; *b* records both.

*ib.* 171 ὑμέων ET ὑμέων *a* }  
           ἡμέων LΠ ἡμέων *b* } ita *v*.

Since *v* and *η* are equivalent phonetically to each other, it is a question what stood in *v*: ἡμέων is given by M, ὑμῶν by *p*.

*ib.* 202 ἀμφὶ φαείνει <sup>η</sup>E } ἀμφιφαείνει <sup>η</sup>*a* }  
           ἀμφιφαείνει <sup>η</sup>T }  
           ἀμφι φαείνει <sup>η</sup>L } id. *b* }  
           ἀμφί φαείνει <sup>η</sup>Π } id. *v*.

<sup>23</sup> The 'hooks' which are written before these lines in Π are not necessarily signs of omission, since E and T exhibit them in their margins, but imply that the vv. to which they are

prefixed are to change their place from text to margin or *vice versa*, e.g. in the *Iliad* Ven. 454. ff. 106v. and 108v., omitted lines are added in the margin with *v* prefixed.

The four MSS. here differ only minutely in their representation of the original; E has with painful accuracy preserved the iota adscript which was natural to an early minuscule MS., L has run the correction into the text and then marked it out again.

*ib.* 211 ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ E } id. *a*.  
           ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ T }  
           ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ L  
           ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ Π } id. *b*.  
           marg. γρ. ἡ ἄμα φόρβαντι τριοπόω ἡ ἁμαρύνθω LΠ }  
 ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ, marg. γρ. ἡ ἄμα φόρβαντι τριοπόω ἡ ἁμαρύνθω *x*.

In *a* the marginal variant is ignored, in *b* it is recorded.

*ib.* 217 ἡ μαγνύνας ET, id. *a* } ἡ μαγνηίδας, marg. γρ.  
           ἡ μαγνηίδας LΠ } id. *b* } μαγνύνας *x*.  
           marg. γρ. μαγνύνας }

In *a* the variant has been taken into the text, to the exclusion of the original reading; *b* records both variant and text.

*ib.* 276 def. ET def. *a*  
           <sup>τ</sup>δελφούση L } δελφούση *b* } δελφούση *x*.  
           δελφούση Π }

L has been corrected.

*ib.* 325<sup>a</sup> om. in text ET } id. *a*  
           marg. γρ'. ET }  
           om. in text LΠ } om. in text; marg.  
           marg. γρ. καὶ οὕτως L } γρ. [καὶ οὕτως] *b* } γρ'. *x*.  
           γρ. Π }

Here all four MSS. have recorded the variant as a variant.

*ib.* 344 om. E } hab. *a* }  
           hab. T } hab. *x*.  
           hab. L } hab. *b* }  
           hab. Π }

The omission in E is plainly accidental, and is due to the line beginning with the same word as 345. For the same reason the *p* family omit it, independently.

*ib.* 377 κεχολωμένον E } ? κεχολωμέν<sup>ο</sup> *a* } id. *x*.  
           ? T }  
           κεχολωμένοι L }  
           κεχολωμένος Π } ? κεχολωμέν<sup>ο</sup> *b* }

The mistakes in E and L suggest a misapprehension of something in the respective archetypes. Possibly in *a b* the last syllable was represented by an omicron, and this, as sometimes happens, was mistaken for *ov* by E, while L copied it on the line and added an iota *de suo*. (Cf. part II. *Herm.* 451 (*χορὸς* for *χοροί*)).

*ib.* 394 ῥρέζουσι E } , "  
                   ? T } "  
                   ῥρέξουσι L } ῥρεξουσι *b* } ! *x.*  
                   ῥρέξουσι Π }

The evidence is undecisive, for ζ and ξ are perpetually and arbitrarily exchanged in minuscule; cf. the same words and ἀλαπάζειν -ξειν, ἐναρίζειν -ξειν, ποτολεμίζω -ξω, ἐγγυαλίζει -ξει, etc. in the *Iliad* and *Od.* MSS. The present ἀγγέλλουσι somewhat supports E's ῥρέζουσι.

*ib.* 479 καλλοῖσι ET καλλοῖσι "  
                   λλοῖσι L } . . λλοῖσι "  
                   πολλοῖσι Π } . . λλοῖσι *b* }

The three variants presented by the four MSS. establish that in *x* there was either a lacuna or some illegible letters. "*a*" either read these as *κα* or conjectured *κα* to fill the space, and ET reproduce this stopgap: *b* appears to have rendered the gap faithfully (or, to have omitted the illegible letters), and in doing so was followed by L; Π conjectured (or read) πολλοῖσι, which has the independent confirmation of M Par. This is one of the cases which suggest that Π is a stage farther than L off *b*, or that the scribe of Π found *b* in a better state than L did. Cf. 59, *Herm.* 42.

*ib.* 515 ἔχων αὐτὸν E } ἔχων (α)τὸν "  
                   ἔχων τὸν T } ἔχων αὐτὸν *x.*  
                   ἔχω αὐτὸν LΠ } ita *b* }

This passage may induce us to regard the scribes of ELΠT as faithful copiers rather than emenders. An original lacuna has been transmitted with remarkable fidelity through at least two generations.

*ib.* 523 <sup>ζάθειον</sup> ἄδυτον ζάθειον E } ἄδυτον ζάθειον "  
                   ἄδυτον ζάθειον T } αὐτοῦ δάπεδον, marg.  
                   αὐτοῦ δάπεδον, } id. *b* } ἄδυτον ζάθειον *x.*  
                   marg. γρ'. ἄδυτον ζάθειον LΠ }

" has taken the original variant in place of the original text; *b* records both. Why Valla wrote ζάθειον over the line is inexplicable, fortunately T shows that it does not go farther back.

*Herm.* 42 ὀρεσκώ λώνης E } ὀρεσκώ . . . λώνης "  
                                   T } ὀρεσκω . . .  
                   ὀρεσκώ λώνης L } ὀρεσκω[οιο κο]λώνης *b* } λώνης *x.*  
                   ὀρεσκώιο κολώνης Π }

Here unfortunately Bethe has not given T's reading. The case is, however, parallel to *Ap.* 515; a lacuna in *x* has been transmitted through two stages; E in one family and L in the other give exactly the same-sized gap. II, as in *Ap.* 479, seems to have found *b* in a more perfect state, or to have filled the gap by conjecture. For his *ὄρεσκώιο* cf. his *μέγα μηδείδιο Herm.* 100.

*ib.* 45 ἀμαλδύναι ET id. *a* }  
 ἀμαρυναί LII } id. *b* } ἀμαρυναί, marg. γρ. ἀμαλδύναι *x*.  
 marg. γρ. ἀμαλδύναι LII }

*a*, as before, has substituted the variant for the text; *b* preserves both.

*ib.* 46 ἐμήσατο E } ? *a* }  
 ? T } ἐμήδετο *x*.  
 ἐμήδετο LII id. *b* }

Whether ἐμήσατο is a correction of Valla's, or the real reading of *a*, depends on T, the reading of which we do not know. We may however safely conclude that ἐμήδετο stood in *x*, perhaps with a marginal *σα*.

*ib.* 65 ὦτο E } ὦτο *a* }  
 ὦτο T } ὦτο *x*.  
 ὦτο LII } ὦτο *b* } Lascaris reinserted *ρ*.

*ib.* 79 σάνδαλα ἔριψεν E } ? *a* }  
 ? T }  
 σάνδαλα κ' ἔριψεν L } σάνδαλα [αὐτί] κ' ἔριψεν *b* }  
 σάνδαλα αὐτίκ' ἔριψεν Π }  
 σάνδαλα [δ' αὐτίκ'] ἔριψεν *x*.

Here unfortunately we have no reading from T. Again an original lacuna has propagated itself, and again II seems to have seen *b* in a better state than L did; again also, as at 42, there is one letter wanting in II's supplement.

*ib.* 86 αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς ET id. *a*  
 αὐτοπρεπής ὥς LII }  
 marg. γρ. αὐτεοπήσας L } αὐτοπρεπής ὥς  
 γρ. αὐτοτροπήσας Π } marg. γρ. αὐτοτροπήσας *b* }  
 αὐτοπρεπής ὥς, marg. γρ. αὐτοτροπήσας *x*.

*a* here displays the same tactics as before; only that in inserting the marginal reading into the text, it has neglected to take out the whole of the original text reading, and thus produces the unmetrical result αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς.

*ib.* 100 μεγαμηδείοιο priore *ei ex η* correcto E } μεγαμηδείοιο  
 μεγαμηδείοιο T }  
 μεγαμηδείοιο L }  
 μέγα μηδείδιο Π } μεγαμηδείοιο *b* } ? *x*.

It must remain a question whether  $x$  inserted a  $\delta$  between  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron\iota\omicron$  or not; the  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\omicron$  of M<sup>1</sup> is in favour of the  $\delta$ . The omission is no doubt due to the scribe's feeling for  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ , Lobeck, *Purulip.* p. 4.

ib. 168  $\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  ET id.  $a$  }  
 $\alpha\lambda\iota$   
 $\alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  LΠ id.  $b$  }  $\alpha\lambda\iota$   
 $\alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$   $x$ .

$a$  has accepted the variant instead of the text;  $b$  records both.

ib. 212  $\phi\omicron\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , id.  $a$  }  
 marg.  $\gamma\rho$ .  $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$   $\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$  ET id.  $c$  }  
 id. LΠ id.  $b$  }

Here  $a$ , contrary to its usual custom, has with  $b$  recorded both text and variant.

ib. 224  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$  E } id.  $a$  }  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$ ,  
 ? T }  
 $\eta\sigma\tau\eta\nu$   $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$  L }  
 $\eta\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$  Π } id.  $b$  }  
 marg.  $\gamma\rho$ .  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$  LΠ }  
 $\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$   $x$ .

The reading of T is not given us, but in all probability it is the same as E:  $a$ , as usual, preferred the variant to the text;  $b$  recorded both.

ib. 241  $\delta\eta$   $\rho\alpha$   $\nu\epsilon\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$   $\upsilon\pi\nu\omicron\nu$  E  
 mg.  $\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\eta$   $\rho\alpha$   $\nu\epsilon\omicron\nu$   $\lambda\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$   $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$  E  
 ? T  
 id. LΠ ( $\lambda\omicron\chi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega\nu$  in marg.)  
 id.  $a$  }  
 id.  $b$  } id.  $c$ .

T's reading fails, but apparently here, as at 212,  $a$  as well as  $b$  record both text and variant. (The variant in  $c$  must either have been cut off at the margin, or abbreviated as  $\eta\delta\nu$ ; that is to say  $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$  or  $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}$  merely represents  $\eta\delta\nu$ [ $\mu\omicron\nu$   $\upsilon\pi\nu\omicron\nu$ ]. Cf. 42 where M has in the margin  $\gamma\rho$ .  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\omicron\iota$   $\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$  [for  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ].)

ib. 254  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\omega$  E } id.  $a$  }  
 ? T }  
 $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$  LΠ } id.  $b$  }  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ . marg.  $\gamma\rho$ .  $\epsilon\nu$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\omega$   $x$ .  
 mg.  $\gamma\rho$ .  $\epsilon\nu$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\omega$  LΠ }

T's reading fails. As before,  $a$  adopted the variant,  $b$  recorded both text and variant.

ib. 280  $\tau\omicron\nu$  E } id.  $a$  }  
 ? T }  
 $\tau\omicron\nu$  }  
 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  L } ?  $\tau\omicron\nu$  }  $\tau\omicron\nu$   
 $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  Π }  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $b$  }  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $x$ .

This case is more complicated, especially as we miss T's reading; however following the usual procedure of the three MSS. we may suppose that E preferred the variant  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , and that accordingly  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  was the text, in the original, and  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$  the variant, both of which are recorded by L and II, more accurately by the former.

*ib.* 288 ἀντήσεις ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μήλων ET  
 marg. γρ'. ἀντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις δέεσσιν ET } id. *a*.  
 id. LII (sed ἀντήσης) } id. *b*.  
 id. (ἀντήσησις or -εισι) *v*.

Here, as 212, 241, both *a* and *b* record text and variant.

*ib.* 322 δ' ἵκοντο κάρηνα E } id. *a*  
 ? T }  
 δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο LII }  
 marg. γρ'. δ' ἵκοντο κάρηνα LII } id. *b* } δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο,  
 mg. γρ'. δ' ἵκοντο  
 κάρηνα *v*.

T's reading is wanting; *a* prefers the variant, *b* records text as well as variant.

*ib.* 326 μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦῶ E } id. *a*  
 ? T }  
 ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο LII }  
 marg. γρ'. μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦῶ LII } id. *b* } ποτὶ πτύχας  
 οὐλύμποιο, mg.  
 γρ'. μετὰ χρυσό-  
 θρονον ἦῶ *v*.

The same.

*ib.* 366 ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν E } id. *a*  
 ? T }  
 ἐρμῆς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ἡῦδα LII }  
 marg. ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον (ἀύλλον L) μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν } id. *b*.  
 ἔειπεν LII }  
 ἐρμῆς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν κ.τ.λ., }  
 marg. ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον κ.τ.λ. } *x*.

The same.

*ib.* 400 ἀντιβάλλετο E }  
 ἀντιτάλλετο T } ? *a* } ἀτιτάλλετο *x*.  
 ἀτιτάλλετο LII id. *b* }

This case is complicated, but it seems likely that *a* had ἀντιτάλλετο, intended as a correction of the unusual ἀτιτάλλετο of *x*; and that Valla further emended ἀντιτάλλετο into the comparatively familiar ἀντιβάλλετο. Or, of course, there may have been a *v* superscribed in *x* and *a* have incorporated this in the text, while *b* preserved the original *v*, which is supported by M *ρ*.



*ib.* 244  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$  ET id.  $\alpha$  }  
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$  } LΠ id.  $b$  }  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ , marg.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$   $x$ .  
 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  }

The same has happened.

*Dion.* vii. 37  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$  ET ita  $\alpha$  }  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  Π } ita  $b$  } marg.  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$   $x$ .  
 marg.  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$  Π }  
 def. L }

Here L fails us, but Π as we have seen is amply representative of  $b$ , and we may conclude as before that  $\alpha$  has accepted the original variant while  $b$  recorded the original text with the variant.

*Arcs* viii. 9  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  ET id.  $\alpha$  }  
 $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$  Π }  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$   $b$  }  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $x$ .  
 def. L }

It is plain that Π has 'conflated' text and variant into one; in the absence of L however it might be doubted how to separate the two constituents of  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ . If we suppose  $\alpha$  to have followed its usual habit and written the variant instead of the text, it is evident that  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  was the text-reading of  $x$ ; we see also that D, which in general inclines to  $b$ , s  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ .

*Pan* xix. 7  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$  ET id.  $\alpha$  }  
 $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\alpha$  Π }  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\alpha$ ,  
 marg.  $\gamma\rho.$   $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$  } id.  $b$  } marg.  $\gamma\rho.$   $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$   $x$ .  
 def. L }

*ib.* 48  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  ET id.  $\alpha$  }  
 $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha$  }  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha$   
 $\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  Π }  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , marg.  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$   $x$ .  
 marg.  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  } id.  $b$  }  
 def. L }

This case is more complicated;  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  of  $\alpha$  seems to have grown out of  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  in the same way as  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  out of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\rho\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  *Herm.* 86. Then in  $x$  followed by  $b$  the variant seems to have been added, through mischance, twice over, once above the line and once in the margin; this double variant is literally preserved by Π. D again confirms the text-reading of  $x$ .

To count up, it appears that out of forty-four passages examined in twenty-nine  $b$  has preserved the reading of  $\gamma$  which was part of the common archetype  $x$ , while  $\alpha$  has done so only nine times. The question therefore which has been raised<sup>24</sup> as to the relative value of  $\alpha$  and  $b$  answers itself. The four

<sup>24</sup> The superiority of E over L was maintained by Gemoll in his *Hom. Blätter*, and reasserted in his edition (1886).



MSS. ELIIT are descended from an archetype with marginal or interlinear variants: these variants the scribe of *a* seems to have considered to be actual corrections, not alternatives, and to have put them into his text to the exclusion of the original; that *a* really was copied from *x* when *x* had these variants we see from the minority of cases where *a* has preserved the variant as well as the text, or has mixed it with the text. If we had *a*, that is ET alone, we should necessarily form an entirely false idea of the readings of *x*. As it is, these readings are preserved and with singular fidelity by *b*. There can be no doubt therefore of the greater value of this family, that is of LI. Between L and II the question is less important. It turns upon the passages (*Apr.* 59, 479, *Herm.* 42, 79) in which the reading of II is fuller than that of L. Are the additional details of II the work of conjecture, or are they due to some advantages that II enjoyed in copying *U*? In the absence of a third direct descendant of *b* the question cannot be answered positively. There is perhaps a *prima facie* probability in favour of L.

Next, with regard to *x*, the archetype of the whole family, can we arrive at any conclusion as to its character and age? The graphical corruptions common to ELIIT are few: *Apr.* 65 γ' ἐροίμην for γενοίμην is due to the exchange of ν and ρ, only possible in minuscule; instances may be gathered from the Hymns themselves (*Selene* xxxii. 6 ἀκτῆρες *c* for ἀκτίνες *γ* is perhaps an example) and I may refer to a collection from the scholia of the Ven. A of the Iliad in Ludwich's *Aristarchus hom. Textkritik* i., p. 267, n. 1, a characteristic dictum of Cobet's *Var. Lect.* p. 121, and the following instances from Laur. 32, 9, the excellent tenth to eleventh century MS. of the *Argonautica*; ii. 449 and 556 ἀνωγήι for ἀρωγήι, 320 ἐνήρεινται for ἐρήρεινται, iv. 308 παρέσχατον, 617 ἀμύνοιο. *Herm.* 216 δραύλους for δ' ἀγραύλους can only be explained by the minuscule ligature αγ which was somewhat similar to the following ρ; *ib.* 303 οἰωνοῖσιν εἶδ for οἰωνοῖσι σὺν seems on the other hand an uncial corruption. *Aphr.* 174 βυρε of *a* and ηυρε of *b* necessarily go back to a minuscule *υυρε*. The archetype *v* was therefore minuscule, and fairly early minuscule, if we remember that some of the mistakes in L (p. 164) are such as might have been made in copying a MS. (*b*) of about the twelfth century. Of this archetype *v* it would be true to assert what Hollander says of the supposed general archetype of the Hymns, that it was in a damaged state; the lacunas *Apr.* 59, 479, 515, *Herm.* 42, 79 are good evidence for that.

The manuscripts that remain, namely ABCFL<sub>2</sub>L<sub>3</sub>NOQR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>V Monac. agree in the following readings:—

<i>Apr.</i> 11 δε om. <i>γ</i> cum H	hab. M <i>α</i> .
19 πάντων <i>γ</i>	πάντως <i>α</i> πάντοσς' M.
21 παντοτρόφον <i>γ</i>	πορτιτρόφον <i>α</i> M.
24 λίμιναι <i>γ</i>	λιμένες <i>α</i> .
28 λιγυπνόις <i>γ</i>	λιγυπνοίσις <i>α</i> .
29 θνητοῖς <i>γ</i>	θνητοῖσιν cet.



<i>Ap.</i> 416	vers. om. <i>ρ</i>	hab. cet.
460	σφας <i>ρ</i>	σφεας cet.
517	χρυσήν <i>ρ</i>	χαρίεν Athenaeus ἀγατὸν D ...ατὸν εἰ ἐρατὸν M.
518	τε alt. om. <i>ρ</i>	hab. cet.
538	om. <i>ρ</i> cum M	hab. cet.
<i>Herm.</i> 10	δὴ om. <i>ρ</i>	hab. cet.
20	γύων or om. <i>ρ</i>	γυίων cet.
45	ἄς ὅτε <i>ρ</i>	αἶ ὅτε εἰ ἢ ὅτε M.
<i>ib.</i>	δυνηθῶσι <i>ρ</i>	δινηθῶσι cet.
59	ὀνομακλυτὴν <i>ρ</i>	ὀνομακλυτὸν M ὄνομα κλυτὸν εἰ.
127	χαρμα φέρων <i>ρ</i>	χαρμοφέρων cet.
152	παρ' ἰγνύσι <i>ρ</i>	περ' ἰγνύσι εἰ περιγνύσι M.
157	πλευροῖσι <i>ρ</i>	πλευρῇσι cet.
159	φιλητεύσειν <i>ρ</i>	φιλητεύσειν cet.
193	ἐβόσκετο om. <i>ρ</i>	hab. cet.
209	εὐκραίροισιν <i>ρ</i>	εὐκραίρησιν, or -αίρησιν cet.
214	φιλωτὴν <i>ρ</i>	φιλητὴν M εἰ φιλοτὴν E.
241	νῆδυμον <i>ρ</i>	ἡδυμον cet.
312	δέξαι <i>ρ</i>	δέξο cet.
<i>ib.</i>	παρὰ <i>ρ</i>	πάρ cet.
313	ἐρέεινον <i>ρ</i>	ἐρέεινεν cet.
342	δια <i>ρ</i>	δοιὰ cet.
356	κατέεργε <i>ρ</i>	κατέρεξε cet.
361	ἀλεείνων <i>ρ</i>	ἀλεγύνων εἰ ἀλεγίζων M.
386	κραταιῶ <i>ρ</i>	κρατερῶ cet.
402	ἤλαυνε <i>ρ</i>	ἐξήλαυνε cet.
412	ἀγραύλοισι <i>ρ</i>	ἀγραύλῃσι cet.
420	κονάβισσε <i>ρ</i>	κονάβησε cet.
440	σὺ <i>ρ</i>	σοί cet.
446	φιλητὰ <i>ρ</i>	φιλητὰ cet.
449	νῆδυμον <i>ρ</i>	ἡδυμον cet.
478	ἐταῖρον <i>ρ</i>	ἐταίρην cet.
481	φιλομειδέα <i>ρ</i>	φιλοκυδέα cet.
<i>ib.</i>	χῶρον <i>ρ</i>	κῶμον cet.
484	νόα <i>ρ</i>	νόω cet.
495	πέρι ζαμενῶς <i>ρ</i>	περιζαμενῶς cet.
502	κονάβισσε <i>ρ</i>	κονάβησε cet.
530	ἀκήραον <i>ρ</i>	ἀκήριον cet. (ἀκήραον L).
532-4	om. <i>ρ</i>	hab. cet.
540	πιφάσκειν <i>ρ</i>	πιφαύσκειν cet.
543	ἔλθοι <i>ρ</i>	ἔλθη cet.
557	ἀλέγεινεν <i>ρ</i>	ἀλέγνεν cet.
560	θύσωσι <i>ρ</i>	θυίσωσι εἰ θυίωσιν M.
<i>ib.</i>	ἐδωδυῖαι <i>ρ</i>	ἐδηδυῖαι cet.

<i>Ap. h.</i> 20 πόνος <i>p</i>	πόλις <i>p</i> πόλεις M πτόλις ed. pr., marg. Γ.
39 and 50 θνητοῖσι <i>p</i>	θνητοῖς cet.
71 πορδάλιες all but all <i>p</i>	παρδάλιες cet.
82 τε καὶ all but all <i>p</i>	καὶ cet.
84 θάμβαινεν <i>p</i>	θαύμαινεν cet.
136, 136a οὐ σφιν αἰεκέ- λή γυνή ἔσσομαι ἥε καὶ οὐκὶ <i>p</i>	οὐ σφιν αἰεκελή νυὸς ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα εἴ τοι αἰεκελή γυνή ἔσσομαι ἥε καὶ οὐκὶ } cet.
146 ἀγοράζεις <i>p</i> (ἀγο- ρεύεις N)	ἀγορεύεις cet.
152 προῖοι, προσοῖοι <i>p</i>	προίη cet.
194 τοι om. <i>p</i>	hab. cet.
<i>Art.</i> (ix.) 3 μιλήτης <i>p</i> (practer L <sub>3</sub> )	μελήτης · μέλητος M.
<i>Ath.</i> (xi.) 3 πόλεμοι <i>p</i>	πτόλεμοι cet.
<i>Mat. decor.</i> (xiv.) 3 κροτάλη <i>p</i>	κροτάλων cet.
<i>Asclep.</i> 3 δωτίω <i>p</i>	δωτίω cet.
<i>Pan</i> xix. 24 λυγγός <i>p</i>	λυγκός cet.
25 θαλέθων <i>p</i>	θαλέων cet.
<i>Ath.</i> xxviii. 10 ὀβρίμης <i>p</i>	ὀμβρίμης cet.
<i>Hes.</i> xxix. 3 ἔλαχες <i>p</i>	ἐλαχε cet.
<i>Ge</i> xxx. 14 παρ' εὐανθέσιν <i>p</i>	περεσανθέσιν cet.
<i>Selene</i> xxxii. 6 χρυσοῦ <i>p</i>	χρυσέου cet.
<i>ib.</i> ἀκτῖνες <i>p</i>	ἀκτῆρες cet.
11 πλήθη <i>p</i>	πλήθει cet.
<i>Diosc.</i> xxxiii. 14 ἀέλλαι <i>p</i>	ἀέλλας cet.

From this list it will be seen that the 'Parisienses' are a very well defined family, rendering their archetype *p* with unusual fidelity. The way in which omissions (*Ap.* 11. 189, 211, 344, 416, *Herm.* 10, 193, 532-4, *Ap. h.* 194) and impossible forms (λιγυπνόοις *Ap.* 28, ἀδοίη *ib.* 75, κρεμβαλιασὺν *ib.* 162, ἀπόλλωνος *ib.* 215, ἐναλίγγιον *ib.* 351, αἴσιον *ib.* 356, ἀδινήσουσι *ib.* 366, δυνηθῶσι *Herm.* 45, δια *ib.* 342, ἐταῖρον *ib.* 478, νόα *ib.* 484, ἐδωδυῖαι *ib.* 560) are reproduced without correction in the text of thirteen manuscripts is very remarkable.

The variations within this family are neither many nor important. I give a list of those that appear in the collations at my disposal:—

<i>Ap.</i> 18 ὑπὶ νόποιο	: ὑπ' ἰνόποιο A (" corr.) ὑπ' ἰνοποῖο Γ.
22 ἄδον	: ἄδον Γ.
25 ἥως	: ἥως A.
51 ἐμεῖο	: ἐμοῖο AR <sub>1</sub> .
59 βόσκοις	: βόσκεις B.
71 τὸ	: το NP.

<i>Ap.</i> 83 ὁμοσσευ	: ὁμοσσευ L <sub>2,3</sub> OR <sub>1</sub> ομοσσευ V ὁμοσσευ <sup>σ</sup> B.
156 ὁ οὐ (ὁ οὐ)	: ὁου B (so E).
162 κρεμβαλιαστὺν	: κρεμβαλιαστὺν L <sub>3</sub> , Q corr.
166 ἐμοῖο	: ἐμεῖο L <sub>3</sub> R <sub>2</sub> ἐμεῖο <sup>οι</sup> NV.
169 ὕμιν	: ὕμιν NOP.
202 βιβὰς	: βας <sup>βι</sup> B βὰς Γ.
<i>ib.</i> ἀμφιφασίνει	: ἀμφι φασίνει <sup>η</sup> L <sub>2</sub> P, ἀμφι φασίνει <sup>η</sup> O ἀμφι φασίνη L <sub>3</sub> NQR <sub>2</sub> V.
210 ἐλατινιονίδη	: ἐλατινίδη B.
213 ἐνέλειπεν	: ἐνέλειπεν AQ.
214 τὸ	: το NP (cf. 71).
219 κηναίου	: κυναίου BO κυναί Γ.
232	om. BO.
253 θεμιστεύοιμι	: θεμιστεύσοιμι BΓ.
260 τελείεσσας	: τελήεσσας PR <sub>1</sub> .
293 βωμῶ	: βωμῶ <sup>νηῶ</sup> PV βωμῶ <sup>νηῶ</sup> O.
311 θεοὶ	: θεαὶ AGL <sub>2</sub> OP.
366 ἀδινήσουσι N	: ἀδινήσουσι AL <sub>2</sub> V ἀδινήσουσι <sup>γ</sup> L <sub>3</sub> PR <sub>1</sub> .
491 ἐπί	: γ' ἐπί ΓO.
496 δέλφειος	: δέλφιος AOPQ.
536 μῆλα	: μάλα L <sub>2,3</sub> , NR <sub>1,2</sub> V μάλα BΓ.
<i>Herm.</i> 20 γύων	: om. OL <sub>2</sub> PR <sub>2</sub> .
50 δὲ	: om. BΓN.
80 θαυματὰ	: θαυμαστὰ BNV.
138 τοι om.	: hab. A.
168 ἄπαστοι <sup>λι</sup> L <sub>2</sub> NPR <sub>1</sub>	: ἄπαστοι ΓV.
ἄπλαστοι R <sub>2</sub>	: ἄπ στοι B.
ἄπλιστοι ACL <sub>3</sub> Q	

*ρ* evidently had ἄπαστοι<sup>λι</sup>; of the copies L<sub>2</sub>NPR<sub>1</sub> repeated both text and variant, ACL<sub>3</sub>QR<sub>2</sub> combined the variant with the text, in different ways, ΓV ignored the variant, B held an attitude of suspense. The original *ρ* copied its archetype faithfully, without seeking a correction.

217 εὐρέας	: οὐρέας BΓ.
242 ἄγρης	: ἄγρην BΓ.
254 λίκνω AL <sub>3</sub> NV	: λίκνω R <sub>1</sub> .
λύκνω L <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub>	: λήμνω B.
λήκνω Γ	
280 τὸν	: τὸ AQ.
292 φιλητέων BR <sub>2</sub> φιλιτέων AGL <sub>2,3</sub> , NQR <sub>1</sub> V φιλι...τέων corr. ex φιλητέων P.	

<i>Herm.</i> 330	μενοεικέα	: μενέοιοκέα B μενοοικέα Γ.
397	σπεύδοντε	: σπεύδοντι B.
410	ἀγνούται	: ἀγται B.
460	κρανίον	: κρανίον B κρανάϊνον ΑΓ.
472	μαντείας ἐκάεργε	: θ' ins. AQ δ' ins. V.
<i>Arphr.</i> 71	παρδάλιες	: πορδάλιες BFL <sub>2</sub> <sup>3</sup> NR <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup> .
82	μέγεθος καὶ	: τε καὶ ABCFL <sub>2</sub> QR <sub>1</sub> .
139	οἱ δέ τέ	: οὐδέ τε AQ.
146	ἀγοράζεις	: ἀγορεύεις, marg. ἀγοράζεις N.
152	προίη	: προίοι FL <sub>3</sub> NQR <sub>1</sub> V προοίοι L <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub> .
189	βιοθάλμιος	: βιοφθάλμιος NP.
190	ἀθανάτησι	: ἀθανάτοισι Γ, N.
237	δὴ τοι	: δ' οὔτοι AL <sub>2</sub> NPV δ' οὔτι B.
<i>Arphr.</i> vi.		no title BΓ.
<i>Ares</i> viii. 12	ἐμείο	: ἐμοῖο B.
<i>Art.</i> ix. 3	μιλήτης	: μελήτης L <sub>3</sub> .
<i>Arphr.</i> x. 1	κυπρογενῇ	: οὐπρογενῇ B υπορογενῇ V. <sup>25</sup>
<i>Mat. De.</i> xiv. 3	τυπάνων	: τυμπάνων ΓR <sub>2</sub> <sup>μ</sup> τυπάνων L <sub>2</sub> .
<i>Pan.</i> xix. 32	ψαφαρότριχα	: ψαφορότριχα AQ.
<i>Heph.</i> xx. 4	ναιετάασκον	: ναιετάεσκον BΓ.
<i>Hest.</i> xxix. 6	ἰστίη	: ἐστίη Q.
<i>Ge.</i> xxx. 8	πάρεστι	: πέρ ἐστι L <sub>2</sub> NP πέρεστι B.
<i>Hel.</i> xxxi. 5	ἥ οἱ	: οῖη BΓ.
<i>Hel.</i> xxxii. 1	μήνην	: σελήνην Γ.
11	πλήθη	: πλήθει B.

Hollander (p. 11), with a more detailed collation at his command, has concluded for a relationship between PL<sub>2</sub>R<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. A reading of the variants above might incline one to group BΓO together. At least it is plain that the Par. family are not immediate descendants from their common ancestor, but that several stages intervene. Certain corrections in B (*Ar.* 156, 210) and words left uncomplete (*Herm.* 168, 410) are to the credit of its scribe. The striking feature however in this family is the second hand of Γ and its corrections.

Γ, a Brussels manuscript (Bibliothèque Royale 11377-11380, see Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles*, 1885, no. 74), was written by Aristobulus Apostolides, son of Michael, a Cretan who at the beginning of the sixteenth century wrote many Greek books and ended his life as bishop of Monembasia. See Legrand, *Bibl. Hellénique* I. clxv. sq. and Omont, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs des quinzième et seizième siècles*, no. 5. The book is corrected by a second hand, of which I have no nearer information than M. Ouverleaux' statement that it is later ('posterior') than the

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the readings of D *υπρογενῇ* and of EK *εὐπρογενῇ*. In all the cause is the same: the first letter of the Hymn was left by the scribe to be added in colour. DV have reproduced

their archetype. B and EK have given the headless word the first beginning that occurred to them.

original. Still we may safely assume that both the first and the second hand were not earlier than 1500, and therefore that the printed edition (1488) may have been consulted.

The text of the MS. is not very remarkable; the most noticeable variants are *ἄδον* *Apr.* 22, *νεπόδων* *ib.* 78, *ρήσσοντες* *ib.* 516, *ῥρίζεσκον* *Herm.* 58, and these may be put to Aristobulus' credit. The corrections of the second hand are far more striking and deserve enumeration.

*Apr.* 32 ἀγχι<sup>η</sup>αλος [ἀγχιάλη *x*].

59 βόσ<sup>ει</sup>κοις [βόσκεις B, JK].

181 περικλύ<sup>οιο</sup>στης [περικλύστου M]: the writer must have intended to omit μέγ'.

184 θυώ<sup>τε</sup>δεα.

192 ἀφραδέες [ita M].

215 ἄπολλ<sup>ν</sup>ον [ita *m x*].

217 μαγνηϊ<sup>ν</sup>δας [= μαγνηήνας of *y*].

243 ἀλιάρ<sup>τ</sup>τον corr. ex ἄμαρτον.

244 δελφού<sup>τ</sup>σης.

309 κορυφ<sup>ς</sup>ης, *s* add. m. 2.

318 ῥίψ<sup>α</sup>να.

*ib.* ἔμβ<sup>ον</sup>βαλεν [ἔμβαλον M ed. pr.].

325 ἦν [ἦν ἄρ ed. pr., ἦ' ἄρ S].

392 νῆα θοῖ<sup>ν</sup>ν [ed. pr., m. 2 M].

402 οὔ<sup>τις</sup> [id. M].

423 εὐκ<sup>τι</sup>τον [id. M].

450 χαί<sup>της</sup>της (*sic*) [χαίτη ed. pr.].

452 πο<sup>τίνες</sup>θεν [τίνες ed. pr.].

*Herm.* 45 ἦ ὅ<sup>τε</sup>τε [ita M].

58 ὥ<sup>ς</sup> corr. ex ὄν.

119 αἰ<sup>ωνος</sup> [ita M *x*].

303 εὖ<sup>ς</sup> [ita *x* ed. pr.].

397 σπέν<sup>δου</sup>δοντε [σπεύδοντο *x*].

*Aprh.* 13 σά<sup>κεα</sup>.

20 πτό<sup>λις</sup> [ita ed. pr.].

*Met. ib.* xiv. 3 κροτά<sup>λων</sup>λη [κροτάλων *m x*].

*Ruth* xix. 45 ἔτε<sup>ρ</sup>ρφθον.

*Tertu* xxx. 15 παί<sup>ζουσι</sup> [παίζουσαι ed. pr.].

Some of these, *Ap.* 32, 59, 215, 217, *Herm.* 119, 303, 397, *Mat. de.* xiv. 3, are the readings of other extant MSS., and therefore although one or all of them may possibly be conjectures of the second scribe, we are not warranted in describing them as such. Next come coincidences with the editio princeps, e.g. *Ap.* 318, 325 (partly), 392, 450, 452, *Aphe.* 20, *Gr.* xxx. 15. Here again these emendations may be the independent work of the second scribe; but, as I have said, the MS. was written at a time later than the ed. pr., and the probability is that the scribe availed himself of the labours of Demetrius Chalcondyles. There remain the variants to which no other source can be given; these are *Ap.* 181, 184, 192, 243, 244, 309, 318, 402, 423, *Herm.* 45, *Aphe.* 13, *Pan.* xix. 45. Of these *Ap.* 192, 402, 423, *Herm.* 45 were confirmed upon the discovery of M in 1780. The list as a whole shows very great qualities of insight on the part of the corrector, and not one modern scholar only is anticipated in his emendation. It would be interesting if a further examination of the MS. threw any light upon the personality of the corrector.

I return to the Paris family as a whole. Upon the nature and age of the common ancestor (*p*), the following corruptions throw light—

*Ap.* 162 *κρεμβαλιασὺν* for *κρεμβαλιαστὺν*. Obviously the minuscule ligature *στ* is the cause of this error.

176 *ἐπιδὴν* for *ἐπιδῆ*. Perhaps *δη* written in minuscule was taken for *δην* also in minuscule; the presence of the *ν* would add only a single extra curve.

215 *ἀπόλλωνος* (unmetrical) for *ἄπολλον*; perhaps from *ἀπόλλων<sup>ο</sup>*, the *ο* which was meant for the vocative being mistaken for the abbreviation of *ος*.

*Herm.* 481 *φιλομειδέα* for *φιλοκνδέα*. I think that this word, though an existing form, is a graphical corruption from *φιλοκνδέα*, *μ* taking the place of the minuscule *κ* (*ι*), and *ει* that of *ν* by ordinary itacism.

I notice a similar interchange in Quintus i. 815, *κείροντο* and *μύροντο*.

*ib.* 484 *νόα* for *νόω*. This corruption seems possible only in minuscule.

*ib.* 560 *ἐδωδύαι* for *ἐδηδύαι*. This if a graphical corruption must have its origin in minuscule. An open omega and the minuscule *η* written together with *δ* might be mistaken one for the other. Cf. *ἐπώρξατο ἐπήρξατο* in M *Ap.* 125, *φηλωτὴν φηλητὴν* *Herm.* 214 in *p*.

*Aphe.* 174 *ἦνρε* for *κῦρε*. The minuscule *ι* has given eta.



These instances suffice to show that the archetype of the Parisienses was a minuscule manuscript, and as it is impossible that thirteen scribes should have made identical errors in copying one correct original, it follows, as in the case of ELIT, that  $\rho$  itself was copied from a minuscule MS.

We have now seen that the existing copies of the Homeric Hymns may be regarded as descendants of three independent minuscule manuscripts  $m$ ,  $x$  and  $\rho$ . The relation between these archetypes will be considered in the next part of this treatise. One theory with regard to two of them has first to be discussed. Otto Schneider (*Callimachus* i. p. vii.), Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Callimachus* p. 6), and Hollander *l.c.* p. 9 maintain that the archetype of all our MSS. whatever except M is a book which arrived in Italy in the year 1423, and has since disappeared.

In the letter which describes the celebrated cargo of 238 books of profane literature which Giovanni Aurispa brought from Constantinople to Venice in 1423 there occurs this passage (*Ambrosii Traversarii Epistolae*, ed. Laur. Mehus, Florentiae 1759, ii. col. 1027) 'Nam Gentilium Auctorum volumina Venetiis habeo ducenta triginta octo, ex quibus aliqua tibi, quae rarissimo inveniri solent, nominatim dicam.....Argonautica Orphei, et eiusdem Auctoris tria opuscula, et Hymnos; Callimachum; quam plurimas Pindari Odas. *Laudes Deorum Homeri non parvum opus*: Oppianum de Venatu, item de naturis Piscium, sed idrarum non est.....' Certainly the Homeric Hymns are intended by this description, and Schneider is entitled to every credit for his happy discovery, which seems to impart concreteness to a hypothetical genealogy.

That however this 'codex Aurispae' is the source of our existing copies with the exception of M cannot, if the preceding exposition is correct, be maintained. We have seen that some twenty-five MSS. extant fall into two principal families,  $\sigma$  and  $\rho$ ; among the  $\sigma$  family three fifteenth century MSS. H J and K appear to be descendants of D, another fifteenth century MS. D and At, yet another fifteenth century book at present in Athos, seem to be sprung from a common archetype  $c$ , which in its turn belongs to a group of MSS. now represented by LII; these two books themselves are descended more or less directly from an archetype  $b$ , which together with a similar hypothetical archetype  $a$  actually represented by two fifteenth-century MSS. ET, spring from the original ancestor of the whole family,  $\sigma$ . The other family  $\rho$  does not seem to have developed so many ramifications, but nevertheless the existing MSS. show signs of more than one generation between them and their parent  $\rho$ , and  $\rho$  itself appears to be the descendant of at least one earlier  $\rho'$ . Finally the two families  $\sigma$  and  $\rho$  unite in a common ancestor  $\epsilon$ . And this common ancestor we are asked to believe is a book brought to Italy in 1423, and which before 1500 gave birth to this complicated

progeny! To pass over the fact that many of the steps in the genealogy of  $\varepsilon$  and  $\rho$  point clearly to early minuscule writing, and that the original  $\tau$  was certainly an uncial MS., has it never occurred to the originator and the continuers of this theory to ask if such  $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\iota\delta\iota\alpha$  were even materially possible in the space of seventy years? The hunger of Greeks and the jealousy of Renaissance collectors may explain the production of copies as such; but the growth of error, the development of variant lections and the formation of families is a natural process, the work of centuries.

I shall only weaken this position if I add that, supposing Aurispa's MS. to be the parent of AA<sub>t</sub>BCTDEGHJKLL<sub>2</sub>L<sub>3</sub>NOPIQR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>STVMon., all these MSS. must necessarily be of Italian origin. Now I am not aware of any test to distinguish a Renaissance Greek MS. written in Italy from one written in Crete or on the Greek mainland; and we have now a case, At, of one MS. at least actually written in the East. Moreover, Schneider and Hollander assume that, this act of production accomplished, Aurispa's book disappeared from the world of manuscripts; it, 'als sie nach Italien kam, schon einige Jahrhunderte alt sein mochte, und durch ihr hohes Alter gelitten hatte' (p. 9). But the rest of Aurispa's cargo, the Venetian Homer, the Ravenna Aristophanes, the Laurentian Sophocles, survive, and are not even in tatters; why are we to assume the Hymns MS. was less robust? And where is the book? even a ragged MS. need not vanish entirely; does it lurk in an unrifled private collection, or have decamping Jesuits buried it?

As far as our evidence goes there is no reason why Aurispa's book may not be D itself or another of the fifteenth century MSS. which we actually possess.

T. W. ALLEN.

## A VASE IN FORM OF A BUST OF ATHENE.

(PLATE V.)

IN the latter part of 1893 the British Museum acquired the Attic vase which is represented in Plate V. (E 716 of the new Catalogue). The photographic reduction barely serves to convey a summary impression of this finely conceived work, but can give no idea of the subtler refinement of modelling and surface, nor of the delicate colouring which is still fairly preserved, and which would defy reproduction in any process. It belongs to the class of vases which in the latter part of the fifth century came greatly in vogue in Attic pottery, and in which the front part is usually pressed in a mould, in the technique of terracotta statuettes, the back part is varnished and coloured like a red-figure vase of the period: the whole form is usually based on that of the aryballos or acorn-alabastron.

The present instance is an aryballos in the form of a bust of Athene: it is nearly intact, the only part broken away being the calix-form lip of the vase. The height as it stands is 20 cm., and perhaps 2 more should be added for the missing lip. The bust, cut off immediately below the lower base of the breasts, rests on a plinth about 1 cm. high, which is varnished black in front, and at back is painted with a band of egg moulding. It is modelled entirely in the round, but the plain surface of the drapery falling from the crown of the head down the back, and the back of the helmet, are treated as the back of an ordinary red-figure vase, and are decorated with the patterns usual in this class of aryballos: the neck of the vase rises vertically out of the crown of the helmet, at the point where the support for the crest would naturally be attached, and the ribbed handle, springing from the upper part of it, broadly suggests the lines which the back part of such a crest would follow. The true crest has been treated in the conventional manner which is not unfrequently found in fifth century art adapted to helmets intended to be seen from the front; that is, it is bisected longitudinally, and the two sides are turned outwards to the front in such a way that they form a continuous crest extending from ear to ear; in this case they serve the double purpose of a screen to mark the neck and handle of the vase, and a division between the polychrome and varnished portions of this part of the vase. Around the base of the neck of the vase is a myrtle wreath: below the handle (on the back of the helmet), a palmette with

tendrils over a palmette rising from the ground: this ornament is repeated in larger size on the drapery forming the back of the body of the vase between drapery and helmet at the back is a band of egg pattern, which, though it is not in relief, suggests the rim of the helmet. All these patterns are left in red on a black glazed ground; the central dot of each palmette, and the berries of the myrtle have been gilt on a raised ground. This whole ornamentation therefore corresponds to that of the aryballi discussed by Milchhöfer in *Jahrbuch*, 1894, p. 1 foll., and assigned by him to a period shortly before 420 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of the front part has been covered with a white engobe, on which the colours and gilding are laid. The flesh surface and the bulk of the helmet are left in this white; gilding (on a prepared yellow pigment) is used for necklace, aegis, locks of hair, and the details of the helmet, which is decorated with a thin line around the edge and eyeholes, between the cheek-pieces, and on the eyebrows: also with two confronted rams' heads, finely modelled in relief, one at the point of each cheek-piece; and a row of beads along the base of the crest and the junction of the cranium. The lips are painted in a thinned vermilion, and the same colour is used for the edge and interior of the drapery, the interior of the eyeholes of the helmet, and the upper edge of the crest; the remainder of the crest is a rich deep blue; the back of the mantle, where it is brought forward over the head, is in a delicate grass green. The eyes have apparently had the part which in nature is white tinted in a faint blue colour: on this the eyeball appears to have been represented, but it is no longer possible to decide how this was done. The eyebrows do not seem to have been indicated, but the edge of the hollow of the eye is here very cleanly and sharply modelled. The head is nearly in full face, with the slightest tendency downwards and forwards to the spectator's left, so that the broad level line of the eyes is not quite horizontal, but tends slightly downwards to the spectator's left. On the other hand, the right breast and shoulder are slightly higher than the left, as if the figure were standing with the weight resting chiefly on the left leg, and the right leg drawn back. The full and finely formed lips are slightly parted, the upper lip very short, the chin full and round, the nose broad and powerful with nostrils strongly marked, but the transition from it to the cheeks delicately modelled. Owing to the pose of the head, much more of the left side of the face and neck than of the right is exposed to view. The forms of the body are large and powerful, but the same careful modelling as is seen in the face is equally displayed here. Looked at in profile, the forehead, lips, and front of the chin are nearly in one line, which forms a right angle with that of the under side of the chin: this line is varied by the slight swelling of the frontal bone and orbital ridges over the nose and eyes, and still more by the outline of the nose, which springs somewhat forward at a decided angle from it. Without desiring to press the importance of measure-

<sup>1</sup> The identical ornament is found *e.g.* on and the Sphinx, published *J.H.S.* viii. pl. 81 the aryballi from Cyprus representing Oedipus (E 696 of the new Catalogue).

ments in so small an object. I think it is worth noting that the proportions of the head broadly correspond to those which Winter (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 225, and *Bonner Studien*, p. 148) has laid down as characteristic of the Attic school of the period between the Olympian sculptures and Polykleitos. The fact that this bust could not possibly have been pressed from a mould gives it an importance over other vases of its class: this is proved not only by the freshness and crispness of the modelling, and by the undercutting of parts of the surface, but most of all by the highly plastic and original treatment of the hair. Starting from each side of a central parting, this falls around the face in a series of wavy twisting ringlets, each one of which is separately modelled and terminates in a projecting point worked almost entirely in the round: these locks entirely obscure the ears, and hang on each side of the neck down to the shoulders. The whole effect is that of a mass of twisting snakes, of which the flow and movement serve as a striking foil to the dignified and almost dreamy repose of the goddess' features. The general aspect, before the colours had faded, of this calm ivory face against the background of rebellious locks bordered by the shell-like vermilion edge of the hood, must have produced a charming combination of effect. The hood and the hair and necklace are all characteristic of this type of Athene, who, though she wears aegis and helmet, is not here in warlike mood: the helmet is tilted back, and all the rest is purely feminine.

I do not know any other example in Greek art of the helmet placed on the top of the peplos: probably in the present instance at any rate this is due to constructive necessity; the plain flat surface of the drapery offered to the artist a more suitable field for the palmette decoration, conventionally considered necessary for the back of a vase like this, than hair, or a combination of hair and drapery, would have done: it adapts itself readily to the contrast between the techniques of vase and terracotta: and it also enabled him to give more strength and capacity to his vase. The same tendency is generally traceable in the statuette-vases of the late fifth and fourth centuries: thus for instance in the groups representing the favourite type of Aphrodite Anadyomene,<sup>2</sup> the bivalve shell performs the same function as the drapery on our vase.

The aegis is here of the same general form as is found for instance on the Villa Albani statue (Furtwangler, *Masterpieces*, fig. 29), with a thick stiff edge rolled back in the form of a piping and sweeping down in two curves to a V form between the breasts: of the same type too is the arrangement of the snakes upon it, each snake lying separately in a double spiral on the edge: in our vase the decorative instinct of the humbler copyist has been carried further, and the snakes are little more than opposing pairs of spirals.

The characteristic snaky treatment of the hair, which in male heads may be compared with the portrait bust of Perikles, is rarely found on female heads: the nearest analogy is perhaps the beautiful series of Syracusan coins,

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.* Baumeister p. 1997, fig. 2147.

especially the tetradrachms by Eukleides, where the head of Athene, as here, and in the case of the 'Minerve au collier' of the Louvre, has a necklace of beads or pendants. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 107) has pointed out that these coins are of Attic-Pheidian origin, and in spite of the Corinthian helmet of our figure I think there can be little doubt that the vase before us is a free rendering, an impression as it were, but true enough as far as it goes, of one of the great Athenae of the Pheidian school, possibly of the Parthenos itself, made at Athens not later than 430 B.C. : and offering in its colouring an interesting and beautiful illustration in miniature of the general effect produced by the chryselephantine method.

CECIL SMITH.

[In the *Arch. Anzeiger* 1895, p. 42, No. 56, a lekythos in Berlin is described which seems to suggest comparison with ours : it is in the form of a woman's head 'of the later Phidian epoch,' with a triple necklace, and locks of hair at each side, treated in a method resembling that of Pl. V. ; it also has the eyes blue, the lips and eyelids red, and gilding on the hair and other details.—C.S.]

## A MARBLE HEAD PERHAPS FROM SUNIUM.

## [PLATE VI.]

THE charming little head which is represented on Pl. VI. was bought six or more years ago at Lamia by the Rev. R. F. Acland-Hood from a Greek who professed to have dug it up himself in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena at Sunium. Mr. Acland-Hood had intended to give it to the Museum at Zanzibar: but he kindly consented to make it over to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford in exchange for other antiquities provided by Mr. Arthur Evans and myself.

The height of the head from the chin to the top is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches (cm. 11·5). At the back is a fracture which indicates that it was there joined on to the ground of a relief. I have tried to mount it in exactly the attitude and position in which, to judge from the fracture, it originally stood.

That the head belonged to a figure in high relief is clear from the fracture. But even apart from that, it would be certain. For the back of the head is very roughly worked, and is certainly not intended to be seen. The marble is according to Mr. J. L. Myres, a competent geologist, Parian. The preservation is excellent, only the tip of the nose being somewhat injured.

Style and school are not hard to determine. The way in which animation is rendered, rather by form and attitude than in the expression of the features, seems to indicate a time little later than B.C. 400. The form of the eyes belongs to the fourth century rather than the fifth. The three-quarter-face position, in which the head was intended to be seen, was a favourite one shortly before and after B.C. 400, as we know from the testimony of reliefs, and particularly of coins.<sup>1</sup> The high forehead and the tapering chin seem to indicate an Attic school. Still more definite indications are furnished by the arrangement of the hair, which is distinctive. Over the forehead it lies in waves, but the long back hair is woven into long plaits which are brought round to the front of the head, and cross above the forehead. This crossing however is not quite above the middle of the forehead, but decidedly to the spectator's right of the middle, an adaptation no doubt to sculptural perspective. The waves of hair, too, are thrown somewhat out of the straight in deference to perspective.

<sup>1</sup> The three quarter face on coins is specially common in the early part of the fourth century . . . cf. *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. v. 42, 43; pl. vi. 13, 22; pl. vii. 11, 21, 34, 35, etc.

To this girlish outline of face and fashion of hair the closest parallel I have been able to find is in the Mantinean basis-reliefs of Praxiteles,<sup>2</sup> in the head of a standing Muse (figured in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, Pl. III. middle figure), to which our head bears a very close resemblance. As to the plaits of hair we may best refer to Pausanias' description of Polyxena in the painting of Polygnotus at Delphi: Πολυξένη δὲ κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα παρθένους ἀναπέπλεκται τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας. I take the word ἀναπέπλεκται to signify not mere winding with a fillet but actual plaiting. And such plaiting is confined in the monuments, so far as I have observed, to young girls. We notice it in the case of a girl in an Athenian sepulchral relief (No. 729 of the Athens Catalogue). Also in the case of a head from Epidaurus<sup>3</sup> which M. Kavvadias regards as belonging to an Amazon, but which appears to be on decidedly too large a scale for one of the Amazons of the pediment, and on the same scale as the figure of Victory of the same pediment.<sup>4</sup> The same arrangement of hair is visible in the case of Artemis on the coins of Orthagoreia in Macedon, of the period B.C. 400-350.<sup>5</sup>

This coin strongly reminds us of the head from Sunium. And in fact if one tries to reconstruct the figure of which it was once a part, it is scarcely possible to do otherwise than supply a figure of Artemis hastening forward, either in the chase, or in conflict with some opponent. At first the possibility that the figure was an Amazon might suggest itself. But the slight and maidenly forms of the face, and the girlish fashion of the hair are far less suitable for an Amazon than for the girl-goddess Artemis. Nor does such hair occur, so far as I have seen, in any known Amazon. The vigorous and alert type quite excludes the notion of a sepulchral relief.

As Mr. Acland-Hood observes, the Greek who sold him the head had no motive for giving a false provenience,<sup>6</sup> and we must at least provisionally attach some value to his statement that it came from Sunium. We thus reach a very interesting question. Can our head come from the frieze of the temple of Athena at Sunium? It is well known that in front of the pronaos of that temple was a frieze of which several slabs still exist, though in a deplorable state of preservation. They are figured in the Athenian *Mittheilungen* for 1884, Pl. 17-19. The subjects are (1) a Centauromachy, (2) a Gigantomachy, (3) Exploits of Theseus. Let us then compare in detail our head with the published fragments of the frieze, as well as their miserable state will allow us.

(1) *Material*.—The published fragments are of large-grained, according to Furtwängler Parian, marble. Our head is also, as I am assured, Parian.

(2) *Relief*.—Dr. Fabricius observes that the published fragments are in

<sup>2</sup> The date of these is now, I think, undisputed. See Overbeck, *Geschichte der Plastik*, ed. 1, ii. 61. I do not of course mean to assert that they are from Praxiteles' own hand.

<sup>3</sup> Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaur* i. Pl. viii 9, cf. ix. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pl. viii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Br. Mus. Cat., Macedon*, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> 'I can conceive no reason,' writes Mr. Acland-Hood, 'why the man should have invented the account as I let him understand that I valued the head rather for its own beauty than for association's sake.'



very high relief, and the limbs much undercut, to which circumstance he partly attributes their ruin.<sup>7</sup> Our head is also in very high relief, attached by the back only to the background. The relief to which it belonged was about as high as that of the Phigaleian frieze.

(3) *Scale*.—The published slabs are 825 mètre (32½ inches) high. Our head is 115 mètre (4½ inches) in height. The Phigaleian frieze is about six heads and the Mausoleum frieze about eight heads in height:<sup>8</sup> the Sunium frieze is about seven times the height of our head. Thus its scale seems to be exactly proportionate, as both in style and date it comes between the two friezes cited.

(4) *Period and style*.—It is not possible to gain from the engravings of the Sunium frieze a clear notion as to its date. But some archaeologists who have carefully examined the fragments on the site have expressed an opinion in the matter. Prof. Furtwängler considers that the sculpture, though not archaic, is severe,<sup>9</sup> and apparently would assign it to a period not later than the middle of the fifth century. But Dr. Fabricius, after a careful examination, can find no reason why it should not be somewhat later than that of the Theseion. And Dr. Dörpfeld on architectural grounds<sup>10</sup> maintains that the temple at Sunium was of later construction than the Theseion, which in turn was later than the Parthenon. This brings us near the end of the fifth century. And if the new head be assigned, as I think it should be, to the early part of the fourth century, there seems only a slight discrepancy in period. We must further remember that alike the architectural and the sculptural data for fixing the age of the Sunium temple are not by any means decisive.

(5) *Subject*.—The subject of part of the frieze at Sunium is a Gigantomachy. The figure of Athena in particular, with an overthrown foe at her feet, may be clearly made out,<sup>11</sup> a group in composition similar to that on one of the later metopes of Selinus. Our head then, if it really belong to a running Artemis, will suit the frieze perfectly, so far as subject goes. It will be that of Artemis running forward with bow or torch to meet the enemies of the gods.

I think it must be allowed that the reasons for supposing our head to be part of the frieze at Sunium are at least worth consideration. The main difficulties in the way of such assignment are two. First there is, as we have seen, some difficulty as to date. And second, our head is admirably preserved, only the nose being slightly injured, whereas all the known remains of the Sunium frieze are in a deplorable condition. As regards this latter difficulty, however, it may be observed that some part of the frieze was in the time of Dodwell in good preservation; and all parts

<sup>7</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1884, p. 345.

<sup>8</sup> In matters such as this approximate measures, if taken without bias, appear to me preferable to precise measurements, which are

often merely misleading, especially in the case of small objects.

<sup>9</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1882, p. 397.

<sup>10</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1884, p. 336.

<sup>11</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1884, pl. xviii. 7.

have greatly suffered in the last few years. If by some chance our head had been broken off and buried in the soil long ago, there seems no reason why, its preservation need surprise us.

That our fragment does belong to the frieze I do not venture positively to assert. But it is quite safe to say that, if it does not belong, the fortuitous coincidences between it and the Sunium sculptures, in material, relief, scale and subject, are of a surprising kind. And of course, if it really belongs to the frieze, it at once becomes the most important piece of evidence as to the date of the temple and the style of its sculpture. If, on the other hand, we are obliged to give up the connexion with the temple at Sunium, then the fact that our head was actually bought at Lamia, in Thessaly, will dispose us to look in that neighbourhood for some work of sculpture to which it may belong. In any case, it is so pleasing that in, and for itself it is well worthy of the attention of archæologists.

PERCY GARDNER.

## AN ATHENIAN LEKYTHOS.

[PLATE VII.]

[NOTE.—The Plate which accompanies this paper is, we believe, the first published example of a direct photograph of the curved surface of a vase free from distortion. It is made by the Cyclograph, a machine devised by Mr. A. H. Smith. The vase to be photographed rotates while travelling along the circumference of a circle having its centre at the centre of the lens; and a narrow slit, which travels at the same time between the vase and the lens at right angles to the axis of the latter, ensures that so much only of the vase shall be exposed at any moment as is without sensible motion, at the point where the movements of rotation and translation counteract one another. —EDD.]



THE Athenian lekythos here published has been recently acquired by the British Museum. It is interesting in two aspects. First, the design upon it illustrates the use to which such lekythi were put. We see a woman, apparently an ordinary mourner, carrying offerings for the dead. In her right hand is a funeral lekythos of just the same shape as the one on which the design itself occurs. In her left is a basket of fruits and a coloured sash to bind round the stelè on the tomb when she reaches it. Secondly, but more important, is the inscription beside her. Πάτροκλ(ε) χαῖρε. On first thought one would suppose that the vase-painter must have intended to represent one

of the women who, according to the *Iliad* (xix. 301), mourned ostensibly for Patroclus but each having her own sorrows in her bosom,

ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες  
Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη,

with which may be compared the parallel passage later on in the same book (338)

ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γέροντες  
μνησάμενοι τὰ ἕκαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπε.

But the scene on the vase is of too ordinary a nature to justify an interpretation of that kind, and, what is more to the purpose, we know that the passage in the *Iliad* about the women mourners subsequently became the basis of a Greek proverb, known as Πάτροκλος πρόφασις, 'to make a pretext of Patroclus,' which is explained as applicable to those 'who cannot from fear weep for their own domestic losses but can bewail them in connexion with other misfortunes' (ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων διὰ φόβον θρηγνῆν τὰς οἰκείας συμφορὰς ἐξ ἑτέρων δὲ θλίψεων αὐτὰς ἀποκλαίειν, *Purp. m. iogr. Gr.* (Apost.) s.c.). It seems to me that our new vase is a direct illustration of that proverb and that the woman represented on it carries her own grief with her while she laments ostensibly for some Patroclus or other.

It will be observed that the inscription is not placed on a stelè, which besides would be in front of her if there were one. It seems to be painted on a tablet hanging behind her, round towards which she turns in what appears to me to be a very expressive action of appeal to it as if she were saying to herself, 'that is the pretext, but the reality is something quite different.' I doubt whether any instance exists of a true mourner turning away in this manner from the direction in which she stands or moves, while as regards the right hand stretched backwards that is entirely contrary to the rule on such occasions, which was to raise and stretch forward the hand (see the passages in Pottier, *Les lécythes blancs Attiques*, p. 57).

The drawing of the vase belongs to a late stage of what is called the severe period. The lines are extremely refined, the composition admirable, though not perhaps of the highest order, the folds of the chiton are rendered in fine lines of a pale red colour, the himation thrown over her left shoulder and wrapped closely round her figure has a thin border of pale red, which colour is also applied to the fruit in the basket and the sash.

A. S. MURRAY.

## FOURTH CENTURY HEAD IN CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.



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THERE is among the fourth century works in the Central Museum at Athens a head found at Laurium. It is made of Parian marble but it has been completely discoloured by slag or refuse from the lead mines, and is now quite black. In its present condition it is quite impossible to obtain a satis-

factory photograph of it, and the reproduction given of it in the figure is from a cast.

It has been published, as far as I am aware, only in M. Kavvadias' catalogue. There it is described as a head of the Lykeian Apollo. This identification rests solely on a passage of Lucian, who mentions a statue of the Lykeian Apollo in the gymnasium at Athens.

He says of it ('*Ἀναχ.* 7)—

*τὸ ἄγαλμα ὁρᾷς, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ κεκλιμένον, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τὸ τόξον ἔχοντα, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνακεκλασμένη, ὥσπερ ἐκ καμίου μακροῦ ἀναπαύμενον δείκνυσσι τὸν θεόν.*

It will be seen from a glance at the photograph that the grounds for this identification are very slender. The left hand with the bow does not exist, and the only reason for supposing therefore that this is a head of the Lykeian Apollo consists in the fact that the right hand of the statue rests on the head. This in itself seems insufficient and, among other reasons, it is I think rendered impossible by the phrase *ὥσπερ ἐκ καμίου μακροῦ ἀναπαύμενον*. For the hand is not idly resting, it is not a tired hand: the posture of the fingers is firm and energetic.

Before examining the head in detail it will be well to compare it with certain other heads, and to assign it, as we can with tolerable certainty, to its school. This is not difficult, for a detailed examination leads us to the same conclusion as the first impression, and suggests irresistibly that it is Scopæic.

The two heads from Piali, found on the ancient site of the temple of Athene Alea at Tegea, are certain guides for the style of Scopas. He, as Pausanias tells us, was the architect of the temple, and executed the pedimental statues. These two heads are certainly from the pediments: they are too large for metope heads, they are completely in the round, and both have the top of the head sliced off, obviously to accommodate them to the sloping sides of the roof. In them we may then trace, if not the actual hand of Scopas, at any rate the style of the Scopæic school as surely as we may learn from the Parthenon pedimental sculptures the manner of Phidias.

Their general characteristics are clear enough. In both cases the head is very deep and round, the measurement from the back of the head to the base of the nose far exceeding the length of the face. The face is short and full, the eyes very deep set, the mouth very short, and the curve of the forehead as it falls over the eyebrow very marked. In one word I should call them violent. But it is by examining why and how the mouth is short, and why and how the eyes are deep set, that we can best discover what it is that makes the Scopæic manner so marked, and separates his school from other schools. For though the shortness of mouth is characteristic of Scopas, and equally characteristic of Lysippus, yet no two things can be less alike than the mouth in a Lysippian and the mouth in a Scopæic statue.

Probably fewer mistakes have been made over Scopæic works than those of any other school, for the Scopæic manner is more distinct than any other.

The first impression of them is unique in the sense of life and force it conveys, and the sculptor has worked intelligibly; we can see in each feature the contribution it gives to the general effect. The eyes always seem to be gazing outwards and upwards, not dreamily but intensely, and the same tension is kept up in every feature.

The breath seems to be coming and going rapidly, the mouth is panting. In both the heads the muscles of the neck are strongly strained—in the helmeted head upwards, in the smaller head sideways. In the first the 'Adam's apple' is sharp and prominent, the skin being drawn tight over it, in the other the muscles to the right of the neck are full and almost exaggeratedly accentuated.

The treatment of the forehead is very marked. A deep line divides the upper forehead from the lower, and the lower forehead swells heavily over the line of brow. But there is no sharp line, as in Lysippian heads, over the bone of the brow: it is covered by a prominent muscle, and the swell of the forehead is carried over the bone to form one continuous curve with the line of the underside of the eyebrow. Thus the apparent depth of the eye is immensely increased. Instead of lying merely in the framework of bone as in Lysippian heads, it lurks, so to speak, beneath this very full and swelling curve coming right down over the forehead. This depth is further increased below the eye by the very prominent cheek-bone. The depth thus given to it adds to the impression of an eager outlook.

The upper eyelid is in both cases almost invisible. It is drawn up tight, following, as in nature, the upward look of the eye, till it almost disappears under the swelling eyebrow, and appears in the front view as the thinnest possible line, almost vanishing at the corner. The impression of the outward gaze is completed by a very subtly observed fact, which Mr. E. A. Gardner has pointed out to me and very kindly allowed me to mention. The lower eyelid drops rapidly from the outside corner of the eye, and rises quickly again to the inside corner. Now when a person focuses his eye on a near object, the lower eyelid is slightly raised in the centre, and the curve down from the outer corner and up again to the inner corner is slight, and approaches to a straight line. But if the glance is then transferred to a distant object, the lower eyelid at once sinks in the middle, for it is pressed down by the lens of the eye, which enlarges to focus itself on a distant object. Scopas observed and executed this most carefully and successfully: the long outward gaze so characteristic of his works is always indicated by this droop of the lower eyelid. It is interesting to see in other less successful artists of his school how, in their hands, the same thing attempted but misunderstood involves them in false drawing.

The nose is very broad at the base, but it never conveys a heavy impression. This is due to the fact that in both these heads and in others of the same school the nostrils are strongly inflated, thus necessitating a great breadth at the lower end of the nose. In this point again his less successful pupils go wrong. They copy the breadth of nose across the nostrils, but the nostrils they do not inflate. Instead therefore of receiving

an impression of eager vitality, we are merely struck by the heaviness of build.

This eager expression is also carried out in the mouth. The upper lip is drawn up in the centre, so that the distance from the top edge of the lip to the bottom of the nose is extremely short. This vigorous raising of the upper lip irresistibly suggests a quick-drawn breath, which is also, as we have seen, carried out in the inflated nostrils, and it entirely accounts for the remarkable shortness of the mouth, measured horizontally. As it is raised in the centre, the lines of the lip instead of being straight become triangular, and the top edge of the lip slopes downwards to the corners, which thus necessarily come closer together than they would if the lip was straight.

Again, this raising of the centre of the upper lip affects the shape of the opening of the mouth, for the mouth, open as in Praxitelean and Lysippian heads, is open in an entirely different manner. Instead of having a narrow slit running the length of the mouth between the parted lips, as in the Hermes, the marble Faun, the Venus dei Medici, the Apoxyomenos, to mention a few out of many examples, the raising of the upper lip in the centre necessitates a similar triangular opening. Shortness of the mouth is characteristic, it is true, of Lysippian works, just as it is of Scopaic works, but there is all the difference in the world between them. The Lysippian mouth is structurally short; the Scopaic, short because momentarily drawn up in the centre.

Now the general impression we receive from this head is that it is Scopaic, and if we compare the technique of it with the few points I have mentioned as characteristic of certainly Scopaic heads, we find that it has these in common with them. The full swelling curve of muscle passing from the forehead over the brow, giving the eye its characteristic depth, and making the distance from the front of the nose to the eyesocket very great, is equally obvious. The upper eyelid as in the Scopas heads is almost invisible, giving the eye its upward look, and the subtle drawing of the lower eyelid is attempted, but a little misunderstood. It falls rapidly and most characteristically, especially in the right eye, from the outer corner, presenting the most marked contrast to the treatment of this part in Praxitelean and Lysippian works. but, having done this, the sculptor seems to me to have misunderstood the object of what he was working at, and he brings it up to the inner corner in a hesitating and infirm line. In the left eye he seems to have made another attempt, but with slight mistrust of himself: the fall of the eyelid from the outer corner is less decided, and the rise to the inner corner consequently less rapid. Again the curve of muscle over the eye ends as in the Scopaic heads in a somewhat deeply cut line outside the corner of the eye. In front all the characteristics of Scopaic treatment are there, but the execution is not perfect.

The nose similarly is broad at the tip and, as far as one can see, for it is mutilated, the nostrils were cut deep and full. Much of the tip of the nose has gone, but the left nostril is still clear. The mouth is short, the upper lip drawn up in the centre, and falling rapidly away to the corners, and the



opening of the mouth wider in the centre than at the sides. The face is short and full, the depth of the head very great, and the muscles of the neck, swollen on the left side, tell us that it was not set straight on to the body, but inclined slightly over as I have had it photographed.

But though this work is thoroughly Scopæic, it is I think quite certain that it is not by Scopas. Though there are fine points about it, it is not of first-rate workmanship, if we compare it with the Tegea heads. As we have seen, the two eyes are not quite alike, and the right eye by itself is a little out of drawing; it is not set absolutely on the horizontal axis of the face as the left eye is, but inclined upwards towards the nose. In itself this is not conclusive, for as in nature so in art we find it on the finest heads, but in conjunction with other mistakes it is likely that it is a mistake too.

Again, the sculptor evidently found himself in difficulties over the hair. This passes over the forehead on each side in five broad deep bands from behind the ears, and is carried up over the centre of the forehead to where the right hand rests on the top of the head. The back of the head is unfinished, and it is impossible to tell accurately exactly how and where these braids of hair start. But there is a distinct fault in the way in which the ear is put in.

The braids are thick and rise high off the head, so that they would either cover the ear, or would be pushed behind it. We are made to suppose that they are pushed behind it, for the whole ear appears, with the lower braids showing behind and in front of it. The ear then naturally would project beyond the braids which pass behind it, but this it does not do, for after making the braids the sculptor cut the ear out of them, so that though they pass behind it, it does not project beyond them, but is cut in them as it would appear in a sketch, not in a piece of sculpture in the round. The mistake is an unimportant one, but one which a great sculptor would not have been likely to make.

Again, there is, I think, a slight trace of archaism in the hair itself. It is impossible to speak for certain, as the surface of the stone is in such bad condition, but it seems to me that the braids are more formal and archaic than we should naturally expect in a work of this date, and more especially from the hand of Scopas, who perhaps more than all other Greek sculptors seems to have been modern in every sense of the word, analytical, impressionist, almost morbid.

But though this head shows the strongest possible contrast to Lysippian and Praxitelean work, and the strongest possible affinity to Scopæic works, there is a certain difference running through it all which separates it from the Tegea heads, and brings it near to the wonderful head probably of Hygieia found in the Asclepieion at Athens. There is greater softness and more repose about it, the violence of the Tegea heads is not entirely reproduced. This is accounted for, for this head I believe is not the head of a man but of a woman.

Apart from the general impression the head gives one, there are two tangible reasons for believing this.

In the first place I do not think that in the whole history of Greek art, from the fifth century downwards, there was ever a man's forehead of the shape and structure which this head shows. Always in men's heads there are shown the two foreheads, separated by a dividing horizontal line, more or less marked. The upper forehead coming from under the hair is bounded at its base by this line running across sometimes from temple to temple, sometimes not quite so far. Below this starts the lower forehead swelling above the brow in the 'bar of Michael Angelo.' Certainly this bar is one of the most characteristic features of Scopas' male heads. Mr. Murray, it is true, has suggested that the helmeted head from Piali is the head of a woman, but apart from the fact that there is nothing whatever to recommend this theory, it is rendered impossible by the very marked existence of the upper and lower foreheads, and the very strong bar which lies over the brow.

The reason for such universality of treatment is clear enough, for a man's head is structurally different from a woman's: all men have this bar and the separating line between the upper and lower foreheads, slightly sometimes but always perceptibly; women never.

The head of which I speak has no such bar, nor any rudiments of it. The forehead in one piece swells gently to the line of brow, and then falls heavily over it.

The other point is the hair. Ten broad plaits are brought from somewhere behind the ears, up to the centre of the forehead, and from there are carried upwards to where the hand is placed firmly on the top of the head. Here again it would be difficult to find anything parallel to this in any man's head.

But since the head has always been accepted as a man's head, it is only fair to examine shortly to what class of man it could possibly belong.

It is I think safe to assert that it is not the head of a middle-aged man nor of an old man, and this narrows us down to the choice between a boy, a youth, or a young god. Again, it is impossible it should be a boy's head: the features are far too mature and formed, and it is difficult to conceive that a boy, even when the hair was not cut at all, should have had enough hair to make five long braids on each side of his head. In addition to this the head is fully the size of an adult head.

If it is a male head at all it must then be the head of an ephebe or of a young god. Now many statues and bronzes have been found on which a young man appears with long braided hair. The so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum, the replica Apollo and the Omphalos in the Central Museum, and the Ephebe head in the Acropolis Museum, are all well-known examples. Dr. Waldstein has shown in a very acute article on this subject (*J.H.S.* vol. i. p. 168. vol. ii. p. 332) that many early statues thought to be Apollos are in reality ephebe statues. But that this should be an ephebe statue is rendered most unlikely for one reason, and impossible for another.

In these long-haired heads of young men, the treatment of the long hair is always uniform. The hair directly above the brow is not braided at all, nor is it very long. It hangs down always in locks or in straight lines

over the forehead, coming down about half-way between the brow and the top of the forehead. The long hair grows behind the head, and is plaited in two braids which start in opposite directions from behind the ears, pass round the back of the head, and are pinned or knotted together rather in front of the top of the head. Here however the treatment is altogether different: all the hair, on the back and front of the head alike, is long, and the whole of it is plaited up into ten braids, five on each side of the head.

In ephêbe statues, then, the long hair is the hair from the back of the head, the front hair being short and left free. In this statue all the hair is plaited up, and the front hair is long. For this reason it is unlikely that this head represents an ephêbe.

But it is rendered impossible by another fact. At the time of the Persian Wars, the custom of young men wearing their hair long was altered. As soon as they became ephêbes, it was cut short, boys only for the future wearing long hair, and dedicated at a feast called *ὀνιστήρια*. After this time ephêbes appear with short hair, as we see on the Parthenon frieze, and all statues of long-haired ephêbes date from the sixth century or the earlier part of the fifth. Myron, speaking roughly, marks the change, his statues, the Discobolus for instance, wearing short hair. But as this head dates from not earlier than the fourth century, we cannot account for the long hair in the case of an ephêbe.

We come then to the last supposition, that it represents a young god; in other words, that it is, as has been always supposed, a head of Apollo. Apollo, it is true, both in archaic and later art, wears long hair, sometimes braided like an athlete, in which case, as Dr. Waldstein again has pointed out, he is always distinguished by a curl, sometimes with a big knot on the top of the head, made of the front hair; or sometimes, when represented as a boy, as in the Sauroctonos, with a boy's hair long behind and flowing, *ondulé*, in front. But it is quite impossible, owing to the firmness and maturity of the features, that this head should represent a boy, and in any case no head of Apollo has ever been found which shows a treatment of the hair in any way parallel to this. There are Apollos with the athlete's braid, distinguished always by a curl, there are Apollos with long boys' hair and boys' faces, and there are Apollos with luxuriant curls and knots of hair. The reason why there is no Apollo with hair like this does not seem far to seek, for men's hair does not grow in such a way: the front hair could never attain such a length that, passing round the back of the head, it could be brought up again over the forehead to the top of the head.

But to me more convincing than any argument is the impression of feminineness the head gives. The head itself as it stands in the Museum is so discoloured that, having once been called an Apollo, it was not unnatural to continue to call it one. Certainly a photograph taken from the head itself conveys very little impression at all. But the cast and the photograph of the cast, where we get a white surface, shows much more of the character of it. There appears in it a softness and grace of contour which it is hard to associate with a man's head sculptured in the fourth century. It is true that in

later reproductions of fourth century works, such as the Apollo Sauroctonos, the effeminacy of the face suggests a female rather than a male, but I very much question whether this is original. Certainly such softness does not seem to exist in any genuine fourth-century work. Later sculptors, of weaker powers, appear to have been unable to render smoothness and delicacy of outline without giving effeminacy to contour, and it is their inability to render both delicacy and virility, such as we see together in the Hermes by Praxiteles, that results in the effeminacy of the Sauroctonos. It is impossible to believe that the Praxiteles who in the Hermes rendered with such triumphant success extreme delicacy of outline without losing virility of character, could have in another statue attempted with less success delicacy of outline and in the attempt altogether lost the manliness. Besides, in the Sauroctonos we are dealing with the statue of a young boy, and this head certainly does not belong to such a statue.

The ten long plaits of hair pass over the centre of the forehead up to the hand on the top of the head. This is shown by the fact that the braids get smaller as they pass from the ears to the centre of the forehead, and from there up towards the hand. Clearly then the ends of the plaits, the thinnest parts, lie under the hand. The hand placed firmly on the head is clearly grasping something—it is natural to suppose the ends of the hair—and the hand seems to suggest the solution of what the head represents.

We have, I think, before us the head of an Aphrodite of the Scopaic type, doing up her hair after the bath. In a sixth-century vase published by Gerhard (*Etrusk. u. kampan. Vasen*, pl. xxx.) there are represented women standing under the cold douche, and these have their hair not free over the head, but in long plaits hanging down, some over the shoulder, others down the back. This head then—perhaps merely of a woman, but probably one of the very common Aphrodite types, where she appears in some bath or toilet scene—represents her as doing up the long plaits of hair after the douche. The hand is quite distinctly grasping something; it does not idly rest on the head, and the braids of hair pass up to it. The inference is fairly obvious.

It is unfortunate that we have no female head certainly by Scopas, for nothing can yet be considered certain with regard to the Mausoleum Sculptures; and though I do not think that this head is by the sculptor himself, it seems to represent with astonishing fitness the feminine type which would correspond to the masculine type shown in the Tegea heads. There is the same insight—for Scopas, we are told, aimed at representing the soul by means of the body; the same eagerness and vitality, but all softened down, and until a better is found we may take this head, together with the Hygieia head, as the Scopaic female type, and of the two this one, I think, is more akin to the Tegea heads than the other.

E. F. BENSON.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1894-5.

THE excavations between the Pnyx and the Areopagus, made by the German School under the direction of Professor Dorpfeld, have been continued once more during the present season. In consequence of the great interest of the topographical problems involved, it was decided last year that the site should be expropriated by the Greek government, and thus the excavators are no longer hampered by the necessity of piling up the earth near at hand, so that it could be put back again if required. The liberal subvention made by the German government to its School was supplemented this year by private subscriptions, for the purpose of these excavations, and consequently it was possible to continue them for a considerable time, and to clear a large area. Unfortunately it has hitherto proved impossible to divert the modern road, which runs right through the site, and conceals the place where Professor Dorpfeld supposes that the fountain Enneacrunus once stood. Until this also can be removed, we can hardly expect to arrive at certainty on the point.

Under these circumstances, the confirmation or refutation of Dr. Dörpfeld's theories of Athenian topography in this region has still to depend on the evidence offered by the surrounding buildings. Here too nothing decisive has yet been found, though many very interesting discoveries have been made, which are cited with great ingenuity by Professor Dorpfeld as tending to corroborate his theory. A provisional plan of the excavations, published in the last number of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* for 1894, makes it easy to realize the results which they have so far attained. It may be remembered that last year some traces were found of an early shrine of Dionysus, in the angle between the modern road and the south edge of the Areopagus. This has now been completely cleared: the precinct is triangular in shape, and is completely surrounded by roads. Near one corner are traces of a temple: in the middle are the remains of an altar, in the form of a table resting on four legs, and beside this, in the basis of the altar, is a sinking for a stela. At another corner is the most interesting feature of all: a wine press, originally of quite early period, and showing signs of repairs at different dates, and a floor at various levels. All these indications serve to show that there was an early precinct of Dionysus here, on the spot later adopted by the Iobacchi, whose inscription was found last year. Professor Dorpfeld identifies this earlier shrine as the Lenaion or the Dionysion in the Marshes (*Limnae*). This is not the place or time to discuss the probability of the identification, which may be confirmed or disproved by further discoveries: but it is only fair to notice that it corresponds fairly well with the position assigned to this

early Dionysion by Maas in his dissertation *de Lenaico et Delphinio*, and is certainly more probable than the position near the Dipylon gate formerly assigned to the Lenaion by Professor Dörpfeld.<sup>1</sup> Of course there are arguments on the other side, which need not be repeated here, since they are familiar to all those who are interested in Athenian topography. The only one that needs to be repeated in this new connexion is that the name Linnae, the marshes, certainly seems an unlikely one for this high district. The ground between the Acropolis, the Arcopagus, and the Pnyx forms a watershed, with a fairly rapid descent down the valley between the two latter hills; nor does there appear to be any geological reason why the conformation of the ground in early times should have been different enough to cause a swamp to form here. The overflow from the springs and wells, or later from the aqueduct built in the sixth century, does not seem to supply an adequate reason for the name. It was expected that some trace of the Odeum described by Pausanias near the Enneacrunus would be found near the precinct of Dionysus, but no certain remains of it have yet been discovered. The lower parts of several buildings which face on to the surrounding roads are fairly well preserved, and some of them are particularly interesting for their pavements, which are almost like a simple mosaic, made of pebbles cut flat on their upper side. Some of these probably go back at least to the fifth century B.C., a much earlier date than has hitherto been attested for this kind of work.

Another very interesting discovery has resulted from the complete clearing of the small precinct previously found on the east of the ancient road. The reliefs found in this precinct were sufficient to show that it was dedicated to some god of healing, though the excavators rightly hesitated to call it a sanctuary of Asclepius. An inscription has been found proving that it was dedicated to Asclepius and Amynos; that is to say, no doubt, Amynos was the earlier Attic hero to whom it really belonged, though, like all other subordinate divinities of healing, he had later to share his honours with Asclepius. The same inscription mentions also another associated hero, Dexion, who had a separate precinct, of which the position is not known. His name is of peculiar interest, because it is said that the poet Sophocles, who in his lifetime was priest of the healing hero Aleon, was worshipped after his death under the name of Dexion. New light is constantly being thrown on these heroes or deities of healing, and the subject is daily becoming more complicated and more interesting.

The ancient road has also been followed up to where it turns off sharply to the left, to mount the ascent of the Acropolis. Unfortunately the hill at this point has been so much denuded that hardly any ancient remains are left, and hence it is impossible to test by excavation the correctness of Professor Dörpfeld's theory that the Eleusinion occupied this angle of the road. This is again a disappointment. It is possible that a continuation of the excavations, especially under the modern road, may lead to the discovery

<sup>1</sup> See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments etc.*, p. 21.

of some inscriptions or other indisputable evidence as to the controverted points in the topography of this region. But it seems as if we must after all be content to draw our inference from the evidence that is now available, and under these circumstances it is hardly to be hoped that we shall as yet have any complete agreement among Athenian topographers, or that the era of controversy is likely to come to a speedy end. There is plenty of new material to discuss, but very little of such a nature as to close discussion.

During these excavations an attempt was also made to solve the question whether there was a subterranean passage beneath the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysus, as in so many other theatres recently excavated. A premature announcement of the discovery of this passage was made in the Greek newspapers, and this unfortunately, in spite of Professor Dorpfeld's immediate contradiction, came to be repeated in some English periodicals. What was found was nothing but some irregular cuttings in the rock, of no particular shape, and evidently not intended for use: one well-like hole was very early, and contained fragments of Mycenaean pottery: others appear to be mere soundings, perhaps taken when the theatre was being made or altered, to ascertain the nature of the ground. It was also found that the rock was cut away in a straight ledge, just under the line of the stage of Phaedrus; this cutting, which is evidently an early one, may not be without importance in the reconstruction of the early theatre: it shows that the orchestra of levelled rock only extends over the part enclosed by the prolonged semicircle of the auditorium: outside this may have been either earth or wooden platform.

At Eleusis, the excavations of the Archaeological Society have been continued, under the direction of M. Skias; and the outlying portions of the site are being slowly cleared. Amongst the most recent discoveries is a plaque of late red-figured style, representing some ceremony connected with the mysteries; on the pediment above is a figure of Artemis.

The American School, wishing to follow up its successful identification of the demes of Icaria and Plotheia, at the back of Pentelicus, made excavations this spring at Kukumari, beyond Stamata. The project was due to Professor Merriam, and was carried out after his death under the direction of Professor Richardson. No topographical results were obtained, such as might test the correctness of Professor Milchhofer's identification of the site as Hecale. But an interesting inscription was found containing a sacrificial calendar: the days and offerings are prescribed for various divinities, and the price of the victims is in every case added. The local gods and heroes seem to belong mostly to the Marathonian tetrapolis: many of the names are new and interesting.

Other excavations in Attica have been concerned with the opening of tumuli. The most successful of these were conducted by the Swedish archaeologist, Dr. S. Wide, at Aphidnae; he found in a tumulus many graves of Mycenaean period, containing vases, ornaments in gold and other metals, and also some skeletons, one of gigantic size. At Brauron other tumuli were opened by the Greek authorities, but without much result, as they had been previously rifled. And at Kara, at the foot of Hymettus, Mr. Myres, of the British School, investigated the nature of the stony mounds so common in this

region, marked on the German map as tumuli. After opening two or three of these, he came to the conclusion that they were merely heaps of stones gathered off the fields, of no funereal significance. But many of them go so deep beneath the present level of the soil, that they evidently are remains of very early cultivation.

The temple of Poseidon on Calauria (the modern Poros) has also been excavated by Dr. S. Wide. It is famous for its view of Athens across the Saronic Gulf, which induced Demosthenes to choose it as the scene of his exile and his death; in early time it was also the centre of a religious amphictyony of considerable influence. Unfortunately almost everything above ground has been carried off for building purposes, and all that could be found was the plan of the foundations. These show the position of the temple and its enclosing precinct, and also of an agora beside it, flanked with porticoes. One of these, which is well preserved, is of quite early date, showing polygonal walls and capitals not much later than those of the Parthenon. A sacred road evidently led up through the agora to the temple. But little was found in the way of portable antiquities or inscriptions; some proto-Corinthian vase-fragments and a Mycenaean idol show the site to have been used from early times.

At Epidaurus, the shafts sunk in the stadium last summer by M. Cabdadias led to most interesting discoveries, and consequently the whole border of the seats, as well as both ends of the course, is now being completely cleared. In the stadium, as in the theatre, the seats of white limestone are preserved all round, at least in the front row, and to some extent behind it; the gutter in front of these is also preserved. But the greatest discovery of all is the line of the goal or starting-point—it is clear that what was the goal for the stadium must have been the starting-point for the diaulos. This is excellently preserved at the deeper end: it resembles that found in the stadium at Olympia, but with the difference that at Epidaurus we see preserved not only the sockets for the posts that separated the places assigned to the various competitors, but the marble posts actually standing. These were doubtless used for the same purpose as had already been suggested by Mr. Bosanquet in a paper read at the British School for the sockets at Olympia—to carry the ends of the strings that separated the courses assigned to each competitor in a sprint race, according to the custom followed in athletic games at the present day. The seats on one side show dedicatory inscriptions; on the other, inscriptions recording the manumission of slaves in the simplest possible formula. Along each side of the course are placed five stones, dividing it into six spaces of one hundred feet each.

The excavation of the Heraeum near Argos has been brought to a conclusion this spring by Professor Waldstein. In addition to the two temples and their surrounding buildings, as previously cleared, a fine portico has now been quite uncovered. The most important finds of the present season are some more fragments of the metopes of the temple. Two of the heads are in fine condition, and one of them is among the best things that have been discovered upon the site; it is the helmeted head of a warrior in excellent



style; and it certainly will form an important link in the argument about the school to which the sculptures are to be assigned. Its publication must of course be awaited before any more can be said upon this matter. Fragments of pottery were again discovered in great numbers, mostly of the same early styles as before, though a few pieces are of a peculiar character. There is now a great mass of material from these excavations in the museum at Athens, which will take a long time to work up; its publication will be awaited with considerable interest. Among the smaller finds may be noted an early inscription on bronze, which is a fine specimen of the Argive alphabet, and apparently contains a portion of a law or a decree.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has continued his excavations. Curiously enough, his chief find this season was a most unexpected one—a large hoard of silver coins of good Greek period. Perhaps its owner may have chosen Mycenae to hide his treasure, as being the last place where anybody would be likely to look for it.

M. Tsountas also opened, during the summer, several of the prehistoric graves on the island of Amorgos. He found many objects of the Mycenaean or earlier periods, including lance-heads, pottery, terra-cottas, and a statuette of very primitive style.

On Delos, the excavations of the French School were continued during the summer by M. Couve; they have been devoted mostly to the clearing of the prosperous town which grew up around the sacred precinct in late Greek times. Several houses, of Hellenistic or early Roman period, prove to be preserved to a considerable height, and the decoration of their walls, as well as the statues and other ornaments which they contained, have in many cases been recovered. Among the statues is an extremely fine copy of the Diadumenos of Polyclitus, which must rank higher than any hitherto known; another very beautiful work is a draped female statue, which recalls the type of the finest Tanagra statuettes. It is to be hoped that these statues will soon be transported to the Museum at Athens; at present they remain at Delos, exposed to the weather and to the risk of even more violent damage. The fine statue of Ofellius also deserves better care.

The French excavations at Delphi have also been resumed, with the help of a fresh subvention from the French Chamber, which has now voted about £30,000 for this work, apart from the regular grants made to the French School. There is not very much in the way of new discoveries to report since this time last year: the excavations were continued through the greater part of the summer; among other things found was a very fine statue of Antinous, almost perfect in preservation, and some good bronzes, including an archaic Apollo and a copy of the Doryphorus type. So much has been written already about the sculpture and other monuments discovered in the previous season that there is no need to add any general description here; no more buildings have been identified as yet, beside those mentioned in last year's report. But a further study of what had already been found has led to some interesting results, which have already been published by M. Hénolle at an open meeting of the French School, and may be recorded here with due acknowledgment.

I have in the first place to correct one or two mistakes in my last year's report, such as it is difficult to avoid in writing very soon after a discovery. The horse's head, which is there quoted as probably being the only fragment found of the pedimental sculptures of the temple, has been fitted on to a body, and certainly does not belong to the temple sculptures at all. It is to be feared that there is now no hope of finding these architectural sculptures; probably they must either have been taken away bodily by some later emperor to Rome or Constantinople, or else they must have been destroyed together with the marble front, which the Alcmaeonidae generously substituted for the stone one which they had contracted to supply. No remains of this marble front have been found, except one triglyph, which is buried deep in the foundations of the temple; nor does the form of the architectural members which have survived suggest a sixth century origin. It seems clear that the temple of which the remains are now visible must be due to a rebuilding of which there is no historical record; but Pausanias speaks of the pedimental sculptures by Praxias and Androsthenes as if they were still to be seen on the temple.

Several more metopes and fragments of metopes have been added to the treasury of the Athenians; nearly thirty can now be reconstructed in whole or in part, and this is the total number contained by the building. It appears probable, as M. Homolle suggests,<sup>2</sup> that the two façades, of six metopes each, were accorded to the exploits of Heracles and of Theseus respectively, and that one side was occupied by the metopes representing the contest with Geryon, and his cattle, and the fight with the Amazons: the subject of the other side seems still uncertain. The series of caryatid figures, of which four have been recovered, apparently belonged to a separate building or small portico, not, as had at first seemed possible, to the treasury of the Siphnians.

The sculptural decoration of the Siphnian treasury has now been arranged and studied with care, and it forms a most valuable series. The pediment is apparently the earliest of all; it is like the rest of Parian marble,<sup>3</sup> and represents the contest between Heracles and Apollo for the tripod; it has the remarkable peculiarity that the upper part of the background is cut away so as to leave the figures in the round, while the lower part is only in relief. The square-cut forms of the relief, and the rather squat proportions of the figures, are of a very archaic appearance. On the frieze a gradual development can be traced, from the very early style of some parts to a far freer and more advanced treatment in other groups. The subjects seem to be the Apotheosis of Heracles on the west side; the preparations for the race between Pelops and Oenomaus on the south; the fight of Patroclus and the other heroes before Troy over the body of Sarpedon on the east, with the group of the seated gods looking on from either end, and

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 183. I am indebted to this account throughout these remarks.

<sup>3</sup> My statement about this pediment in last year's report is erroneous, but, by a singular chance, attributes it to Peloponnesian art.

the Gigantomachy on the north. These subjects are no longer a matter of conjecture; it has been discovered that every figure had its name painted either on the field of the relief or on its margin; and although the paint has in every case disappeared, the faint scratches made on the stone to guide the painter still remain, and can with care be deciphered. The variety and vigour of conception of these sculptures, and their care and delicacy of execution, must be seen to be realized. Casts of all the finest sculptures from Delphi have been made, and were exhibited last winter in the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* at Paris; they are now in the Louvre, and a glance at them is better than any amount of description. The school to which the sculpture of the Siphnian treasury must be assigned has already caused some discussion. The names attached to the figures offer no indication; here, as in other works found at Delphi, they are added in the local alphabet. But on the shield of one of the warriors is incised an inscription in very curious decorated forms of letters, which was at first thought to have no meaning. This has now been deciphered with great ingenuity by M. Homolle as the artist's signature in the Argive alphabet: unfortunately his name is lost; but the Argive form of  $\text{P}$  ( $\Lambda$ ) is clear, and there are other indications of an Argive connexion. If so, we shall be able to quote the sculpture of the Siphnian treasury as an example of Argive art at the close of the sixth century; and with it, and the corresponding reliefs from the treasury of the Athenians, we shall have a wealth of material for comparison and contrast which cannot fail to throw much light on the history of Greek art at the most interesting period of its development.

In the case of so great an excavation as that of Delphi, it is impossible to do more than comment on a few of the most important discoveries. Provisional publications are promised, and will be awaited with the greatest interest. In particular, the great building inscription, dealing with the restoration of the temple in the fourth century, may be expected to help to solve the difficult problem of the date of the present remains of the temple.

At present the question of the preservation of the monuments of Greece, and their restoration if necessary, is even more prominent than that of their excavation. Public attention was drawn by the earthquakes of last spring to the dangerous state of the Parthenon. It is true that none of the fragments which then fell were of very great importance; but an examination of their fractures showed that many of the cracks, which it was hoped were only superficial, went deep into the substance of the marble, and made the preservation of many parts of the building extremely precarious. The same conclusion was reached by the French architect, M. Magne, as the result of a minute study of the Parthenon both before and after the earthquakes. A scaffolding has been erected, to facilitate a close study of the inner architrave of the western front, which is the part in most immediate danger of falling, and the German architect, Herr Durm, has undertaken the task of supervising the necessary repairs. It is agreed on all hands that a new block of marble is necessary at this point: but all round the building, especially at the corners and along the west front, there are most ominous cracks, which require the

most serious attention. It is to be hoped that some means will be found by which the Parthenon may be put out of danger, without being disfigured either by new blocks or by unsightly bands and clamps. The remedy is not an easy one, and is worthy of the attention of all architects and of all who have any affection for the noblest monuments of Greek art.

Another monument of Athens, the Panathenaic Stadium, is to undergo restoration on a very magnificent scale. In consequence of the project of the international athletic meeting, to be held in Athens in the spring of 1896, under the title of the Olympic games, it was resolved to put the stadium into a fit state for practical use; and one of the most munificent of modern Greeks, M. Aberof, has given a large sum of money to supply it with marble seats, like those once placed there by Herodes Atticus. Some portions of the decoration provided by Herodes are preserved, and these will serve as a model for the whole restoration.

In the National Museum, much progress has been made with the arrangement of the antiquities. All the vases, bronzes, and terra-cottas have now been transferred from the Polytechnic into this museum, which is now one of the most complete and varied in the world, as well as unrivalled in many branches. The vases are admirably arranged and exhibited, and many early classes can now be studied in Athens as they can nowhere else. A catalogue of the vases by M. Couve, of the French School, will soon appear, and M. de Ridder, of the same School, is also employed upon a catalogue of the bronzes, of which a part is already published. All the bronzes from the Acropolis, including those recovered and cleaned by Mr. Bather, are now exhibited in the National Museum. The work of sorting and cataloguing the vase fragments from the Acropolis, by Dr. Wolters, Dr. Gräf, and Dr. Hartwig, is now completed, and arrangements are being made for publication. It is to be hoped that this magnificent series will soon be made accessible to study.

To turn next to Byzantine work, the restoration of the mosaics of the Church at Daphne is now all but completed. The process by which these mosaics were removed while the dome was rebuilt has been recorded in a previous report. Almost all of them have now been restored to their places in the church, from the canvas to which they had been temporarily transferred. No attempt has been made to complete them, or to restore the missing portions. The excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society within the walls of the monastery have led to some interesting results, and have revealed much of the plan of the early conventual buildings. A study of these has been made by M. Millet, who proposes to continue the excavations. Unfortunately another interesting convent, in Athens itself, that of St. Andrew near the Cathedral, has been ruthlessly destroyed to make room for the new offices of the Metropolitan Church. The refectory of this convent contained some very valuable frescoes, which have for some time been concealed by whitewash—among others a fine example of the Tree of Jesse, now hopelessly lost.

• Outside Greece, a good deal has been done during the past season to recover or to study the monuments of the art and civilization of Greece and

of other kindred peoples. The brilliant results of Mr. Arthur Evans's studies in Crete are already known to the readers of this Journal; Mr. Evans made another short journey in Crete this spring, accompanied by Mr. Myres, and attained some interesting results in the remains of Mycenaean civilization. Dr. Halbherr, though impeded in his excavations by political difficulties, succeeded in opening some tombs which were intact, and yielded a rich supply of Mycenaean vases and other antiquities. His excavations were subsidized by the Archaeological Institute of America. In Cyprus the British Museum again conducted excavations, this time at Curium, under the direction of Mr. Walters. As well as many later things, there were found here also some Mycenaean vases with human figures, of peculiar types.

In Egypt, an attempt has been made on a considerable scale to test the possibility of profitable excavations at Alexandria; these were made by Mr. Hogarth, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and he was joined by Mr. Benson and Mr. Bevan, of the British School at Athens, and by the local archaeologist, M. Botti. Unfortunately the results were mainly negative. The great depth of the soil, and the bad condition of what is preserved beneath it, make excavation within the town of Alexandria almost impracticable. Nor do the tombs in the neighbourhood seem much more likely to repay the work spent on them. On the whole, it must be reluctantly acknowledged that Alexandria is not a site of which any great expectations can be entertained, and it certainly is among the most expensive and difficult to excavate.

It was announced last year that the walls of the Homeric Troy had at last been discovered—of the Troy, that is, which was contemporary with the Mycenaean civilization in Greece, and of which the traditionary greatness is recorded in the *Iliad*. The walls of this city have been almost entirely cleared during the past summer by Professor Dörpfeld, with a grant from the German Imperial purse. They are of very fine construction, and are regularly built; the most peculiar feature in their construction is that every few yards the line is a little set back, so as to form an advancing angle—a feature noticed also by Dr. Noack in the walls of the fortress of Gha on Lake Copais. The greater part of the circuit of the walls is excellently preserved, though much obscured by the Roman foundations of the later Ilium; three towers, one of which contains a cistern, may still be seen.

The great loss sustained by English archaeology in the death of Sir Charles Newton received a full tribute from all the archaeological bodies in Greece. Another event which cast a gloom over the season was the sudden death, from pneumonia, of Professor Merriam, formerly Director of the American School, who had just returned to Greece to continue his work. Happily it is possible to conclude with a more pleasant recollection, in recording the tribute paid by all archaeologists here, Greeks and foreigners alike, to Professor Ernst Curtius at the dedication of his bust in the Museum at Olympia. That those splendidly conceived and ideally conducted excavations were due to his energy and perseverance would alone suffice for his renown; but it is even more encouraging to think how much of what has since been done is due to the not unworthy emulation of so excellent an example.

E. A. G.

## A FLYING EROS FROM THE SCHOOL OF PRAXITELES.

### [PLATE VIII.]

THE terracotta reproduced on Plate VIII. with the kind permission of Mr. A. S. Murray was acquired by the British Museum in the course of this year from Eretria, where it was found in a tomb. It measures together with the wings 1 ft. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. in height, and is composed of a greyish, fine-grained, well baked clay, which, as may be seen on the broken fingers of the left hand, shows a purplish tint when fractured.<sup>1</sup>

It is in perfect preservation, and the wings form an organic whole with the body. The delicacy of the modelling is especially conspicuous on the head and wings; at the same time it has suffered from a yellowish incrustation of some thickness. The whole statuette was covered in the first place with a lustrous white engobe; in addition the hair was painted red-brown, the wings green on the front side, the chlamys rose-colour, and the sandals purple; further, the tongue (*lunula*) of the sandals is yellow, or rather gilt. At the back the wings are neither worked nor painted; between them appears a small quadrilateral opening. This fact justifies the supposition that the Eretrian terracottas were destined for hanging against the wall, so as to have from a distance the appearance of objects in relief.

The figure is that of an ephebos of slender proportions, but the character of Eros is adequately indicated by the large wings.<sup>2</sup> The action of the

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to put on record that the clay of our terracotta corresponds closely to the ashen-grey earth of Eretria described by Dioscorides π. Ἑλης ἱατρικῆς v. c. 170 (ed. Sprengel): Τῆς Ἐρετριᾶδος γῆς ἥ μὲν ἐστὶ λευκὴ ἐπιτεταμένως, ἥ δὲ σποδοειδής· ἀρίστη δὲ ὑπάρχει ἡ τῇ χροῇ σποδίζουσα καὶ μαλακὴ ἄγαν· πρὸς τε χαλκῶματα ἐλκυθεῖσα γραμμὴν ἰώδη ἀποφερομένη. Also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 54: 'Namque et alba est et cinerea, quae praefertur in medicina. Probatur mollitie: et quod si aere perducatur, violaceum reddit colorem.' In view of this, it may be apposite to raise the question whether there was in Eretria in the fourth century a manufacture of terracottas dependent on those of Attica and Tanagra, yet distinct from them, such as has been already assumed for the fifth

century lekythi (cf. Staes in *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1894. p. 65). In the National Museum at Athens are some fifty terracottas from Eretria, all without exception from the excavations of the last seven years. With the exception of a vase in the form of a negro's head (published by Hartwig in *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1894, pl. 6. p. 121), not one of them has as yet been made known, although some may rank as masterpieces. None are over one foot high, and compared with them our terracotta ranks very high. See *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 74, 115, 171; and compare also a terracotta published by Miss Hutton in the current volume of this journal, pl. 4, fig. 2. p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> On Eros and his sepulchral signification see Furtwaengler in Roscher's *Mythol. Lexicon*, art. Eros; Collignon in *Dictionn. des Antiq.* art.

left wrist implies that he has held some very light object, probably a wreath or a taenia. The whole composition suggests Praxiteles, and the stylistic details confirm this first impression. The head vividly recalls the Hermes at Olympia, and the Aberdeen head in the British Museum;<sup>3</sup> but it is above all in the angle of the head, the form of the cranium and neck, and the shape of the nose and forehead that the similarity to the latter example is so conspicuous. At the back of the head are obvious signs of a wreath or fillet, which now no longer exists. The wonderful wings can only be compared with the genuine wings of the Palatine Eros, and the Borghese Eros in the Louvre; they are formed of several rows of short fan-like feathers and long sword-like pinions. The form of the hips, rather thick than broad, is another link with the Borghese statue. The manner in which the chlamys is drawn diagonally over the breast from the right shoulder, while at the same time allowing the body to be seen through, finds its closest analogy in the works of Praxiteles, *e.g.* the Bacchus of Versailles in the Louvre, which Furtwaengler (*Masterpieces*, p. 337) has ascribed to the master himself. Only one other Eros statue of Praxitelean style wears so long a chlamys as that of our example; a copy of this is seen in a Pompeian wall-painting published by Zahn, *Ornamente u. Gemälde aus Pompei*, i. 99.<sup>4</sup>

In other aspects our terracotta presents certain differences which show that the artist was acquainted, not only with the works of Praxiteles, but perhaps also with the Belvedere Hermes, the supposed work of the sons of Praxiteles about 330 B.C. (see my article in *Revue Archéol.* June, 1895). The Eretrian Eros has all the rhythm of movement and harmony of the last-named. The face again is not sweetly smiling, but serious and reflective, as is that of the Hermes, which had been erected over a grave. In both cases the head turns to that side on which the hips bend outwards, while this bend is as strongly marked, and the right knee-cap as firmly rendered, as in the other works of the *παῖδες Πραξιτέλους*. Also with regard to the bodily proportions, our statuette, although representing a slightly younger ephebos,

Cupido; Pottier and S. Reinach, *Nécropole de Myrina*, index s.v. Eros, and especially p. 329; Baudouin, *Bull. de numism.* 1886, p. 70ff.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Miss E. Sellers in Furtwaengler's *Masterpieces*, pl. 18.

<sup>4</sup> This Eros in position and action of the arms corresponds minutely with the Dresden Artemis, which Furtwaengler (*Masterpieces*, p. 324, fig. 139) regards as a product of the older period of Praxiteles. The head is gently inclined to balance the rigid left leg, and the bow is held in his left hand, while with the right he draws up his chlamys behind the shoulder just as the Diana of Gabii, which Studniczka (*Vermuth. zu gr. Kunstgesch.* p. 18ff.) has identified with the Artemis Brauronia of Praxiteles. The type of countenance connects it with the Eros of Centocelle, as also do the long curls of hair, the relatively short wings, and

the similarity of the whole conception (for instance, he makes no use of his weapons, but bends his head in reflection). Besides the three well-known examples we can point to a fourth Eros from the hand of Praxiteles, namely, that which Verres stole from the house of Mamertinus Heius at Messana, where it had been preserved for many generations. Cicero, *in Verrem*, iv. 24, calls it *simile* to the Eros of Thespiae: 'idem prius artifex (= Praxiteles) eiusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum qui est in Thespiis, propter quem Thespiæ visuntur, nam alia visendi nulla causa est.' If then the Centocelle statue represents the Thespian Eros, the fourth and similar Eros-type may be preserved to us in the above-mentioned Pompeian statue. In this case it would be an older work of Praxiteles, and as it were introductory to his later Thespian masterpiece.

and on a smaller scale, approaches most nearly to the Belvedere Hermes. There is the same individual roundness and breadth of composition in the upper part of the body with its prominent breast and relatively small head. There are as yet no signs of an immediate Lysippian influence, still less of the proportions of the flying Erotes from Megara and Myrina (Pottier and S. Reinach, *Nécropole de M.* pls. 11-14, p. 328), which on account of their sepulchral use afford the closest parallel with our terracotta.

The deviations of the Eretrian Eros from the Belvedere Hermes-type are explained by the fact that the former was intended to be hovering in the air. In order to express the backward and forward movement, the leg is much advanced, the toes drawn back under the foot. To avoid any appearance of excessive heaviness in the lower part of the body the arms are pressed close to the chest in Polycleitan fashion, and serve as a point of support for the mantle, the pendent folds of which present the appearance of a second pair of wings. This deviation from the Praxitelean pattern is not very happily executed; the two fore-arms are the only parts of the body of which the drawing and modelling leave anything to be desired.

We have seen then that the Eretrian terracotta is very closely connected with the Hermes of Olympia and the Belvedere Hermes. Like the latter, it may be regarded as the production of an artist working between B.C. 340 and B.C. 330, in full accordance with the artistic traditions of Praxiteles.

This influence—a natural result of the close political relations between Athens and Eretria<sup>5</sup>—is further represented from the latter city by two works of art: the female head discussed by Furtwaengler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, pls. 12-14, and the statue of a youth in the store-rooms of the National Museum at Athens, the head of which appears to have been inspired by the Hermes of Olympia.<sup>6</sup> The influence of Praxitelean art on ceramics generally, and especially on the Tanagra terracottas, has been frequently touched upon, the latest discussion being by M. Mayer, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1892, p. 261 ff., who collects all the older literature; but in this sphere there yet remains very much to be done.<sup>7</sup>

Eros in the form of a winged Hermes is not hitherto known, although the development of art, and the close relation of Eros to Hermes, naturally tend in that direction. Apart from attributes and the slight distinction of age, the sculpture of the fourth century recognized a difference between the ephebos Eros and the ephebos Hermes, whether through the more or less girlish treatment of the hair or the rounded boyish face. Even on the two monuments<sup>8</sup> where the bodily proportions of Eros are stronger than

<sup>5</sup> For the history of Eretria, see Richardson in *American Journ. of Archaeol.* 1891, p. 234ff.

<sup>6</sup> I know it only from S. Reinach's *Chroniques d'Orient*, p. 336; in 1892 it was not exhibited, and it is not described in Kavnvadias' *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, vol. i.

<sup>7</sup> On the influence of Lysippian art on the Smyrna terracottas, see Reinach, *Mélanges*

*Graux*, p. 156ff.; also *Nécropole de Myrina*, p. 159.

<sup>8</sup> The sculptured column from Ephesos (*J.H.S.* xi. p. 280) and a terracotta of unknown provenience (Lecuyer, *2<sup>me</sup> collection*, pl. 13). The terracotta, if genuine, must be connected with the Ludovisi Ares.



elsewhere, the smoothly divided hair in the first place and the rounded, roguish face in the second, serve to differentiate him from Hermes. Eros with close-shorn curly hair and severe athletic face is in the fifth century a very rare,<sup>9</sup> in the fourth a hitherto quite isolated phenomenon. The closest analogy to the Eretrian Eros is the athlete on a Campana relief (Campana, *Opere in plastica*, 94), preserved in many other reproductions; in his left hand is a palm, and with the right he places a wreath on his own head. Milchhöfer (*Archäol. Studien H. Brunn dargebr.* p. 62 ff.) has rightly traced it back to the picture by Eupompos (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 75). The same figure, but somewhat more youthful, with the same motive, appears as an Eros with large wings on a later tetradrachm published by E. Beulé (*Les monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 222). The Eretrian terracotta in a mythological aspect may be regarded as the oldest certain example of that fusion of religious ideas which in the epoch of the Tanagra and Myrina terracottas gave rise on the one hand to bizarre creations, on the other to conceptions full of charm.

Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the artist of our terracotta, if wanting in originality, has yet produced a perfectly complete and successful composition, the rhythm of which has an especial charm. As regards the seriousness of the conception we can only compare the Eros with a lyre on a lekythos of the 'strong fine' period published by Benndorf (*Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. 48, fig. 2), or the Eros head of Pheidian period published by Furtwaengler, *Meisterrv.* Figs. 12-13. But while the movement of the latter still shows signs of awkwardness, in this case the problem is undoubtedly solved with entire success, thanks to the influence of painted sculpture, though almost without realism. Upward flight is expressed by the same means, and quite as harmoniously, on a contemporaneous work of art, the Ganymede of Leochares, whose prototype Furtwaengler has recognized in an older pictorial composition (*Samml. Sabouroff*, text to pl. 147, p. 5). On vases too, the lightly-hovering Erotes first appear rendered correctly in the fourth century; in the fifth they usually float diagonally down with stiff extended legs or bent-in knees and upward-curving bodies, unaffected by the treatment of the drapery.<sup>10</sup> The question arises, to which painter of the

<sup>9</sup> I can recall only the following (1) two gems in the Brit. Mus. (Cades, *Abdrucke*, Nos. 673. 681); the style of both is that of the fifth century; (2) a gem of severe style in Gerhard, *Über den Gott Eros*, pl. I, 8. In each case Eros is a perfectly mature youth, but how far the type approximates to Hermes, the small scale of the design forbids me to say.

<sup>10</sup> I quote only examples from the British Museum: E 191, E 297, E 571, Eros with closed extended legs; E 13, E 187, E 293 (rev.), E 307, E 388, E 464, with bent knees; E 126, E 189, flying diagonally; E 293 (obv.), flying horizontally; E 129, F 37, upper part of body bent backwards. Flight correctly rendered,

with or without aid of drapery: E 231 (?), E 241, and among Italian vases, F 138, 184, 306, 310, 314, 315, 399, 400, 458. Even on the Peleus-vase E 424, which in many respects shows a remarkable advance on the latest fifth century vases, Eros still flies without inclining his head, or bending the hips outwards, or having drapery underneath him.

The flight of Nike had as a general rule the same development. We see her flying diagonally on B 357 and E 584; with bent-in knees, without aid of drapery, E 179, 287, 453, 469, 513. But on the vases of the fifth century she already appears in natural and easy flight, as on E 312 and E 406; cf. E 432, E 498. This is

fourth century the merit of this improvement must be ascribed, but it is impossible to give a definite answer. I should be most inclined to fix upon Pausias, the contemporary of Praxiteles. It was he who 'primus lacunaria pingere instituit, nec cameras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit' (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 123). According to the unanimous opinion of architects<sup>11</sup> the word *camera* (Gk. *καμάρα*) means, as opposed to *lacunar* and *fornix*, a kind of arched roof which in Greek times was made of wood. As none have been preserved, it is impossible to enter into the constructive details. So much however seems to be established by the evidence of antiquity, that between the longitudinal beams and the cross-pieces were quadrangular spaces of varying size, which were closed in above with wooden tablets. Pausias then was the first to adopt the practice of painting these *lacunaria* (plural of *lacunarium*). His innovation did not however take the form of painting the same with ornaments or heads and busts, of both of which systems we have actual examples in the fifth century.<sup>12</sup> His merit must rather consist in the fact that he first introduced the idea of painting in the *lacunaria* whole compositions of one or more figures. These wooden roof-panels which he painted are in my opinion absolutely identical in appearance with the still existing semicircular curved panels in the roof of the *tepidarium* of the smaller baths at Pompeii, in the Casa Farnesina at Rome, and elsewhere. Julius Lessing in his preface to the publication of the latter (Berlin, 1891, pls. 12-16) has very rightly remarked that this arrangement of rectangular partitions and clearly-marked-off panels must have been derived from wooden timber roofs.

The roof of the Pompeian *tepidarium* referred to (reproduced in *Musco Borbonico*, ii. 53) is our best possible authority for the manner in which flying, leaping, and swimming figures were lavished on the decoration of such *lacunaria*. In the six panels there illustrated we see five flying, and only one standing figure. Further the foreshortening necessitated by the vaulting (cf. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.* ii. p. 145) is rendered less objectionable by flying than by standing figures. I would suppose then that it was above

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explained by the fact that her drapery was at an early period applied to this purpose of making her flight as easy as possible. The Nike of Paenios is another example; she cannot however be compared with those above-mentioned, as she has one foot resting on the ground, *i.e.* the base, and consequently does not fly clear.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. above all the *Dictionary of Architecture* issued by the Architectural Publication Society, *s.c.* Camera and Lacunar (with reference to ancient authorities); also Weale-Hunt, *Dict. of Terms used in Architecture*, 4th edition, 1876; Duhn,  *Baukunst der Römer*, p. 283.

<sup>12</sup> The former is proved from Helbig, *Untersuch. über d. campan. Wandmalerei*, p. 132a, 2. A classical example of the latter is a *lacunarium* in the Brit. Mus. from the Nereid

monument, on which a head is painted in full face. Six (*J. H. S.* xiii. p. 133) has adduced this in support of his view that this monument belongs to the first half of the fourth century, but his arguments are not convincing; and I am still persuaded that the monument dates from the fifth century. Moreover Six's interpretation of the B. M. astragalus vase is not to my mind satisfactory. Rather than *Aurae* and *Aeolus* we should regard the figures as nine personified astragali (*ψῆφοι*), by means of which the figure on the left (much restored) declares oracles. Cf. a similar relief from Sagalassos in Lanckoronski's *Städte Pamphilicus u. Pisidicus*, figs. 109, 110, and for the astragalus oracle, Petersen *ibid.*

all the painting of the *lacunaria* that suggested to Pausias the opportunity of entirely overcoming the old difficulty of the correct representation of flying male figures, as illustrated by the Eretrian terracotta, the Ganymede of Leochares, and other examples.

A merit of this kind would be naturally earned by one of the Sicyonian school of painting, and especially by one of Pausias' talents, who *parvas pingebat tabellas marumque pueros*.<sup>13</sup> The same artist painted an Eros in the Tholos at Epidauros, which according to Pausanias (ii. 27, 3) *βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν ἀφεικῶς, λύραν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀράμενος φέρει*. I should conjecture that this Eros was represented flying downwards, in accordance with an old tradition,<sup>14</sup> and in a similar attitude to the figure from Eretria which we have discussed.

P. BIENKOWSKI.

KRAKÓW, SUMMER 1895.

<sup>13</sup> I see no ground for rendering *pueros* 'children': I take it as used in contradistinction to *barbati*.

<sup>14</sup> On the vases of the fifth century a flying Eros frequently occurs, with the lyre held

downwards in his left hand, a sash held up in his right, *c.g.* E 191 in Brit. Mus. Another Eros playing the lyre and flying downwards is seen on the lekythos published by Benndorf (*c. sup.*), and on E 126 in Brit. Mus.

## THE HISTORY OF THE NAMES HELLAS, HELLENES.

It has sometimes occurred that a specious explanation of a fact, or a specious amendment of an error, has established itself so firmly in the court of history, that no one dreamed of disputing its claim to be unquestionably correct. At last, by accident, a doubt arises in some one's mind; and, after enjoying a long protracted success, the universally received solution, when its antecedents are investigated and its implications realized, turns out to be wholly 'impossible.' It may be easily shown, I think, that such is the case with the traditional explanation of the extension of the names Hellas and Hellen to the wide signification which they bore since the seventh century B.C. This explanation has had the inestimable advantage of resting on the authority of Thucydides;<sup>1</sup> and it belongs to that class of explanations which merely require to be stated in order to recommend themselves, and which the human mind is accordingly inclined to accept unreflectingly. It has come to be regarded as a commonplace historical fact; yet it is noteworthy that in some recent histories of Greece<sup>2</sup> it is simply stated that the Greeks adopted *Hellenes* as a common name, without any suggestion of an answer to the obvious question why that name was chosen rather than another. The authors apparently felt some difficulty in accepting the exposition of Thucydides. E. Meyer seems to have realized the difficulty more fully,<sup>3</sup> and some remarks which he offers on the point will call for notice. In this paper I propose to exhibit the difficulties which render the received view untenable, and to put forward another explanation in its stead. The problem is: How came "Ελληνες to be the common name by which the Greek peoples distinguished themselves as a race from those whom they called 'barbarians'? How came Hellas to be the name of the land, which we in western Europe call Greece? The solution involves the discussion of another problem,—a problem of exegesis which occurs in the *Telemachia* and has not received sufficient attention. With this subordinate question it will be convenient to begin.

The description of the leavetaking of Telemachus from his Spartan host, king Menelaus, at the beginning of the 15th Book of the *Odyssey* is familiar to every one who is likely to read these pages. But it will be well

<sup>1</sup> i. 9.Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 272.<sup>2</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* vol. i. 2nd ed. p. 197;<sup>3</sup> *Gr. Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. p. 534

briefly to recapitulate the circumstances. Telemachus visited Sparta for the purpose of learning tidings about his father. He sailed from Ithaca to Pylos, and he was driven from Pylos to Sparta, by way of Pherae,<sup>4</sup> by Nestor's son Pisistratus. He stays a night at Sparta, is invited to stay longer, and might have accepted the invitation, if he had been left to himself; but he receives an urgent warning from Athena, before dawn, not to tarry longer,<sup>5</sup> and accordingly he accosts Menelaus at break of day, asking permission to return home at once.

ἤδη νῦν μ' ἀπόπεμπε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
ἤδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

By the emphatic position of ἤδη, at the beginning of both verses, the speaker shows how great is his haste. 'Even now send me back to my country; for my soul yearneth to go home this very hour.' Menelaus assents, with courteous phrases, to his guest's wish. 'Telemachus,' he says, 'I will not detain you, since you desire to return. A host who keepeth a guest against his will is, to my thought, as bad as he that urgeth a guest forth who would fain abide. But at least wait till I bestow gifts upon you.'

So far, well; indeed, nothing could be better. But what follows?

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος  
ὄφρα τοι αὐτὸς ἔπωμαι, ὑποζεύξω δέ τοι ἵππους  
ἄστυα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡγήσομαι· οὐδέ τις ἡμέας  
αὐτῶς ἀμπέμψει δώσει δέ τι ἔν γε φέρεσθαι  
ἢέ τινα τριπόδων εὐχάλκων ἢέ λεβήτων  
ἢέ δὴ ἡμίονους ἢέ χρύσειον ἄλυσον.<sup>6</sup>

'But if you will wend through Hellas and mid Argos, I myself escorting you, well and good,<sup>7</sup>—I will yoke the horses and conduct you from city to city. None will send us home empty, but all will give us something, a tripod, a cauldron, a gold cup, or a pair of mules.' 'Nay,' answered Telemachus, 'I prefer to return forthwith, for I left none at home to guard my chattels.'

<sup>4</sup> On the rout of Telemachus and Pisistratus see the recent investigations of M. Pernice, *Mythologisches* 1894.

<sup>5</sup> ο 9—12; c p. 10

Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι καλὰ δῶμων ἀπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησαι,  
κ.τ.λ.

and 11. 15

ἀλλ' ὅτρυνε τάχιστα βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον  
πεμπέμεν, ὄφρ' ἔτι Φοῖβος ἀνύμωνα μητέρα τέτμη.

<sup>6</sup> v. 80 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> δέ of course marks the apodosis 'so schol. h. πλεονάζει). It is not scientific to regard an understood καλῶς ἔσται after ἔπωμαι as a distinct way of construing (Hayman); for an understood καλῶς ἔσται is simply the explanation of apodotic δέ 'well—but, in that case,' &c.—

Aristarchus gave another construction which is clearly wrong. He punctuated after ἐθέλεις and explained τραφῆναι as imperative. Mr. Hayman ascribes this to a perception of a certain want of connexion in ὄφρα, and remarks that the remedy is 'at some expense of propriety in the sense.' The ὄφρα clause will demand some attention at a later stage of our discussion. In the paraphrase which I have given above, I have abstained from insisting on its precise meaning. In Φ 487 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις. . ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς, κ.τ.λ.—the apodosis is expressed by the action which immediately follows ἢ ρα καὶ ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ καρπῷ, κ.τ.λ. But here εἰ ἐθέλεις is 'since you wish.'

It may seem astonishing to find Menelaus first readily acceding to the clearly expressed desire of his guest, and then, in the same breath, making a proposal, the acceptance of which, however we interpret its terms, would have implied for Telemachus a longer absence from Ithaca than another day or another two days spent at Sparta. Our astonishment however may be provisionally stilled by the reflection that the proposal of Menelaus offered inducements which might seem to him to justify a delay of several days, though a delay of even one day at Sparta, without such inducements, could not be fairly recommended to a man who professed to be in haste. The inducements were the opportunity of seeing something of the world—‘the cities of men’—, and the rich presents which were to be collected on the journey.<sup>8</sup> The one condition that such a proposal could, under the circumstances, be entertained at all, was evidently that the delay which it involved should not be too long. And it was meant seriously. The king does not say: ‘If you were not so pressed for time, I should have invited you to come with me on a tour through Hellas and mid Argos’; but, ‘if you wish to go, I will come with you.’<sup>9</sup> It was a polite offer, and Menelaus may have felt that it would be more probably declined than accepted; but it was clearly an offer whose acceptance was by no means out of the question. But what exactly was this proposal? What places did Menelaus propose to visit?

The received interpretation of *ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος* is that *Ἑλλάς* means Northern Greece and that *Ἄργος* stands for the Peloponnesus, a part typifying all; so that the whole phrase means ‘Greece’—Hellas in the later sense of the name. *μέσον* is taken to designate Argos as in the middle or heart of the Peloponnesus.<sup>10</sup> Before discussing the validity of this interpretation, I would make three preliminary observations, in respect to (1) the origin of the interpretation, (2) the meaning of *Ἄργος*, and (3) the force of *μέσον*.

(1). The received view has certainly the merit of antiquity, for it is as old as the final redaction of the *Odyssey*. The composer of the first Book of that epic was also, as Wilamowitz-Möllendorff has convincingly proved,<sup>11</sup> the arranger of the whole poem in its present form. This poet (who did not live earlier than the middle of the seventh century) borrowed the phrase under consideration, *Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος*, but attributed to Hellas the wide significance with which he was himself familiar. He describes the fame of Odysseus as diffused far and wide, *καθ’ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος*—that is, throughout the whole of Greece;<sup>12</sup> the phrase being of the same nature as *Τρῶές τε καὶ Ἑκτορ*, ‘Greece and Argos in particular.’ It was an inevitable consequence that the obvious meaning of the expression in this later passage

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Hayman assigns as the motive the opportunities which Telemachus would have, on such a tour, of prosecuting inquiries about his father. But the poet does not hint at this inducement.

<sup>9</sup> It was clearly intended by Menelaus that Pisistratus should return straight to Pylos with Nestor’s chariot. This is rightly noted by

Hayman, *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> Compare Merry, note *ad loc.* and *ad α* 344.

<sup>11</sup> In his *Homeriche Untersuchung*, n.

<sup>12</sup> *α* 344. *ἀνδρὺς, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ’ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος*. The same line, (with a necessary variation *ἐσθλὸν* for *ἀνδρὺς*), has been interpolated twice in *δ* (726 and 816).

should be transferred to the original, and far older, passage, which was incorporated in the fifteenth Book. Only, modern interpreters have introduced a refinement in the explanation of the phrase. They take Hellas to mean Northern Greece—though there is no reason to suppose that such a sense was attached to it by the author of Book i.; and they are consequently obliged to explain *Ἄργος* as typical, not literal, in order that the sum *Ἑλλάς* + *Ἄργος* may be equated to Greece.

(2). As to the original meaning of *Ἄργος* there is of course no doubt. It meant the Argive plain, not the city. In all early parts of the epic, it meant one of two plains, either the northern horsefeeding Argos in the land which was afterwards called Thessaly,—*Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο*—, or the southern Argos of the Peloponnesus. Only in some later passages is it found designating the city which grew up beneath the castle of Larisa.

Can Argos be used as representative of the whole peninsula, of which it was unquestionably a politically important district? The commentators seem hardly to realize that the assumption of such a usage requires some vindication. They might with considerable plausibility adduce a verse of the *Iliad*,<sup>13</sup> where it is suggested that Greeks and Trojans should conclude a peace, and that the Greeks should return home

*Ἄργος εἰς ἵπποβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιῖδα καλλιγύναικα.*

Here, it might be said, Argos represents the Peloponnese, Achaiis represents North Greece, and the whole phrase is simply equivalent to Greece. But if we look a little deeper, we can see that this exegesis is not strictly true. The two most important chieftains on the Greek side in the legend of Troy were Agamemnon and Achilles. Agamemnon commanded the Argives and Achilles the Achaians; hence Argives and Achaians came to be used, representatively, and indifferently, for the Greek host. Thus when it is said 'let them return to Argos and Achaia,' the two most important contingents, the Argives and Achaians, are singled out as representative of the army. The phrase implies the well-known representative usage of the national names, Argive and Achaian, in regard to the host before Troy; but it need not imply any representative force in the corresponding geographical names, Argos and Achaia.

There is another way by which it might be plausibly attempted to elicit the meaning 'Peloponnesus' from Argos. It may be rightly said that Argos, being the most important part of Agamemnon's realm, could naturally and fitly designate the whole of his realm,<sup>14</sup> and that, as his realm covered a large part

<sup>13</sup> P 75, compare Hentze's note 'dersüdlichste und nördlichste Landstrich formelhaft für das gesante Griechenland.' Such geographical abbreviations seem most unlikely.

It is worth while noting that this line may not be due to the author of P, but may have been borrowed of him from a much older epic poem, a true Achilleid, in which—as *ἵπποβοτον* shows—it would have referred to the northern Argos which was contiguous to Achaiis.

It has been suggested by a German commentator (Amels) that the northern Argos is meant in Ω 437, where Hermes, personating a follower of Achilles, says to Priam, σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πομπὴς καὶ κε κλυτὸν Ἄργος ἰκοίμην. Our judgment on this point will depend on our view of the date of Ω.

<sup>14</sup> That *Ἄργος* is used in this sense will be shown hereafter.

of the peninsula, Argos was approximately equivalent to 'Peloponnesus.' It seems to me that such a view might fairly be entertained so far as the name Ἄργος itself is concerned<sup>15</sup>; but then, if Ἄργος means the realm of Agamemnon, or practically the Peloponnesus, what is the force of the epithet μέσον?

(3) And in any case, as applied to the literal Argos, what is its force? It is obvious that Ἀρκαδία μέσση would be geographically correct, but that Ἄργος μέσον, if it mean, as it is explained to mean, 'in the centre of the Peloponnesus,' is either false or pointless. It is false if μέσον be taken strictly, for Argos is not Arcadia; it is pointless if μέσον be taken loosely, for in this case the epithet would be equally applicable to Sparta or Elis. To translate μέσον as *central*, with the suggestion that it was a centre of traffic, is little more than to evade the difficulty by a rendering which, with a deceptive appearance of being literal, lays more meaning on the Greek word than it is capable of bearing. The only tenable<sup>16</sup> explanation is that of Mr. Hayman, who takes μέσον as describing the position of Argolis between Lacedaemon and Thessalian Hellas.

It has seemed well to call attention to these subordinate difficulties before approaching the more decisive questions, which we must now consider. (1) Is the received interpretation of ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος consistent with the context? (2) What grounds have we for ascribing to Ἑλλάς the signification 'Northern Greece'?

I. Those who have studied the constitution of the 'Homeric' state on the evidence of the Homeric poems might feel inclined to hold the view that the meaning of the proposal of Menelaus, made in such a very businesslike way, was not to pay visits to foreign princes, but rather to make a progress through dominions which were in some way dependent on himself, and in which he would therefore have a right to exact presents from the lords of the land. Those from whom he expected to receive tripods and mules would be βασιλῆες standing to him in a like relation to that in which the βασιλῆες of Ithaca stood to Odysseus, or those of Scheria to Alcinous. And so this passage<sup>17</sup> would illustrate the prerogatives of Homeric kings—the δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες; and it would follow that Menelaus proposed a tour within the dominions of the Atridae.

It must be remembered that the sovranities of the two brothers were conceived as closely united<sup>18</sup>; one is located in Argos, the other in Lacedaemon.

<sup>15</sup> There are however no passages where such a meaning is necessary.

<sup>16</sup> Tenable so far as the Greek is concerned, and on the theory that Hellas is either Thessalian Hellas or Northern Greece. It is not, however, the true explanation—as might indeed be suspected from the fact that it does not take into account the same phrase (Ἄργει μέσση) in Z 224.

<sup>17</sup> Menelaus exacting presents for Telemachus

from the subordinate βασιλῆες would be exactly like Alcinous ordering the other twelve βασιλῆες of Scheria to give presents to Odysseus θ 386 sqq., cf ν 12. The kings replenished their coffers by impositions on the δῆμος, ν 11 ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἓνα προικὸς χάρισσασθαι.

<sup>18</sup> See the 'Map to illustrate the Catalogue of the Ships' in Mr. Monio's edit. of the *Iliad*, Books i.—xii., where Lacedaemon (including western Messenia) and Argos are marked as one



daemon; but they appear as conjoint rulers, though the exact constitutional relation between them is not further defined than by the ascription of a sort of precedence and primacy to Agamemnon. On the death of Agamemnon, which had already taken place,<sup>19</sup> while Orestes succeeded his father in the Argive plain, the precedence and primacy in the realm of the Atridae would naturally pass to Menelaus. The extent of this realm is defined in the Catalogue; only, we must restore to the Atridae the kingdom which the author of the Catalogue has carved off for Diomedes, including Argos, Tiryns, Troezen, Epidaurus, &c.,<sup>20</sup> and we must add part of the land to the west of Mt. Taygetus.<sup>21</sup> Using later geographical terms, the realm of the Atridae accordingly consisted of: eastern Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, with Corinth and Sicyon, Achaea. The parts of the Peloponnesus which it did not include were: Arcadia, western Messenia or Pylos,<sup>22</sup> Triphylia and Elis. The Atridae had no sovereignty in Northern Greece; and therefore, if the interpretation of Ἑλλάς as Northern Greece in the passage before us be correct, we cannot accept what otherwise we might consider likely to be the true view of the nature of the tour proposed by Menelaus.

These considerations, though in themselves quite indecisive, may at least prepare us to approach the passage from a new point of view. Let us now see how far the context may help us to decide.

dominion. But it excludes by a red line Corinth, Sicyon, and the cities of the north coast (Pellene, Aigion, &c.), so that this map might correspond to an older state of things, which the writer of the Catalogue indicates by *πρῶτα* in l. 572: *καὶ Σικυῶν' ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασιλευεν*. The authority of Agamemnon in the south is marked by his proposal in ix. 149 to give seven Messenian fortresses to Achilles. The common or joint rule of the Atridae is also implied very clearly in the Catalogue. The poet assumes that his heroes would expect to find Agamemnon and Menelaus commanding joint forces, and therefore deems it necessary to state expressly that the Lacedaemonians were mustered separately: l. 585 *ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ θαρήσσοντο*. The association of Menelaus and Helen with Argos is indicated by the phrase *Ἀργεῖν Ἑλένη* (which seems prior to the connexion with Sparta), and possibly the mention of *Ἀργος* in δ. 562.

<sup>19</sup> δ. 534. The death of Aegisthus and accession of Orestes have been described in γ. 204 *scil.*, and are implied in δ. 546.

<sup>20</sup> This innovation was rendered possible by the circumstance that in the older epic the town of Argos did not occur; it was therefore open for Diomedes to occupy. In γ. 180 *στ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ νῆας εἴσας Τυδείδην ἔταροι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο ἴστασαν*, it is not necessary to take *Ἀργεὶ* of the town: but in any case Diomedes

must be conceived as a *βασιλεὺς* within the dominion of the Atridae. In γ. 260 (in a context which is certainly not an original part of the Telemachy) our texts have—

*ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνης τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατέδαψαν  
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ ἑκάς Ἀργεος*—

a description of what would have happened to Aegisthus if Menelaus had been at home. *Ἀργεος* is nonsense: (*a*) it cannot mean the land, for *ei hypothese* both Menelaus and Aegisthus would have been in the land; (*b*) it cannot mean the town, for Mycenae, not Argos, was in question. The right reading is surely *ἑκάς ἄστεος*, the variant; which means that Aegisthus would not have had burial in one of the royal tombs around the acropolis of Mycenae. The reading *Ἀργεος* is an emendation for

**ΕΚΑΚΤΕΟΣ**, one **ΑC** having fallen out and **ΤΕΟΣ** being taken for **ΓΕΟΣ**. The passage was composed in Ionia at a time when *F* had fallen out of use.

<sup>21</sup> I 149.

<sup>22</sup> Pylos in the stricter sense as Nestor's realm. The name had also the wider sense of all the land between Mt. Taygetus and the Ionian sea; it answered, in fact, to the later Messenia. This use is found I 153, where the strongholds Kardamyle, Pherae, etc., are described as *νέεσσι Πύλου ἡμαθύντος*.

On the evening of his arrival, Telemachus was invited by Menelaus to stay ten or eleven days at Sparta.<sup>23</sup> He deprecated the proposal:

Ἀτρείδῃ, μὴ δὴ με πολλὸν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔρυκε.  
καὶ γάρ κ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἐγὼ παρὰ σοί γ' ἀνεχοίμην  
ἥμενος.....ἀλλ' ἤδη μοι ἀνιάζουσιν ἐταῖροι  
ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθέη· σὺ δέ με χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἐρύκεις—

but no definite decision is made as to the length of his stay. Next morning, as we have seen, owing to the warning of Athena, Telemachus emphatically expresses his earnest desire to return to Ithaca as speedily as may be,—alleging now, not that his crew will be weary of waiting for him at Pylos, but that his property at home is in danger. Menelaus shows that he fully comprehends the haste of his guest, and kindly refrains from pressing him to prolong his stay at Sparta. Is it conceivable that he would then calmly go on to propose that he and Telemachus should start off on an expedition to Boeotia and Thessaly to visit the kings of the various states in those and the neighbouring countries? When 'Hellas' is explained as 'northern Greece,' it may be supposed that it means the countries north of the Megarid, including at least Thessaly, Malis, Phocis, Boeotia; and the route would have nearly corresponded to that which one would take now in driving from Corinth to Larissa,<sup>24</sup>—supposing Attica to be left out of the programme. Telemachus could not have been back in Pylos within three weeks,—and that would be but a small allowance of time for the enterprise, —if he had accepted the offer of his host. That his host should have made such an offer seems to me inconceivable; and a poet, who knew as much of geography as the poet of the Telemachy, could not have imputed such a proposal to Menelaus unless he wished to represent him in a grotesque light.

It will not be out of place to illustrate the incongruity by an imaginary modern example. Let us suppose that an inhabitant of Brindisi goes to visit a friend in Athens. A day or so after his arrival he receives an urgent telegram which necessitates an immediate return home. He tells his friend that he must catch the first train to Patras so that he may sail by a boat leaving that night for Brindisi. His host, recognizing the gravity of the situation, immediately says: 'My dear fellow, I will not detain you for a single moment. Nothing would be more gravely unfriendly than to urge you to stay in such a crisis. Go, by all means; I will give orders at once that a lunch basket be packed. But—by the way—I have a friend in Crete, who I know would be simply delighted to see you. He was an old friend of your father. A boat starts for Crete to-day. Don't you think it would be very nice, if we both sailed for Crete together—it would, I assure you, be a great pleasure to me—and paid him a short visit. You can't imagine how

<sup>23</sup> γ 588.

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Hayman interprets Hellas of Thessaly only. • *Ad loc.*: 'Thessaly and Peloponnesus' are intended. My argument is of equal force

against this interpretation,—which in my opinion is more plausible than 'Northern Greece.'

hospitable he is, and what interesting things you will see in the island. Come, what do you say? We then return together here, and you go on straight to Patras.'

What should we think of the sanity or seriousness of a man who made such a speech?

II. We have now to consider what reasons exist, and whether they are valid and sufficient, which force us to attribute to Hellas a signification involving the incongruity we have just noticed in the passage under discussion.

The reason for adopting this interpretation of 'Hellas' is closely connected with the current explanation<sup>25</sup> of the origin of the use of Hellas as the general name for all Greece. According to this current view, the name Hellas passed through three stages. In the *first* stage it designated a small district, of which the exact position cannot be identified with any certainty, but which lay in the neighbourhood of Malis and Achaian Phthiotis. In the *second* stage the name had extended from this little corner to designate the whole of northern Greece as opposed to the Peloponnesus. In its *third* and final stage it came to include the Peloponnesus as well. The history of the name 'Hellenes' was parallel; but in the last stage it included all men of Greek race wherever their home was.

1. For the first stage<sup>26</sup> the evidence is clear and remarkable. It is mainly contained in the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, in the long speech of Phoenix in the episode of the Presbeia. This speech occupies a unique place in the poem; and, notwithstanding the mass of Homeric literature that already exists, a thorough investigation of this ninth Book is still much needed. Phoenix was son of Amyntor, king of Hellas. He relates how he quarrelled with his father, eluded the vigilance of his kinsfolk, and escaping from the palace of his sire left Hellas—'Ελλάδα καλλιγύναικα. Fleeing through the land—δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο—he came to Phthia to the house of king Peleus:

Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβώλακα μητέρα μήλων  
ἐς Πηλῆα Φάναχθ'.

Peleus, receiving him kindly, enriched him and sent him to the eastern borders of Phthia to rule over the Dolopes.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> It is hard to find definite and complete statements. I have deduced what I may be permitted to call the current view from a number of statements and implications in the obvious books. As a rule, of course, the proposition is vague—the name 'gradually' spread. For example, in the *Student's Greece*, which in England, I suppose, is the most widely used educational handbook on Greek history, we read (p. 21) 'From this district [in Thessaly] the people, and along with them their name, gradually spread over the whole country south of the Cambanian mountains', a statement which

is otherwise most mis-leading. I quote from the ed. of 1881).

<sup>26</sup> I am not prepared to go into the derivation of "Ελλην, its possible connexion with "Ελλοπες, or the possibility of an older "Ελλάς in the region of Dolona. For which see Aristotle, *Meteorol.* i. 12. 9, αὕτη δέ [ἡ "Ελλάς ἢ ἀρχαία] ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὴν Δαδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶν. ᾠκουσιν γὰρ οἱ Σέλλοι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δὲ "Ελληνες.

<sup>27</sup> I 181 ἰαῖον δ' ἐσχατὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσι Φαράσσων.

In the same Book of the *Iliad*,<sup>28</sup> Achilles, rejecting the conciliatory presents offered by Agamemnon, says: 'There are many Achaean maidens to woo in Hellas and Phthia (ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε), daughters of the nobles who keep the fortresses.' Again, in the *Nekyia* <sup>29</sup> we read of the realm of Peleus in Hellas and Phthia. 'What of Peleus? Has he still honour among the Myrmidons, or do they slight him, in Hellas and Phthia?' And in another passage <sup>30</sup> we learn the name of one of the chiefs who kept the castles of Hellas. There Glaucus slays Bathycles, son of Chalcon, who, 'dwelling in a house in Hellas, was eminent for wealth among the Myrmidons.'

These passages show that Hellas and Phthia were in close geographical proximity; that Hellas was conceived as part of the realm of Peleus, king of Phthia; and that the Achaeans of Phthia, the Hellenes and the Myrmidons were intimately associated together. It seems to me probable that Hellas corresponded to the south-western part of the later Thessaly.<sup>31</sup>

When we pass from the older parts of the epic to the literature of the seventh century, we are startled to find that the name of the little vassal state of the kings of Phthia has become the name of all Greece; that all Greek-speaking men from Sicily to Cyprus are Hellenes. The earliest instance of this use of the word in a writer whose date we can control is in a fragment of Archilochus:<sup>32</sup>

ὥς Πανελλήνων οἰζὺς ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν.

The form Πανέλληνες implies the common use of Ἕλληνες in its wide sense.<sup>33</sup> It also occurred in poems of the Hesiodic school;<sup>34</sup> and the expression Πανέλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί interpolated in the Homeric Catalogue may belong to the same period.<sup>35</sup> Not earlier, if as early, is the passage in the *Works and Days* concerning the poetical contest at Chalcis, where we meet the verse:<sup>36</sup>

Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.

<sup>28</sup> I 395.

<sup>29</sup> λ 495.

<sup>30</sup> π 595.

<sup>31</sup> So Mr. Monro in his note on B. 683 says: 'The Ἑλλάς of II. 9, 177 ff. appears to be further to the north.' He adds 'outside the kingdom of Peleus.' This raises an interesting point. If we take the narrative of Phoenix by itself, we naturally suppose Hellas to be outside the kingdom of Peleus. But if we take it in connexion with the speech of Achilles, we infer that Amyntor was a βασιλεύς dependent on Peleus. To discuss this would take us further into the borders of the Homeric question than is needful for the present purpose.

<sup>32</sup> The verse is quoted by Strabo, 370 = viii 6, 6. — We may compare the use of Παναχαιοί in Homer for Ἀχαιοί in the sense of the whole

host.

<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, E. Meyer thinks that Πανέλληνες was older than Ἕλληνες in that sense. But Παναχαιοί, which seems a consequence of the wider use of Ἀχαιοί, would point the other way.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo, 370, περὶ τῶν Προϊτίδων λέγοντα [Ἡσίοδον] ὥς Πανέλληνες ἐμνήστευον αὐτάς. — *Works and Days* 528, βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνει (in one of the later strata of the poem).

<sup>35</sup> B 530. 'It has been supposed, with some reason, that the two lines 529, 530 are an interpolation' (Monro).

<sup>36</sup> Where Hellas cannot mean anything but Greece. I suspect that the verse may have been borrowed from an old epic, where it would have referred to the original Hellas and the followers of Achilles.

I have already pointed out that the new use of the name occurs in the *Odyssey* (see above, p. 219), being used by the bard who put the poem into its present shape, in the borrowed phrase καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος. Others, quoted by Strabo,<sup>37</sup> recognized this signification, and naturally (like the compiler of the *Odyssey* himself) interpreted the words as used by the poet of the Telemachy in the same way.

The following problem now faces us: How are we to pass from the original meaning which *Hellenes* bears in the older parts of the epic to the later meaning with which it emerges into view again in the seventh century? An answer to this has been suggested by Thucydides in the critical summary of early Greek history which forms the prelude to his work; and modern historians have reproduced—with or without additions and modifications—his answer. 'Before Hellen, son of Deucalion,' he wrote, 'Hellas was not so called. But when Hellen and his sons became powerful in Phthiotis and acquired influence in other Greek states by rendering them help in war, other states one by one (καθ' ἐκάστους), by their association with Hellen and his sons, came to be called Hellenes, but it was not until a long time had elapsed that all came to be called so.' He appeals to the evidence of Homer who confines the name Hellenes to the original Hellenes of Phthiotis.<sup>38</sup>

This paragraph shows very clearly how Thucydides, with all his critical acumen and notwithstanding his sceptical temper, could not get beyond the lines of Greek historical method. Here, he is entirely within the toils of that schematizing of Greek history which was begun in the school of Hesiod. Hellen, the common ancestor of all the Greeks, had no existence, until all the Greeks were called by the name Hellenes.<sup>39</sup> Hellenes does not presuppose Hellen, but Hellen presupposes Hellenes; of this Thucydides had no conception. And the plausibility of his statement that the Hellenes of Phthia obtained great power and influence among the surrounding states depends on the view that the sons of Hellen were the ancestors of the supposed divisions of the Greek race.

Now Thucydides does not commit himself to the assertion that the name Hellas at any stage designated Northern Greece as opposed to the great Peninsula and the Islands. He only says that it spread gradually,—an obvious guess, which might occur to any man in the street and which also, of course, might be true. But if it spread gradually, the Isthmus of Corinth would mark a most natural stage in its progress; and it was this idea applied to the phrase in the *Odyssey*, ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, which generated the view that Hellas meant Northern Greece. Other evidence for this supposed second stage of the name there is, so far as I can

<sup>37</sup> Strabo, 370, ἄλλοι δ' ἀντιτιθέασιν ὅτι καὶ βαρβάρους εἰρηκεν εἰπὼν γε βαρβαροφώνους τοὺς Κᾶρας, καὶ Ἑλληνας τοὺς πάντας ('used Hellenes in a universal sense') 'ἀνδρὸς τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺν καθ' Ἑλλ. κ. μ. 'Α.'. καὶ πάλιν 'εἰ δ' ἐθέλης [τραφῆσθαι] ἀν' Ἑ. κ. μ. 'Α.'.

<sup>38</sup> Thucydides, i. 3.

<sup>39</sup> E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. 535,

has misapprehended this. He derives the Panhellenic force of Hellenes from the mythical position of Hellen as son of Deucalion, the primitive man. But the myth of Hellen was the consequence, not the cause. This must be assumed, unless it can be strictly proved that the genealogy was older than the Hesiodic school of the seventh century.

discover, absolutely none; and we have seen what difficulties are involved in this interpretation of the phrase in the *Telemachy*.

In accepting the view of a gradual extension of the Hellenic name over North Greece, historians have failed to realize the conditions which such an extension implies. There are two conceivable ways in which the name might have thus spread—conquest and federation. If the Hellenes had reduced under their sway a considerable number of the northern states, or had, as Thucydides suggests, obtained such a preponderating influence as to be practically overlords, we might have no difficulty in acquiescing in the received doctrine. But of such conquest or overlordship there is no trace; and there seems to be no room for it chronologically. If this had been the political situation before the invasion of the Thessaloi, we should expect to find some record of it in the epic; but (apart from the disputed passage in the *Odyssey*) there is none. And the chief fact to which our records point after the Thessalian invasion is the southward pressure of the Thessalians towards Phocis, a situation which not only ignores, but hardly leaves a place for a large Hellenic realm or sphere of influence.

And a North Greek federation to which the Hellenes as prominent members might have given their name, would be an equally groundless supposition. The North Greek federation of which we know, which had its religious centre at the temple of Demeter at Anthela,—i.e. in the south of Homeric Phthia, the land with which the Homeric Hellenes were so closely linked—this league or amphictiony knows nothing of the Hellenic name. Yet if there were any truth in the common explanation of the history of that name, the Amphictionic league, whose heart was in the neighbourhood of old Hellenic soil, is the institution in which we might expect to find a trace of the supposed prominence of the Hellenes. In the seventh century, as we have seen, the name Panhellenes had come in, but there is not a sign that it had any connexion with the Amphictiony. The sanctuary at Anthela was not a Panhellenion. Thus the only tendency towards a unity of Northern Greece which we can discover in early history—namely the religious league which worshipped Demeter in common, was one with which the original Hellenes had nothing to do—and that although original Hellas was near the sacred centre at which the ‘dwellers around’ assembled.

It seems then that an historical inquirer must look round for some new explanation of the transition from the earliest to the later meaning of Hellas, and also that the student of Homer must seek some new solution of the line in the *Telemachia* of which we have said so much in the preceding pages. These two problems work into each other.

The chief fact that we can be said to know about the Hellenes of Phthiotis is that in historical times their name had entirely disappeared from the regions between the Spercheus and Peneus. The original Hellas had vanished and left not a track behind. Just the same lot had befallen the Myrmidons; who knew what their *ἄστυ περικλυτόν*, mentioned in the

Telemachy,<sup>40</sup> was? That there had once been a Hellas, that there had once been Hellenes in those regions was well known, because Homer was well known; but where exactly Hellas was, none could do more than guess. It was supposed to have extended from old Pharsalus to Phthiotic Thebes. There was also an idea that there had been a town called Hellas—for which Homer certainly furnishes no support;<sup>41</sup> and the antiquaries of two Thessalian cities set up rival theories as to its location. The Pharsalians said it had stood in the neighbourhood of their city, while Melite put forward another claim.<sup>42</sup> These facts are of some importance in illustration of the circumstance that no trace of the Hellenic name survived in those regions.

For we surely cannot suppose with Leake that any such trace could remain in Ἑλλάδα, which is stated to be a modern name for the river Spercheos.<sup>43</sup> I may observe that in the lower part of the Malian plain this name is now quite unknown. I took pains to inquire, at Lamia and in its neighbourhood, of a considerable number of persons of different classes, by what name the river was known. All, of course, replied at first: Σπερχειός. When I pressed them for a 'Romaic' name, they all said: Ἀλεμάννα. When I then asked them whether they had ever heard it called Ἑλλάδα, the answer was always negative. Perhaps however this name may be in use higher up the river. In any case, it was used in Leake's day.<sup>44</sup> But it cannot have been used in classical times, for it would certainly have been adduced to locate Homeric Hellas. We may conjecture that its origin had something to do with the medieval Theme of Hellas, which corresponded to North-Eastern Greece.

The Hellenes then, who according to Thucydides gained such great power in the north, mysteriously disappeared. The question is, What became of them? To answer this question, I must invite attention to the Achaeans of Phthia, with whom they are so closely associated in our Homeric evidence.

Of that series of migrations which changed the geography of Northern

<sup>40</sup> δ 9.

<sup>41</sup> It is marked in Mr. Monro's map of Homeric Greece in his ed. of the *Iliad*. There is no trustworthy evidence for its existence, so far as I can see; nor yet for the town Phthia, which is sometimes assumed. The existence of a κατεσκαμμένη πόλις sixty stades from Pharsalus, of course, proves nothing. Leake considers the question (*Travels in Northern Greece*, iv. p. 532) and comes to the conclusion that Hellas and Phthia were countries not cities.

<sup>42</sup> Strabo 431—2=Bk. ix. 5, 6. Three questions are mentioned here as matters of controversy: (1) whether Phthia, Hellas and Achaia are the same or not; (2) whether Hellas and Phthia are countries or cities in Homer; (3) whether if Hellas was a city it is to be

identified with a ruin sixty stades from Pharsalus, or with another ten stades from Melite.

<sup>43</sup> See Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. iv. p. 532: 'The kingdom of Achilles, or rather of Pelus, comprehended at its southern extremity not only Trachiniae but also a portion of what was afterwards Locris. To this was added all the fertile valley of the Spercheios, which river still bears the name Elláda or that applied by Homer to the country itself, together with the hilly country northward of that river as far as the plains of Thessaliotis.' Thus Leake placed Hellas south of Phthia.

<sup>44</sup> See foregoing note, and Leake, vol. ii. c. x. *passim*. Lolling, in Baedeker's *Greece*, mentions the name Helláda. Did he hear it, or did he take it from Leake?

Greece and still more of the Peloponnesus, and which are generally described under the improper title of the Dorian Invasion, we have no historical record, and we can only infer what happened from the results. Some of these results appear vividly marked upon the map; for example, the splitting asunder of Locris into three separate lands.<sup>45</sup> Another prominent geographical fact from which we are entitled to draw a conclusion is the appearance of Achaeans on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus. This coast-land is not called Achaea in the Homeric poems, but at the threshold of history we find Achaeans settled there. The origin of these Achaeans was obscured by the false practice of applying the name 'Achaean' to the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, and this practice was due to the Homeric use of the name as a general designation of the Greeks fighting before Troy. 'Ἀχαιοί and Ἀργεῖοι were regarded as interchangeable, and confounded.

The view that the people of Agamemnon, that is, the inhabitants of the western Peloponnesus in the Mycenaean age, were 'Achaeans,' is however still so widely accepted that the evidence which might be adduced to uphold it must be more closely examined. (1) This view is always assumed in proving that the Cypriote Greeks were colonizers from the Peloponnesus. As it is, on other grounds, certain that Cyprus was colonized by the 'pre-Dorian' inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, the same scraps of evidence might be applied, conversely, to demonstrate that those inhabitants were Achaeans. The scraps are: (α) the existence of a 'beach of Achaeans,' Ἀχαιῶν ἀκτὴ, in Cyprus,<sup>46</sup> where according to a legend Teucer landed; and (β) the existence of a priesthood in Cyprus known as Ἀχαιομάντεις.<sup>47</sup> Now in judging of these facts we must remember that we have no reason whatever for assuming that Cyprus, though certainly colonized mainly, was colonized only, from the Peloponnesus. There is no cause why we should not accept evidence proving that there were isolated settlements derived from other Greek lands. Therefore the double occurrence of the Achaean name in Cyprus, or its single occurrence in Rhodes,<sup>48</sup> does not involve Peloponnesian Achaeans. The Greek colonization of Crete may be properly compared. In that island we find settlements from Thessaly as well as from the Peloponnesus.

It appears to me that the only scientific interpretation of these pieces of evidence bearing on the Achaean name, as well as another more striking and, it must be owned, more doubtful piece of evidence still to be mentioned, is in reference to a great Achaean realm in Thessaly, which is presumed by the epic (the realm of Peleus), and of which the historic Achaeans of Phthiôtis were a survival. To it we must refer the Ἀχιλλεύς who in the

<sup>45</sup> It is worthy of attention that the Ozolian Locrians do not appear in Homer. We may infer that they were unknown to the earlier, and ignored by the later, poets. Yet Phocis appears in the Homeric map, and western

Locris was a consequence of Phocis.

<sup>46</sup> Strabo 682=Bk. xiv. 6,3.

<sup>47</sup> Hesychius, Ἀχαιομάντεις· οἱ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔχοντες ἱερωσύνην ἐν Κύπρῳ.

<sup>48</sup> Athenaeus viii. 360.



thirteenth century<sup>49</sup> landed on the Cyrenaic coast and invaded the Delta, along with the Turscha, the Schardana, and others.<sup>50</sup> The sea-power of this Achaean kingdom was truthfully preserved in the legend which made the Argo sail from Iolcus.

(2). Another argument for Peloponnesian Achaeans may be found in the Homeric expression Ἀχαιῖκόν Ἄργος, which is used in three passages of the southern Argos. But not one of these passages carries any weight, for they are all too late to prove, by themselves, that Achaeans inhabited Argos in the 'Mycenaean' age. The phrase, possibly, was used in older poems, in a strict sense, of the northern Argos, and later poets, finding it ready to hand, applied it otherwise. In any case, the passages where we meet it represent a period considerably later than the Dorian invasion, when the Achaean name had come to be associated with southern Argos. They occur in the *Presbia* (in Agamemnon's proposal of overtures to Achilles);<sup>51</sup> in a digression (which is clearly a later insertion) in the nineteenth book of the *Iliad*;<sup>52</sup> and in the Telemachy in the conversation between Telemachus and Nestor respecting the murder of Agamemnon.<sup>53</sup>

To return from the false to the true Achaeans of the Peloponnesus, I submit that the natural inference from the geographical fact of the two Achaeas is that the Achaeans of Phthia were among the newcomers who invaded and took possession of the Peloponnesus. The connexion of Peloponnesian with Phthiotic Achaea is a conclusion as legitimate and certain as the connexion of Asiatic Doris with the Doris of Mt. Oeta. The dialects of both countries be-

<sup>49</sup> After the death of Ramses II. (1280 B.C.) in the 5th year of Mennptah. The identification of Aqaiwascha with Ἀχαιοί seems probable; at least, there is nothing against it, since it has been established that the words of the Egyptian inscription imply not that they were circumcised but the reverse. See W. Max Müller, *Asia and Europe*, p. 357, 371.

<sup>50</sup> Assuming Aqaiwascha=Ἀχαιοί, we need not suppose that the Achaeans were the only Greeks among the invaders. There may have been 'Mycenaens' too. The Egyptians would naturally choose the name of one Greek people to designate all.

In the second and greater invasion, about three-quarters of a century later, the name Aqaiwascha does not occur, but *Danawasa* appears. This is supposed to represent Δαναοί. The equation is as probable, intrinsically, as the other; but we do not accept it so easily, because we know more about the Achaeans than about the Danai. Δαναοί is one of the most closely locked secrets of early Greece. It is associated only with Argolis and Egypt. It is remembered that Ἀργεῖοι is not properly a national name, but merely 'the people who lived in Ἄργος'; we may feel strongly inclined to believe that Δαναοί is 'the people who

name of the Argive portion of Agamemnon's subjects.

One of the clearest points about the history of epic poetry is that in the older ἔπη Thessalian legend was the foundation, and that the prominence of Peloponnesian Argos was later. This order would correspond to prominence of the *Aqaiwascha* in the earlier, and that of *Danawasa* in the later, invasion of Lower Egypt.

<sup>51</sup> I 141 (repeated 283).

<sup>52</sup> T 115. (The insertion runs from l. 90 to 146.)

<sup>53</sup> γ 251

ἦ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαιικοῦ, ἀλλὰ πῃ ἄλλη πλάζετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ὃ δὲ θαρσύνει κατέπεφνε;

It seems very doubtful whether this account of Agamemnon's death is an original part of the Telemachy. The story is told again (in the mouth of Proteus) by Menelaus to Telemachus δ 519 *sqq.* In 251 the use of the genitive seems quite impossible. The words ought to mean 'was he not of, did he not belong to, Achaean Argos?' was it not his home?' and the parallel passages cited would only support this meaning. But the sense required by the context is 'was he not, at that time, in Achaean Argos?'

longed to the same group sometimes called the 'North-western'—the old name was 'Doric'—though the meagre remains of the Phthiotic speech do not allow us to compare the details.<sup>54</sup> And we have a *nota causa* to explain the migration, namely the appearance of the Thessalian invaders in the plain of the Peneus. The pressure of the Thessalians will account in the most natural way for the southward movement of a part of the Achæan people. The remnant who stayed behind in Phthia were soon to be reduced to dependence by the new lords who gave their name to 'Thessaly.'

Now, my hypothesis is that the migration of the Achæans—which seems as certain as any other fact that can be reached by inference concerning the early wanderings of the peoples of Northern Greece—included also a migration of the Hellenes who were so closely associated with them. If the Hellenes abandoned their country to the Thessalians and went forth with their Achæan neighbours to seek a new home in the south, the disappearance of the Hellenic name from its original home is completely explained. If we had nothing more to go on, this conjecture might be reasonably entertained, but we have some confirmatory evidence.

This is furnished by the passage in the *Telemachy* which has engaged our attention and of which we now hold a satisfactory solution. The Hellenes have moved southward and settled in the north of the Peloponnesus with their Achæan fellows. Here is the new Hellas. Aegion and Pellene, broad Helice, Hyperesia and steep Gonoessa,<sup>55</sup> all the cities of that coast are Achæan or Hellenic towns. According to the Homeric conception this coast belonged to the realm of Agamemnon. So we must infer from the Catalogue where some of the towns are enumerated and the *Αἰγιαλός* is mentioned. None of these cities however is mentioned elsewhere in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and therefore it may justly be argued that there is no clear proof that in the older epic the kingdom of Agamemnon had such a large extent. And the author of the Catalogue himself suggests in the case of Sicyon that its connexion with Argos was later. May not the idea of a connexion of the Achæan cities with Argos have been later also? This is quite possible; but for my purpose it is of no consequence. The Catalogue shows that at a later period of the epic, to which the *Telemachy* also belongs, the north coast of the Peloponnesus was deemed part of Agamemnon's realm. Now before the eighth century, this northern coast of Peloponnesus had become a land of Hellenes, and the author of the *Telemachy*, composing his poem about that time, might therefore speak of it as Hellas. This is the Hellas meant in the expression *ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσσω Ἀργος*.

<sup>54</sup> The inscriptions (edited by Fick, in *Collitz, Sammlung* ii. p. 31—46) come from Limna, Melitaia, Thaumakoi, Pteleon, Alos, Thebae, and date chiefly from 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. It is important to remember that the Achæan dialect did not approximate to the group in which we include the Thessalian and the Aeolic. The Achæan heroes of the

Aeolian epic did not speak Aeolic or anything like it, any more than the Peloponnesian. And yet the Achæans were adjacent to men who spoke that dialect which was adopted by the Thessalian invaders, and which has so many points of contact with Aeolic.

<sup>55</sup> B 573 = 575.

Menelaus says to Telemachus: 'Far be it from me to delay you. But I will at least suggest that there is another, though a longer, route, which you might take to Pylos. Instead of returning, as you came, by Pherae, you might go round the Peloponnesus, through "mid Argos and Hellas" (that is, in later phrase, by Argolis and Achaea). You would see something of the world, and I should be delighted to accompany you myself—Pisistratus, of course, returning as he came. It will indeed delay you some days, but then the cauldrons and tripods which we may count on collecting in our progress may be an inducement to you to change your mind.'

On any theory, the king's proposal is made more for the sake of politeness than with much expectation that the guest will yield; but thus interpreted it is a natural and intelligible proposition. The suggestion to make an expedition into Northern Greece, which lay quite out of the way, was, as we saw, preposterous under the circumstances; whereas the suggestion to reach Pylos by a longer route, within the king's dominion almost entirely, was if not very likely to be accepted at least plausible and free from absurdity.

Again this interpretation does justice—and this is not a matter of indifference—to the actual words in which Menelaus couched his proposal, to the words, namely,

*ὄφρα τοι αὐτὸς ἔπωμαι,*

which, as we saw, caused Aristarchus some difficulty. The point of the clause is now seen to be: 'Returning to Pylos as you came, of course you go with Pisistratus. But *if you would like me to accompany you* (to Pylos), I shall be very glad to do so if you care to take a longer route, and drive round the Peloponnese.' Were the received explanation right, Menelaus would have said: 'If you care to make an expedition to North Greece, *τοι ἔψομαι*, I will escort you there.' But *ὄφρα τοι αὐτὸς ἔπωμαι* means something else: it means 'the proposal I am making implies that *I* escort you to Pylos instead of Pisistratus.'

Hellas, then, meaning a land within the Atrid realm, the route of Menelaus and his guest, if the proposal had been adopted, would have lain—until they came to the frontier of Elis—in lands where Menelaus, like Alcinous in Scheria, could call upon the princes to present tripods and golden cups to Telemachus.

In regard to the expression *μέσον Ἄργος*, it must be observed that *Ἄργος* had come, in the later epic at least, to designate not merely the plain in which the fortresses of Mycenae, Larisa, and Tiryns stood, but those lands in the east of the Peloponnesus over which Agamemnon's sway extended. This may be proved from the following passages. (a) *Ἄργος* included Laconia, for it is said of Menelaus<sup>50</sup> that he is not destined

*Ἄργει ἐν ἵπποβότρῳ θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν,*

and Menelaus says that he would be ready to transport Odysseus from Ithaca and give him a new home in Argos,<sup>57</sup>

καὶ κέ Φοι "Αργει νύσσα πόλιν καὶ δώματ' ἔτευξα.

(b) "Αργος included Corinth, which, like Mycenae, is said to be<sup>58</sup>

(Ἐφύρη) μυχῶ "Αργεος ἱπποβότοιο.

(c) The epithet *all* in the well-known verse<sup>59</sup> which sums up the kingdom of Agamemnon

πολλῇσι νήσοισι<sup>60</sup> καὶ "Αργεὶ παντὶ Ξανύσσειν

implies such an extended use of the name. On the other hand we have no direct proof that the north coast of the Peloponnese was included in this connotation of the name, and our passage would rather—though not necessarily—imply that it was not. It may also be observed that very late epic poets, such as the author of the last book of the *Odyssey*, used "Αργος in a wide indefinite sense, for 'Greece,' 'home'; for instance, the shade of Agamemnon addresses the shade of Achilles thus:<sup>61</sup>

ὄλβιε Πηλέος νιέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
ὅς θάνης ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκάς "Αργεος.

where we may be quite sure that the northern or Pelasgic Argos is not meant.

Argos meaning the realm of Agamemnon, μέσον "Αργος would mean 'the middle part of the realm,' and would then be a most appropriate phrase to distinguish *the Argive plain*, Argos in its original and narrower sense, from Argos in its wider sense. This explanation suits the other Homeric passage in which the expression occurs. In the *Iliad*, Diomedes describes himself as being "Αργεῖ μέσσω,<sup>62</sup> and his home was in the Argive plain.

The received interpretation has the merit of being received, and those

<sup>57</sup> δ 174.

<sup>58</sup> Z 152. Some lines below (158) the phrase ὅημος Ἀργείων occurs where Ἀργεῖοι has the limited sense.

<sup>59</sup> B 108—clearly inconsistent with the view suggested by the Catalogue that Diomedes had a kingdom independent of Agamemnon.

<sup>60</sup> It seems to me probable that the 'many islands' included, not only the strictly Argolic—Calauria, Hydra, Spetsa—, but Aegina and Salamis. Aegina appears as part of Diomedes' kingdom in the Catalogue (562), but the independence of Diomedes is nowhere implied except in this passage, which is clearly 'tendenzios.' Salamis was, possibly ruled by the lords of the *Palace* (Megara), who were probably included, as well as Corinth, in the Mycenaean realm. It is hard to see any serious

objection to the view that Salamis (which may have got its name from pre-Greek, Carian settlers; cp. *Salamin-cis*) did, as the legend says, take part in the colonization of Cyprus and give its name to a town there. This would not imply that the settlement consisted entirely, or even mainly, of Salaminians.

<sup>61</sup> The expression might, however, be otherwise explained as a subtle psychological touch. Agamemnon is thinking of his own case, and wishing that he had died far from *his* home, which was Argos. His thoughts are running on Argos and so he congratulates Achilles on having fallen far from Argos, where he should have said, from Achilles' point of view, Phthia. But I question whether this will be considered probable.

<sup>62</sup> Z 224.

who still prefer it are entitled to say that, in the first place, it is quite conceivable that Menelaus meant to visit not merely princes who were in a relation of subjection to himself, but friendly and independent princes in northern Greece, who would liberally bestow gifts on the son of Odysseus, even as Menelaus himself bestowed them; and that, in the second place, the proposition, made for the sake of politeness, is, though it may sound preposterous, still conceivable, and that whether a delay of five days or five weeks is proposed is after all only a question of degree. With the first of these observations I quite agree, and I have not used the consideration as to the dependence or independence of those who were to present the gifts as an argument to base my case on; but at the same time I regard it as more probable that dependent entertainers are implied. In regard to the second observation, the question is—of course—one of degree: but this does not weaken the force of my objection to the received interpretation. Suppose A and B are staying together at Nice, and A, one day, tells B that he wishes to start for London immediately. It is quite conceivable that B, knowing A's business to be really important, might still say, 'Very well; but don't you think you could manage, instead of going direct by Lyons, to come with me to Milan and return by the St. Gothard?' but it is quite inconceivable that, under the circumstances, a reasonable person would propose an excursion to Algiers or Palermo.

But, notwithstanding the difficulty,<sup>62</sup> we might be content to acquiesce in the accepted view, if there were any positive proof that Hellas ever did designate northern Greece. But there is, as we have seen, no such proof, and therefore the accepted view is simply unfair to the poet. The difference between the hypothesis advocated here, that Hellas meant Peloponnesian Achaia, and the current hypothesis, is that (1) the former suits the context in question and the latter does not, (2) the former rests on a certain historical probability, whereas the latter is gratuitous and improbable.—As to the view that Hellas meant the original Hellas in Thessaly, this could not with any plausibility be maintained. For why should the poet single out the little principality of Amyntor as one of the chief objects of the tour?

This conjecture as to the history of the name *Hellas* I should not have presumed to promulgate, if it merely rested on this one passage in the *Telemachy*. It is however strangely confirmed by evidence from a totally different quarter. And this confirmation will also supply us with a solution of the main problem. How Hellas and Hellenes acquired their widest signification.

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<sup>62</sup> It may be said that the author of the *Telemachy* ignored, or was ignorant of, geography. The journey of Telemachus from Pylæ to Sparta by chariot and in two days, has been dwelt on for example by Professor Moberg (*Grec. Lit.*, vol. i. cap. 3). The view is certainly preposterous—but such a liberty is not allowed in a smaller work than a very

different from the ignoring of the general geography of Greece implied in the view which I have tried to refute. Real geography (though sometimes erroneous in detail) is one of the features of the *Telemachy*, in contrast with the mythical geography of the older parts of the *Odyssey*.

The Greek colonization of Southern Italy and Sicily began in the latter half of the eighth century. In this movement the Achaeans of the Peloponnesus took an important and prominent part. They founded no cities in Sicily, but along the eastern shore of the promontory which at that time, and for a long time after, was called Italia—the original Italy, that is the later Bruttium, the modern Calabria,—they founded a row of cities of which the most eminent were Sybaris and Croton, followed at a later date by Metapontum, near the north point of the gulf.<sup>63</sup> These cities soon threw off shoots across the narrow mountainous promontory to the coast of the western sea.<sup>64</sup> The Achaean colonies grew and multiplied. Now this group of colonies, flanked at one extremity by Spartan Taras, at the other by Locri, came to be distinguished by the special name of Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, which the Romans rendered by Magna Graecia.<sup>65</sup> It is perfectly clear that the name cannot have been given at a time when ‘Hellas’ had acquired its universal meaning. It is absurd to suppose that this group of settlements was called Great Greece, with the implication that the whole mother country was Little Greece. If indeed Sicily had been included under the appellation ‘Great Greece,’ such an explanation might be just conceivable.<sup>66</sup> But it is quite out of the question to suppose that colonial arrogance would have led the towns of the south-western promontory of Italy to denominate themselves Great Greece in contrast with the whole of what we call Greece proper. Hence the name must have been given before Hellas had come to bear its Panhellenic meaning.

It need hardly be remarked that Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς could have had no reference to the old Hellas of Amyntor.<sup>67</sup> For the two countries had nothing to do with each other,—there is no trace of any historical connexion; and moreover, when the earliest colonies of south Italy were planted, the original Hellas, as we have already seen, cannot have been still in existence; for, if it had been, some trace of their name and place in those regions must have been preserved, probably in connexion with the Amphictyonic league.

But if Hellas was, as I suppose, in the eighth century a name for the Peloponnesian Achaea, then Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς is perfectly explained. The cities planted, and the territory acquired, beyond the sea by the *Hellenes* was called Great Hellas, as opposed to their mother country—their second

<sup>63</sup> Also, Petcha, Scylacium, Caulonia.

<sup>64</sup> Terina, Teimesa, Laus, Posidonia.

<sup>65</sup> The name Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς does not occur in any early extant document: but we know that it was in use in the latter half of the 6th century from Polybius, who clearly found it in his authorities. The passage is (iii. 39): καθ’ οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τόποις κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα τό τε προσ-αγορευομένην ἐνέπρησαν τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Ποθαγορείων.

<sup>66</sup> See Pliny B. 3, 95. Compare Athenaei, xii. p. 52: διὸ καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς ἐκλήθη πᾶσα

σχεδὸν ἢ κατὰ γῆν Ἰταλίαν κατοίκησις. He explains the name by the populousness of the colonies. His statement is interesting, for he evidently had before him an old authority, in which Ἰταλία was used in its original sense, of the toe. Strabo is, of course, wrong when he includes Sicily under the name,—perhaps from some sense of the difficulty in explaining the appellation: p. 253=Bk. vi. 1. 2.

<sup>67</sup> A suggestion of this kind was put forward by E. Meyer, *Philol.*, N.F. 1889, p. 271. He does not repeat it in his *Gesch. des Altertums*; but it met with Busolt’s approval.

home—the strip of land along the north coast of the Peloponnesus. That the name, originally belonging to the Hellenic or Achæan cities, should be afterwards extended to the neighbouring Greek cities, which were not of Achæan origin, on the same coast, for example to Locri and Taras, was simply inevitable, once the name ‘Hellas’ had won its wider meaning and the true origin of ‘Great Hellas’ was forgotten.

And it is just here, on the south Italian shores, that Hellenes began to acquire the Panhellenic signification, which soon came to be universally adopted. The natives of southern Italy, when the Achæan and Hellenic colonies were first planted among them, came to use the name *Hellenes* for all men of the same race and language as the Achæan Hellenes. No cause (it may be remarked by the way) more powerfully promoted the growth of a feeling of unity among the Greeks—the consciousness of their common race and common language—than the institution of colonization which brought them into contact with many various kinds of not-Greek peoples. The names Greek and barbarian are conjugate terms, as Thucydides pointed out; their meanings mutually depended on each other. And therefore, *a priori* one expects that the name ‘Hellenes’ should have obtained its universal sense, just because Hellenes, in the special sense, had been brought into contact with non-Greeks.

This is what happened in other cases. Among the Semites, the Greeks were known as Iavones, because the oriental nations had special contact with the *Ἰάφρες* or Ionians on the coast of Asia Minor.<sup>65</sup> But the name ‘Greek’ itself, by which the Romans designated, and we in the west still designate, the Hellenes, is a more striking instance in point. One of the earliest colonies in the west, though by no means as early as used to be supposed,<sup>66</sup> was founded by Euboean settlers and derived its name from the Euboean town of Cyme. But along with the Euboeans were associated some colonists from the opposite mainland, belonging to the little territory of

<sup>65</sup> *Ἰάφρες*, the derivation of *Ἰάφρες* from the full form *Ἰάφρες* has puzzled philologists. It should certainly be explained as a ‘Kose-form.’ There seems some tendency now, and it seems to me justifiable, to go back to the old view which connected the original Iavones, who gave their name to all the colonies between certain limits on the Asiatic coast, with a western district in the Peloponnesus. (The completion of this connexion by the further connexion with Attica seems extremely doubtful.) If so, we might conjecture that in their old home, where their name was completely forgotten, there had prevailed another hypothesis of abridgement, in which the *i*, but not the *a*, was lengthened: *\*Iōres*, and that from them the *Ἰωνία* *ἡ*, *Ἰωνίαν* *πῶλος*, derived its name. *Ἰάφρες*, with the two hypocoristica *ἰάφες* and *ἰάφης*, would be pretty. I take this opportunity of observing that the connection

the Ionians (*Ἰωνία*) among the allies of the Hittites, in the epic of Ramses II., has not been duly appreciated. Three inferences are possible and any of these would be very important. (1) The Ionians had already begun to settle in Asia Minor by the end of the fourteenth century B.C. (2) The Ionians were still in the Peloponnesus, and took no part in the war, but their name was so well known that the poet included them (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asia and Europe*, 370 ‘Diese Erwähnung besagt keineswegs dass die Ioner zu den Kleinsten oder gar zum Hethiternreich zu rechnen sind. Der Dichter zählt wohl alle ihm bekannten Westländer unter den “Genossen” des so reichen Königs’). (3) Ionians used at this time to cross the seas and hire themselves out as mercenary soldiers.

<sup>66</sup> Hellög, *Das Ionien*, *Lips.*, 1871, 112. Basalt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I. 217.

Graia in the neighbourhood of Oropus. The destinies of names are indeed mysterious. The Graian name, always obscure in its original place on the borders of Attica and Boeotia, was fated, through its connexion with Italian Cyme, to become the European name of the whole race, of which the Graes were among the most insignificant members. The Oscans and other Italians, who had dealings with the new men who had settled among them, selected, perhaps by some incalculable instinct of the tongue, the name of the Graians in preference to the special names of their fellow-settlers from Euboea; and the name by which they distinguished the first Greeks they knew was naturally applied to the whole race. Thus in Campania and Latium, *Graci*, and then with the Italian adjectival termination *Graeci*, was adopted as the general name for the Hellenes.

And so it was with the name Hellenes itself. 'Greek' was the name established in central Italy, because there Graes happened to have settled; 'Hellenes' was the name established in the extreme south of Italy—in the original Italy—because there Hellenes happened to have settled. The same instinct which in one case led to the choice of 'Graes' in preference to 'Chalcidians' or 'Cymeans,' led in the other case to the choice of 'Hellenes' in preference to 'Achaeans.' But while the *Greek* name took root in the neighbourhood of a remote and isolated colony, which was probably at first little visited by other than Euboean Greeks, the *Hellenic* name was established within the limits of an active sphere of colonization, where rival merchants from various parts of the Greek world sought a market. Milesians and Chalcidians, Locrians and Achaeans, Megarians and Corinthians, finding themselves all called Hellenes by the Italian races, came to designate themselves as Hellenes in contrast with the barbarians. The barbarians brought home to them their own unity and also chose them a name for expressing that unity.

The name Hellas gained a corresponding extension, after a time. And when it became extended, it ceased to be used in its former limited sense, just as when the name Italia became extended over a large part of the peninsula it ceased to be used in the original and proper sense which confined it to the toe. In the east the other name, Achaea, asserted itself to the exclusion of Hellas; and while in the west the name Great Hellas survived, it was immediately forgotten why it had been so called, and was probably supposed to imply somewhat the same idea as our borrowed phrase 'Greater Britain.'

The history of the name Hellas may now be briefly summed up. It originally signified a small territory in the south of the land which in historical times was known as Thessaly, and adjoined, if it did not form part of, Phthia; and belonged to the Achaeon realm which is known in the epics as the kingdom of Peleus. The record of this stage is to be found mainly in part of a very old epic poem which has been worked into the ninth Book of our *Iliad*. In the next stage the name has passed to the north coast of the Peloponnesus; Hellenes and Achaeans have migrated southward, owing to the Thessalian invasion. Here too Achaeans and



Hellenes live together; and the land is associated with both names. The record of this stage is to be found in the *Telemachia* (8th century) in the passage which occupied our attention, and in the name *Great Hellas*. In the seventh century we reach the third stage, and find that 'Hellenes' has ceased to designate a special people and has come to designate all the Greeks, and the compound Panhellenes has been formed. By the end of that century judges connected with the festival of Zeus at Olympia bear the title 'Ελλανοδίκαι.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Pausanias, v. 9, 4, states that in 580 two officers of this name were appointed, there having been one heretofore. This statement, if sound, gives a posterior limit for the Elean inscription in which one ἐλλανοζίκας is mentioned (Collitz, *Sammlung* i. no. 1152).

## WORK AND WAGES IN ATHENS.

BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ in his *Besitz und Erwerb* comes to the conclusion (on pp. 343 and 349) that the rate of pay in Athens for an artisan was from 5 obols to a drachma and for a labourer 3 obols. The facts and figures on which he bases his conclusions are taken from Boeckh (*Staatshaushaltung*,<sup>3</sup> Bk. I. c. 21), the conclusions are his own. Büchschütz is indeed somewhat puzzled by two facts, viz. that on 3 obols a man could scarcely support himself, much less a wife and family, and that in an inscription of the Periclean age (now published in *C.I.A.* I. 325) a mere labourer got a drachma a day. However, Büchschütz neither attempts to explain these two facts nor does he allow them to modify his conclusions.

But since the publication of *Besitz und Erwerb* some inscriptions have been discovered (now in *C.I.A.* II. ii. 834 *b* and *c*) which throw more light on these points. These inscriptions are fragments of the building accounts of the epistatae of Eleusis and the treasurers of the two goddesses, 834*b* in the archonship of Cephisophon (329-8), and 834*c* some ten or twenty years later. The following passages make it quite clear that at this time the daily wage of an unskilled labourer, finding his own food, was 9 obols: 834*b*, col. I. line 29, *μισθωτοῖς τοῖς . . . πλινθοφοροῦσιν καὶ πηλοδευστοῦσιν καὶ τὰ ξύλα ἀνακομίσασιν καὶ τὸν κέραμον, ἀνδράσιν ἕξ, τῷ ἀνδρὶ οἰκοσίτῳ* I|||, line 46, *μισθωτοῖς τοῖς τὰς πλίνθους καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἀποφορήσασιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ βωλοκοπήσασιν, ἀνδράσιν ΔΔΔ, τῆς ἡμέρας τεττάρων ἡμερῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ οἰκοσίτῳ* I|||, *κεφάλαιον* H<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΔΔ, and line 60, *μισθωτοῖς τοῖς τὴν γῆν βωλοκοπήσασιν . . . ἀνδράσιν Δ, τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἡμερῶν, τῷ ἀνδρὶ* I||| *οἰκοσίτῳ, κεφάλαιον* H<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΔΔΓ. Hence line 33, which does not specify the nature of the work but mentions the same rate of pay, probably also refers to unskilled labour, *μισθωτοῖς τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ . . . τῷ ἀνδρὶ οἰκοσίτῳ* I|||. A slightly higher rate is mentioned in line 75, but, owing to mutilation of the inscription, it is not certain whether the pay is merely for unskilled labour or for that and something else, *τῷ τὸν χοῦν ἐχφο[ρήσαντι . . . ]ωνι μισθὸς* Γ (the *μισθὸς* is for the prytany of 36 days, and amounts to 10 obols a day). Sawyers, like the carriers of earth, etc., earned 1 drachma 3 obols per diem, as appears from col. II. line 24, *πριστῶν ζεύγει τοῖς τὰ ξύλα διαπρίσασιν, τῆς ἡμέρας οἰκοσίτοις* I+I, *ἡμερῶν* ΔΔΔΓ, *κεφάλαιον* HΓ. A sawyer seems to have made less than a carpenter of one kind, at any rate a door-maker gets for the prytany of 36 days 65 drachmas, i.e. 10½ obols

per diem, line 67, τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰς θύρας Διονυσίῳ Ἐλευσίνι οἰκοῦντι μισθὸς ΒΔΓ. On the other hand the highest rate of pay mentioned is for brick-setting and carpentering, and is 2 drachmas 3 obols per diem, I. 26, τέκτοσιν τοῖς πλινθοβολήσασιν τὰ περὶ τὸν πυλῶνα καὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ἐργασαμένοις, ἀνδράσιν τρισίν, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστῳ οἰκοσίτῳ ΕΗΠΠ. And the next highest wage is 2 drachmas for finishing the *αἰτῆ*, II. 42, τοῖς ἀποξέσασιν τὰς παραστάδας . . . ἀνδράσιν τέτταρσιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ οἰκοσίτῳ τῆς ἡμέρας ΕΕ, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ΔΠΕ.

Thus far, day-wages seem to vary with the skill (and perhaps the strength) of the workman but not to fall below 9 obols. I. 31, however, presents something like an exception, ἐπιξέσται καὶ ὑπαγωγῇ τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις ἐπὶ τῷ πυλῶνι . . . τῆς ἡμέρας δυοῖν οἰκοσίτοις ΕΗΠΠ, ἡμερῶν ΔΠΠ, κεφύλαιον ΔΔΔΔΕΗΠΠ, from which it is clear that either the scraper or the adjuster of the bricks, or both, received less than 9 obols a day. Perhaps the scraper was an apprentice and only got a drachm, whilst the adjuster was a master and got 9 obols.

Finally, the ἀρχιτέκτων was paid at the rate of two drachmas a day, as is shown unmistakably by 834<sup>b</sup> I. 12, and 834<sup>c</sup> 60, while the pay of the man elected to check the bills which was 1 obol a day in the earlier accounts (834<sup>b</sup> I. 12) was raised by a vote of the people to 2 obols in the later accounts (834<sup>c</sup> 61). Obviously, however, checking the bills could not have taken up all his time and he must have earned other money from other sources, for the sum allowed in these very accounts (<sup>b</sup> I. 5) for the daily rations of one slave is 3 obols.

These inscriptions then, as far as they go, would show conclusively that the unskilled labourer got 9 obols, and a clever artizan as much as 15, and that Buchsenschütz has fixed the rate too low. But the information given by these accounts has to be reconciled with Buchsenschütz's other evidence. That evidence is partly inscriptional, partly literary; and principally the analogy of the rate of pay given to the sailors and soldiers of Athens.

The inscriptional evidence is contained in C.I.A.I. I. 324. These again are building accounts (for the erection of the Erechtheum) belonging to Ol. 93 and probably to the year 407. In these accounts we have to distinguish between day-labourers who were taken on for an occasional job and men on piece-work. In the former class we have first sawyers, perhaps stone-sawyers, who received 1 drachma a day (πρίσταις καθ' ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένοις . . . καλύμματα εἰς τὴν ὀροφήν, ἐπὶ ἡμερῶν δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης); next, men who put up scaffolding and take it down, bring benches and fix them, and carry things (unknown, as the inscription is mutilated); these men receive sometimes 3 obols, sometimes 6, sometimes 9, but as the accounts explicitly say their pay was a drachma a day (ὑπουργοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένοις . . . ἐπὶ ἀνδράσιν δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας), it is plain that the payment of 3 obols represents half-a-day's work, of 9 a day and a half's. Another day-labourer, a τέκτων of some kind, is mentioned, but the inscription is so mutilated that it is only by conjecture that he has been represented as receiving 5 obols (τέκτ[ωνι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐργα] ζομένῳ μ[ . . . . . τ]ρίτη[ς]).

δωδε[κήμερου . . . ὀβο] [λοὺς τ[ῆς] ἡμ[έρας ἐκάστης, ἐ]πτα ἡ[μ]ερῶ[ν]). The piece-work consists in fluting columns. Each column is assigned to a gang of 5 or 6 or 7 men. Each gang can do at least two sections of a column, perhaps two and a bit, in a prytany. The pay for a prytany amounts to 38 drachmas for each man in a gang of 5, 32 drachmas for each in a gang of 6, and 27 drachmas for each in a gang of 7. Now as the pay for piece-work is and always must be calculated on the basis of the current rate of day-wages, and as the amounts just mentioned fluctuate about an average rate of a drachma a day, it is probable that day-wages were a drachma. The members of the gangs of 6 and 7 men appear to get less than the members of the five gang, and less than a drachma a day, but it is hardly likely that 5 men could do more in the same time than 8. It may be conjectured therefore that although the larger gangs only completely finished two sections in a prytany, they were well on with a third, for which they would get paid when it was completed.

We may note that the architect gets a drachma a day, and a ὑπογραμματοῦς an obol less.

The rate of pay for unskilled labour does not appear from the Erechtheum inscription, I. 324, but as in II. ii. 834 it was, as we saw, the same as for sawyers, perhaps we may infer that here too it is the same, viz. a drachma. This inference is corroborated by the inscription referred to by Büchsenschütz, which was assigned by Boeckh to the Periclean age, but is of uncertain date and is placed in the *C.I.A.* (I. 325) next after the inscription of Ol. 93. In this inscription the daily wage of an unskilled labourer is mentioned not once but repeatedly as a drachma.

If therefore we were confined to the inscriptional evidence known before the publication of *Besitz und Erwerb* we should be forced to conclude that Büchsenschütz's figures are too low: he puts the labourer's day-wages at 3 obols, whereas the inscriptions show that they were sometimes twice as much. The inscriptions discovered since the publication of his book show that sometimes the labourer's pay was three times what Büchsenschütz puts it at, and the artizan's twice and twice and a half as much. And Kirchhoff (*Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1876, p. 56) and Fränkel (*Ann.* 202 to Boeckh) agree that the higher inscriptional rates were the normal rates, the lower merely exceptional.

What then is the evidence which is so strong as to outweigh in Büchsenschütz's opinion the plain testimony of the inscriptions? First, the literary evidence, next the analogy of soldiers' and sailors' pay. His literary evidence consists of four references (taken from Boeckh). The first reference is to Lucian (*Timon* 6, 12), which is not evidence for the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. The second is to Ar. *Eccles.* 310, where the chorus, by way of illustrating the difference between wages now and in the good old times, say

νυνὶ δὲ τριώβολον  
ζητοῦσι λαβεῖν ὅταν  
πράττωσί τι κοινὸν ὥσ-  
περ πηλοφοροῦντες.

But this does not necessarily prove that 3 obols was really the rate of pay in Aristophanes' time. If we may suppose Aristophanes capable of a joke, it is conceivable that the point of the jest is the substitution of *τριώβολον* for a larger sum *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. It is as though—the average yearly wage of parlourmaids (*Economic Journal*, V. p. 147) being in London £20—an old lady were to say servant-girls ask such exorbitant wages now-a-days that she could never get one under £10. The third reference is to the *Erys* 172, the passage in which the dead man stipulates for 12 obols for carrying Dionysus' luggage, and when asked to take 9, wishes he may be revived if he does. On this all that needs be remarked is that Büchschütz admits that it proves that 'under favourable circumstances' a labourer could earn more than 3 obols. The fourth and last reference is to a fragment of Aristophanes (in *Poll.* VII. 133), *ὀβολῶν δεουσῶν* (*sc.* *δραχμῶν*, Meineke<sup>1</sup>) *τεττάρων καὶ τῆς φορᾶς*, which proves two things: (1) that the charge for carriage was some (unknown) number of drachmas minus 4 obols, (2) that if the reference is to the day-wage of a porter, then the wage was at least 2 drachmas minus 4 obols, *i.e.* 1 drachma 2 obols. Thus of Büchschütz's four references, one is irrelevant and the other three prove, if they prove anything, that his figures are much too low. Again, then, what is there to make us fly in the face of the combined and harmonious evidence of inscriptions and literature, and fix day-wages at three obols? There is only the analogy of the pay of mercenaries and Athenian soldiers and sailors.

Now, first, no analogy can be valid against such explicit and indubitable testimony as that of the inscriptions. Next, as for mercenaries, their pay is no more a guide to their total profits, than a railway porter's weekly wage is to his total receipts—there is the plunder to take into account. As for the Athenian soldiers and sailors, service was a personal duty which the citizen-soldier was expected to render to his country for nothing: the 3 obols (granting that it was 3) which the sailor received, were given as *σῆτος*, because the only citizens called on to serve as sailors were those who had no property, lived by their labour, and therefore when called off from their work by the state would have starved in its service had not the state allowed to them for rations what it allowed for the same purpose to its own slaves, *viz.* 3 obols.

If then Büchschütz be wrong in considering the wages mentioned in I. 325 (*viz.* a drachma a day for unskilled labour) as unaccountably high, the question remains whether Kirchhoff and Frankel are wrong in regarding them as exceptionally low. Both the latter scholars consider that the normal rate of wages is that given in the inscription of B.C. 329 (*C.I.A.* II. ii. 834) *viz.* 1 drachma 3 obols for labourers and 2 drachmas or 2 drachmas 3 obols for artisans, and that the wages mentioned in the Erechtheum inscription of B.C. 408 (*C.I.A.* I. 324) are below the standard. Both scholars have therefore to account for the low figures of the latter inscription. Kirchhoff argues that at a time when the state was so hard pressed by war as Athens was in B.C.

<sup>1</sup> For this ellipsis of *δραχμῶν* cf. *C.I.A.* I. 321 lines 11 and 16.

408 the erection of the Erechtheum could only have been undertaken for the sake of affording relief to the unemployed, and therefore the wages paid were below standard rates. Fränkel agrees generally with this but throws out the suggestion that it is necessary to consider whether the labourers were *οικόσιτοι* in B.C. 408 as they were in B.C. 329, or whether the state itself provided them with food at the earlier date instead of giving them the money for their rations. To begin with this suggestion: it does not quite account for all the facts. It might explain the difference of 3 obols between the earlier and the later rates for unskilled labour, for 3 obols is the sum allowed in the later inscription for a slave's daily rations; but it does not explain the difference in the artizan's wages which amounts to 1 drachma or 1 drachma 3 obols. In the next place, when the state provided labourers with food instead of giving them a money-allowance, the cost of their rations is duly entered in the accounts along with the wages-bill and is defrayed by the treasurers of the temple. Thus in II. 834b col. I., the rations of the public slaves are charged in lines 5 and 42, and the rations of the engravers in line 6, τοῖς τὰ γράμματα ἐπικολάψασιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ σιτία ΓΓΓΓ. The wages of the man employed by the state to purchase the rations have also to be defrayed by the treasurers of the temple, *ib. c* 57, ἀγ]οράζοντι τοῖς δημοσίοις Ἀριστοκρίτῳ Τροζηνίῳ μισθὸς ΓΓΓΓ|| τοῦ μηνός. If therefore the labourers in B.C. 408 were not *οικόσιτοι*, if the state purchased their food for them, we ought to find the cost of it charged to the treasurers of the temple, but we do not. Of course the argument *c silentio* has in the case of a fragmentary inscription such as I. 324 less weight even than it usually has, but on the one hand fresh portions of this inscription keep being discovered (see *C.I.A.* IV. i. 1, p. 38, *ib.* 2, p. 76, and 3, p. 148), which confirm the rate of wages but contain no items for food,<sup>2</sup> and on the other hand we fortunately have the accounts for one prytany practically complete, and they duly charge for wages but not for board. The total expenditure in the eighth prytany (the accounts of which are contained in *c*, col. I. lines 25—87, *b*, col. II. lines 2—10, and *c* col. II. lines 1—23) is twice stated to amount to 1,239 drachmas. Of this sum 1,041 drachmas are accounted for by the items charged on that

<sup>2</sup> In *C.I.A.* IV. i. 2, lines 15 to 25 we have the pay-bill of the τέκτονες for the prytany complete, giving both the separate items and the total, and the names of the workmen and the amounts paid to them. It is headed, τέκτοσι μισθώματα καὶ καθημερινία. The last word (=καθημερινία) probably means 'day-wages' (sc. μισθώματα, cf. *Suidas s.v. ἡμερήσια*), and μισθώματα by itself probably means pay for piece-work, because some of the τέκτονες are expressly said to be paid by the day (τοὺς σφηκίσκους θεῖσι καὶ τοὺς ἱμάντας καθ' ἡμέραν, Γήρυι ἡμερῶν ΓΓ, ΓΓΓ) and others are paid for work by the piece (e.g. lines 32—34). But if any one were to suggest that the word agrees with τροφή understood, then he would have to

regard this passage as conclusively proving that the τέκτονες were *οικόσιτοι* in B.C. 408 as they were in B.C. 329, for the meaning of the words, on this view, must be that the account following includes the cost of the food as well as of the wages of the τέκτονες. But there is no separate entry for food; therefore the cost of each man's food must be included in the amount paid to him and set opposite to his name. But that amount is, in the case of day-labourers, one drachma per diem, e.g.

Γήρυι ἡμερῶν	ΓΓ	ΓΓ
Μικίωνι ἡμερῶν		ΓΓΓ
Κροίσφ ἡμερῶν	Γ	Γ

portion of the inscription which has survived; the remaining 198 drachmas were entered on the small fragment which is lost. Now, whatever those 198 drachmas were spent on (about 100 or 120 of them must, I think, have been paid to Theogenes' gang for fluting, for his gang is usually entered in the pay-bill next to that of Onesimus, and the inscription breaks in the middle of the payments to Onesimus and his men), they certainly could not have paid for the labourers' rations, for this simple reason: during this prytany 35 labourers were employed, and the cost of the regulation rations would have come to 630 drachmas, whereas the sum not accounted for is only 198 drachmas.

It seems therefore as though Fränkel's suggestion would not account for the difference in the rates paid in B.C. 408 and B.C. 329, for the labourers appear to have been *οἰκόσιτοι* at both dates. We must therefore fall back upon Kirchhoff's theory, according to which the rates were low because the work was relief-work. But there are objections to this view. The idea that relief-works were started for the benefit of the unemployed in ancient Athens is somewhat startling; and we should have expected a larger measure of relief—finding work for thirty-five men would not alleviate distress to any appreciable degree. At any rate we should have expected the relief to be confined to Athenian citizens (great jealousy was shown even of illegitimate Athenians when corn was being distributed gratis), but of the men employed in B.C. 408 on the Erechtheum the majority were metics. Again, the fresh fragments of the Erechtheum inscription seem to indicate that the works went on for several years, and were not undertaken to tide over some time of particularly sharp distress. Finally, if *C.I.A.* I. 325 belongs, as Boeckh thought, to the time of Pericles, the matter is settled, for the uniform rate there is a drachma a day, and the relief-work theory does not apply to it.

As then there are objections, more or less serious, to the attempts made by Kirchhoff and Fränkel to show that the rates in the earlier inscriptions are misleading and abnormally low, I would suggest that perhaps the source of the difficulty is in the tacit assumption which both scholars make. They assume that in eighty years the rate of wages could not change. That 'real' wages did not change, *i.e.* that the labourer got no more of the necessities of life when his wages were 1 drachma 3 obols than he did when they were 1 drachma, is likely enough. But this only proves that his money wages must have varied, if the purchasing value of money varied. And the purchasing value of money does so notoriously change in the history of a nation, that the difference between the earlier and the later inscriptions in the matter of wages is itself a presumption that the inscriptions are correct. And this presumption is confirmed by what few facts we have that bear on the subject. Boeckh has shown (*St. d. Ath.* p. 118) that the standard price of wheat in the time of Socrates was 3 drachmas the medimnus, and in the time of Demosthenes 5 drachmas. Now if the price of other necessities of life went up on the same scale, money wages also must have risen at the same rate, if 'real' wages were to remain the same. That is to say, we should expect money wages to rise from 6 obols to 10 obols, since prices rose 3 : 5; and the inscrip-

tions prove that wages actually rose from 6 obols to 9 obols for unskilled labour, and higher for artisans. That wheat was not the only article to rise in price, but that all commodities rose during this period, is probable because we know that throughout the history of Athens the quantity of the precious metals in circulation was continually increasing, and that consequently their purchasing value must have been proportionally decreasing. With the silver mines of Laureion at work, the silver drachma must have steadily depreciated, one would think. At any rate, for the whole period, from Solon to Demosthenes, Boeckh calculated that prices went up five-fold. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the price of other necessities besides corn went up in the period B.C. 408—329 in the ratio of 3 : 5. Indeed it is easy to show that at the latter date 9 obols a day would only just purchase the necessities of life. The rate of the average workman's wages must be on the average such that an average family can be supported by it; and an average family consists of four persons, two parents and two children. Now in B.C. 329, as we have seen, the state allowed 3 obols a day for one slave's food; if therefore we consider that two children eat as much as one adult, the labourer's 9 obols would all go in food, and he would have nothing left for fuel, clothes, boots and rent. But as it is relatively cheaper to provide food for four persons living together than it is for one, and as a woman does not eat as much as a man, it is out of these economies that the labourer of B.C. 329 would have to pay for clothes, etc. That it was not impossible, though doubtless difficult, to do so is shown by Dem. 1045 § 22, where it is said that to live on the income from a capital of 45 minas *οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν*. Now at the usual Attic rate of interest this capital would yield an income of 540 drachmas, which is (for a year of 360 days) 1 drachma 3 obols a day—exactly a labourer's wage. Since then it was just possible for a labourer to live and bring up a family in B.C. 329 on a money wage of 9 obols, with wheat at 5 drachmas the medimnus, then in B.C. 408, with wheat at 3 drachmas and other necessities cheaper in the same ratio, a money wage of 6 obols would be a living wage. Thus the 'real' wages were the same at both dates; there is no difference to be explained away by theories of board wages or of relief-work for the unemployed; and Büchschütz's wage of 3 obols must be relegated to some early age for which we have no definite figures—it does not apply to the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.

It is in accordance with these figures that 3 obols was the pay for dikasts, who, according to Aristophanes, were generally old men past work, and being old, probably had grown-up children earning money of their own. Possibly also they could try a case and put in half a day's work after it. This latter consideration may help us to understand how it was that a drachma or 5 obols was sufficient compensation to a bouleutes for losing a day's work. When he was not serving as a prytaneus, his duties as a bouleutes would leave a considerable amount of his time free. When he was in prytany, and therefore had to sit all day, he was fed in the prytaneum, and, if he got slave's rations, the pay came up to about what a labourer earned. The pay for attendance at an ordinary meeting of the ecclesia, established at the beginning



of the fourth century, was continually being raised, not by democratic depravity, but by way of correspondence to the continual rise in prices, until it reached the sum of 6 obols. But this, its maximum, could not compensate even an unskilled labourer for the loss of his day's work; and that it did not entice him, is made evident by the fact that to secure a respectable attendance at a *κυρία ἐκκλησία* a full day's wages, 9 obols, had eventually to be offered.

Finally, perhaps I ought to mention some inscriptions which have been discovered at Delos (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* VI. p. 23), and which may at first sight seem to be irreconcilable with what I have said. The inscriptions themselves I have not seen; and for what the *Bulletin* says about them I am dependent on Fränkel's notes to Boeckh and on Prof. Gardner's chapter on Temple-property in a forthcoming *Manual of Greek Antiquities*. I would premise therefore that Delos is not Athens, and the Delian inscriptions belong to the beginning of the second century. They are the accounts of the Hieropoei of the Delian temple of Apollo, and they give, amongst other things, the salaries of various officials: neocori are paid at the rate of 1, 2 or 3 obols a day, a *κρηνοφύλαξ*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obol, a *παλαιστροφύλαξ* 2 obols, a secretary  $1\frac{1}{3}$  obol, whilst the *ἀρχιτέκτων* receives a relatively large salary at the rate of 2 drachmas a day. Now I do not know what were the duties or the social position of a neocorus, but if he at all corresponded to the verger of a modern cathedral, then he would have plenty of time to ply a trade of his own when he was off duty and to supplement thus his official salary. I am in the same state of ignorance as to the position of a *κρηνοφύλαξ*, but there seems to be the possibility of 'tips' in it: the ancient tourist, or rather pilgrim, to Delos had probably to pay for being shown what he wanted to see. About the 'secretary' I am in less doubt: he corresponds to the *ὑπογραμματεὺς* of the Erechtheum inscription and to *τῷ κεχειροτονημένῳ ἀντιγράφεσθαι τὰ ἀναλίσκόμενα* of *C.I.A.* II. ii. 824, who at first (*b* col. i. line 12) received one obol a day, then (*b* col. ii. line 7)  $1\frac{2}{3}$  obol, and finally by vote of the people (*c* line 61) 2 obols. Now at Athens in B.C. 329 not even a secretary could live on 2 obols a day, and it is plain that he must have filled up his time and supplemented his earnings by doing other work. Obviously therefore he may have done the same in Delos; and if he, then why not the other officials whose salaries are at first sight so surprisingly small?

These considerations seem sufficient to show that the Delian salaries give us no clue to the rate of day wages in Delos. Another will perhaps be thought more conclusive: three temple officials are mentioned in these accounts who receive 120 drachmas a year (*i.e.* 2 obols a day) for food, *σιτηρέσιον*. This shows pretty clearly that in Delos at this time a single man's food was calculated to cost 2 obols a day; and if so, then the best paid neocorus, who got 3 obols, could not have maintained a wife and family on it; in other words, day wages must have been higher than 3 obols.

But there is another thing to consider: at Athens in B.C. 329, with wheat at 5 drachmas the medimnus, a slave's daily rations cost 3 obols. In Delos therefore, if I am right in arguing that money wages rose and fell with the

average price of wheat, we should expect that, with daily rations estimated at 2 obols, the price of wheat would be correspondingly lower, viz. 3 drachmas. And as a matter of fact, on the evidence of these same inscriptions (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* VI. p. 14, line 103), the price of wheat at this time was 3 drachmas.

We may now make with some probability a guess at the average day wage in Delos at the beginning of the second century. The price of wheat was the same then and there as it was in Athens in B.C. 408. Probably therefore the rate of wages was the same, viz. a drachma a day. This is rather confirmed by the fact that the ἀρχιτέκτων at Athens received the wages of an artizan, *i.e.* higher wages than the unskilled labourer; he received 2 drachmas a day, and in Delos also his salary is at the rate of 2 drachmas a day.

To sum up and conclude: in Athens and in Delos, at the end of the fifth, at the end of the fourth, and at the beginning of the second centuries B.C., the day wages of the unskilled labourer were equal in value to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a medimnus of wheat; or, to put it another way, if he worked six days out of seven, his week's work would purchase 2 medimni of wheat. Of course he did not consume or require so much wheat: one man's daily consumption of wheat only amounted to a choenix ( $\frac{1}{4\frac{1}{2}}$  of a medimnus).

F. B. JEVONS.

ON SOME TRACES CONNECTED WITH THE ORIGINAL  
ENTRANCE OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

[PLATES XI.—XIV.]

AT the south-western angle of the Athenian Acropolis and immediately to the south of the temple of Nike Apteros are some traces of foundations of walls and other indications which appear to throw some light on the original approach to the citadel before what is called the Beulé gate, which gave a direct west access to the Propylaea, was constructed.

The evidence seems to show that this approach coincided with that which was until very recently (*i.e.* previous to about 1890) the only regular approach, immediately under the S. W. angle of the Nike bastion; and where, a little within the old gateway (now destroyed), may be seen rough rock-cut grooves which had been made to assist the ascent. If from the site of that gateway a straight line be produced to the southward for about twenty feet, we find a portion of the rock of uneven surface but worn quite smooth. Indeed, when first uncovered on the removal of the Turkish or mediaeval buildings in 1889—1890, the surface was so extremely smooth that it appeared to have been worn by the feet of multitudes who had used it as a path to the Acropolis during a long series of years. See B on the Plan (Plate XII.), where this smoothed portion of the rock is shaded by double hatching. Lower down and following the dotted line on the plan from the point marked A there seem to be other indications of the path, namely along the track which is still used as the most direct footpath leading to and from the east and particularly where it runs between two masses of rock which here and there present the appearance of having been trimmed by tool strokes. The apparent interference with this path by the line of masonry, supposed to have belonged to the Choragic monument of Nicias, will not appear to militate against this theory when we consider the date of that monument and that the path in question would have ceased to be a main approach when the direct west access was made.

To the right hand of the point B—viz. the smoothed rock above mentioned—there is a considerable area over which the rock has been roughly levelled, extending eastwards as shown in the light hatching. This area is about thirty-eight feet below the datum level, which is that of the bottom of the lowest step of the temple of Nike Apteros. The southern

boundary of this area is a definite edge of the rock and its northern a vertical cut face, nearly, but not quite, parallel to the flank of the temple and the bastion wall. There is not much difference of level between the surface of the area above mentioned and that of the portion extending about forty-three feet farther towards the east, and including the site of the modern guard-house, but it is not so evidently artificial. One portion, marked C, of the first mentioned area has been smoothly levelled as if for a foundation to be built upon.

In connexion with this last are two remarkable features which I shall refer to more particularly. One of these, lettered D, is a rough artificial cutting pierced into the solid rock in an oblique direction and sloping upwards, and at the other point, viz. G, are several lines of steppings cut on the upper surface of the rock as if for the foundation of a wall running into and joining the bastion at right angles.

Northwards of the features just described it is to be noticed that the wall of the Nike bastion, which is continuous with the Cimonium and presumably part of it, has been rebuilt from the rock upwards for the whole extent between the points E and F: so there is no evidence remaining as to the manner in which the structures, whatever they might be, which were connected with the features I have described joined on to the main wall, and we are quite at liberty to assume that a wall following the line pointed out by the steppings did actually join on to the Nike bastion somewhere between those points.

Assuming that we have rightly indicated from the grounds above stated the direction of the path and the entrance, it is necessary to show how it could have been defended consistently with ancient practice; and Pl. XIII. is intended to show how an outwork might have been built taking the best advantage of the existing rocks and providing along the line of ascent a tower which would have commanded the unshielded side of an approaching enemy. Returning to the points C, G and D, a most remarkable feature is the excavation D already referred to. This shows a rather narrow entrance on the face of the vertically cut rock and then a rough piercing for about fifteen feet, with the floor sloping upwards and then terminating in an unfinished manner. This may possibly record some siege of the Acropolis with an attempt made by the enemy to carry the defences by a mine, which from some cause, perhaps the unexpected hardness of the rock, was discontinued; and that afterwards the axed foundation bed C, in front of the opening, was intended to carry a mass of masonry for the purpose of scaling up the mouth. But this aperture and cutting may also, instead of recording an enemy's attempt, have been connected with an intended sally-port of which there are instances elsewhere—notably on the south side of the citadel at Tiryns—and the square foundation could have been prepared for the defences which were to have secured the entrance.

However this may be, I think we ought to accept the evidence of the stepped cuttings G as showing that here a cross-wall joined the main circuit wall of the citadel, as already mentioned.

Returning to the point B, it will be seen by reference to Pl. XII. that the rocks to the westward of that point offer themselves very favourably for the support of the wall which is shown as founded upon them in Pl. XIII. It is true that I did not observe any rock-cuttings upon these rocks suitable for foundations of walls, other than those already referred to at the point marked G, but there would have been less need of any such preparations in those places; for the surface of the rocks in question is tolerably level, whilst the slope at G is very steep.

If the outer gate had been, as suggested in Pl. XIII., a little to the south of B, the walls which would have defended the approach, supposing them carried up, as they probably would have been, so as to range—or nearly so—with the Nike bastion, would have had a very commanding height; and there can be but little doubt that the defensive works at the western approach must have been very formidable, since the Persians apparently failed to make any impression upon them, even when defended by a very weak garrison, but scaled the citadel at another point. And it may be pointed out with respect to the original line of approach here suggested, that if it had been made where the Beulé gate was formed its effectual defence would have been much more difficult.

I have not followed the probable continuation of the walls further than is suggested by the plan. A point however worth remarking in connexion with this subject is, that the ancient altar which has been discovered near the Beulé gate and is shown in Pl. XIII., and which seems to be *in situ*, is parallel, or nearly so, to the western wall as proposed, which has been derived from other indications.

In the elevation, Pl. XIV., the dotted line shows the position of the gateway, of mediaeval or Turkish construction, mentioned above, which has recently been taken down. The wall of the bastion is drawn so as to exhibit its present state with the middle and left-hand portion rebuilt with stones of various sizes. The regular courses show the parts which remain of the original structure. Further evidence of this is given by the photograph (Pl. XI.). It should however be observed that the stepped cuttings G, though just discernible, are scarcely distinguishable in the photograph from other rock-markings. They are however in reality very easily recognized when attention is called to them. The traces on the surface of the ground to which I have referred, are not shown on the photograph; the ground was too much concealed by broken fragments and vegetation.

F. C. PENROSE.

THE TEXT OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS.<sup>1</sup>

## PART II.

IN the first part of this dissertation an account was given of the MSS. which contain the Homeric Hymns, their families ascertained and an approximation made towards the character and ages of their archetypes. Our next step is to compare these four archetypes, *m* *x* *y* and *p*, among themselves, with the view of discovering if, and how, they are related to each other, and what is the intrinsic value of their respective traditions. To do this I examine the readings of each archetype in detail, judging each variant in its turn and comparing it with such examples as I can produce that illustrate its particular case. I endeavour to assign each variant to the category of correct original, independent variation, pure corruption, half-intentional correction, and intentional interpolation. Upon the totals of these different classes given by each archetype depends its character and value. It will be seen that I am a disbeliever in the *a priori* method of dealing with MS. tradition, the method which selects, whether on good or bad grounds, one family as the source of pure tradition and rejects the rest as doctored and vicious, calls their good readings corrections, and their additions interpolations. I see rather in the divergence of families the working of accident, incalculable and not to be formalized. I start from the scribe in his function as a copyist, bent on the production of a marketable article and with no Mephistophelian predisposition to pervert tradition, and I call in the first place, to explain variants, on the natural conditions that attend such a function, unconscious errors of eye and hand, semi-unconscious tricks of memory and association, conscious correction within slight limits and approximative to the clerical; these causes I endeavour to support by analogy, and only in the last resort and in the light of clear proof bring in the *kritische Thätigkeit* of the patient copyist. I believe therefore that families differ only in degree, that Providence has scattered survivals of the original over all of them, in unequal proportions, and that in short, regard being naturally had to the general character of a family, every particular case must be judged on its merits.

<sup>1</sup> As I send these sheets to press I receive, through the kindness of the writer, Dr. Hollander's tract *Ueber die neu bekannt gewordene... Handschriften der homerischen Hymnen*,

Osnabruck 1895. I see on a first reading that the same view in essentials of the single MSS. and their relations is taken that I have expressed in Part I.

To illustrate the variations of these MSS. I have drawn largely on the MSS. of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, analogous documents whose history is on a larger scale than that of the Hymns. For the *Odyssey* I quote from Ludwig; on the *Iliad* I use, besides La Roche's material, my own unpublished collations of the Italian MSS. I give below a list of the symbols by which I refer to them.<sup>1a</sup>

<sup>1a</sup> Laur. 1 =	Laurenziana 31, 5.	Vat. 8 =	id.	97.
Laur. 2 =	id. 32, 1.	Vat. 9 =	id.	902.
Laur. 3 =	id. 32, 4.	Vat. 10 =	id.	903.
Laur. 4 =	id. 32, 5.	Vat. 11 =	id.	915.
Laur. 5 =	id. 32, 6.	Vat. 12 =	id.	1315.
Laur. 6 =	id. 32, 8.	Vat. 13 =	id.	1316.
Laur. 7 =	id. 32, 10.	Vat. 14 =	id.	1317.
Laur. 8 =	id. 32, 11.	Vat. 15 =	id.	1318.
Laur. 9 =	id. 32, 18.	Vat. 16 =	id.	1319.
Laur. 10 =	id. 32, 22.	Vat. 17 =	id.	1404.
Laur. 11 =	id. 32, 25.	Vat. 18 =	id.	1626.
Laur. 12 =	id. 32, 27.	Vat. 19 =	Palat.	6.
Laur. 13 =	id. 32, 28.	Vat. 20 =	id.	12.
Laur. 14 =	id. 32, 31.	Vat. 21 =	id.	150.
Laur. 15 =	id. 32, 38.	Vat. 22 =	id.	180.
Laur. 16 =	id. 32, 47.	Vat. 23 =	id.	310.
Laur. 17 =	id. 91 sup. 1.	Vat. 24 =	Urbini.	136.
Laur. 18 =	id. 91 sup. 2.	Vat. 25 =	id.	137.
Laur. 19 =	id. Conv. soppr. 48.	Vat. 26 =	id.	138.
Laur. 20 =	id. Conv. soppr. 139.	Vat. 27 =	Ottob.	58.
M 1 =	Milan (Ambrosiana) A 181 sup.	Vat. 28 =	id.	303.
M 2 =	id. B 39 sup.	Vat. 29 =	id.	342.
M 3 =	id. B 150.	Vat. 30 =	Reg.	92.
M 4 =	id. E 35 sup.	Vat. 31 =	Pio II.	38.
M 5 =	id. F 101 sup.	Ven. 1 =	Marc.	431.
M 6 =	id. H 77 sup.	Ven. 2 =	id.	455.
M 7 =	id. I 4 sup.	Ven. 3 =	id.	456.
M 8 =	id. I 58 sup.	Ven. 4 =	id.	458.
M 9 =	id. I 98 inf.	Ven. 5 =	id.	459 <sup>u</sup> .
M 10 =	id. L 73 sup.	Ven. 6 =	id.	459 <sup>b</sup> .
M 11 =	id. L 117 sup.	Ven. 7 =	id.	514.
M 12 =	id. M 86 sup.	Ven. 8 =	id.	612.
M 13 =	id. E 56 inf.	Ven. 9 =	id. cl. ix. cod. 2.	
Vat. 1 =	Vaticani greci 26.	Ven. 10 =	id. cl. ix. cod. 16.	
Vat. 2 =	id. 27.	Ven. 11 =	id. cl. ix. cod. 21.	
Vat. 3 =	id. 28.	Ven. 12 =	id. cl. ix. cod. 25.	
Vat. 4 =	id. 29.	Ven. 13 =	id. cl. ix. cod. 33.	
Vat. 5 =	id. 30.	Other signs are explained where they first occur.		
Vat. 6 =	id. 31.			
Vat. 7 =	id. 50.			

The four archetypes differ in the following passages; insignificant errors are omitted.

<i>Ap.</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>z</i>
19	πάντοσ'	πάντως	πάντων
21	πορτιτρόφον	id.	παντοτρόφον
24	def. M	λυμένες	λίμνας
46	def. M	σοι	om.
<i>zh.</i>	def. M	γαίεων	γαίων
54	def. M	εὔβων	εὔβουν
55	def. M	οἰσεῖς	οἰσεῖς
57	def. M	full line	half line
65	def. M	γ' ἐροίμην	γενοίμην
71	def. M	ῖδης	ῖδη
72	def. M	ἀτιμήσω	ἀτιμήσας
78	ἀκήδεα χήτει λάων	id.	ἐκαστά τε φύλα νεπού- δων
82	ἔσται	ἐστίν	id.
99	φραδμοσύνησ	φραδμοσύνη	id.
110	ἀπὸ	ἀπέκ	id.
114	ῖθμαθ'	ῖσμαθ'	ῖσθμαθ'
129	δεσμάτ'	id.	δεσμάσ'
136, 7, 8	om.	hab.	om.
151	ἀθάνατος	ἀθανάτους	id.
<i>zh.</i>	αἰεί	αἰεί	αἰεί
152	οἱ τότ' ἐπαντία	id.	οἱ δὴ πότε' ἐπαντία
162	κρεμβαλιαστὺν (ην M)	βαμβαλιαστὺν	κρεμβαλιαστὺν (-σὺν Par.)
176	δὴ	δὴ	δὴν



	<i>m</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Ap.</i> 192	ἀφραδέες	ἀφραδέες		id.
198	ἀγανή	ἀγανή		id.
200	ἐν δ'	ἐνθ'		id.
209	ὀππότεν ἰέμενος	ὀπποσ' ἀνωόμενος		id.
211	ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ	ἄμ' ἐρευθεῖ	ἀμαρύνθω	om.
216	πιερίην (᾿ πετρίην M)	πιερίης		πιερίη
217	ἀγνύνας	μαγνηίδας	μαγνηίδας	μαγνηίδας
224	τέμμισον	τευμησσόν		τελμησσόν
227	ποτε	id.		τότε
233	οὐδὲ	id.		οἶδε
249	πολλοὶ	ἐνθάδ'		id.
272	προσάγοιεν	προάγοιεν		προσάγοιεν
284	ἐπικρέμαται	ὑποκρέμαται		ἐπικρέμαται
293	νηῶ	id.		βαμῶ
295	καλὰ	μακρὰ		id.
<i>ib.</i>	διηνεεὺς	διαμπερές		id.
306	τυφλὸν (cum τε M)	id.		τυφάονα
308	ἦνεκ' ἄρα	εὐτ' ἄρα δὴ		id.
322	μητίσσαι	μήσσαι		ἔτι μήσσαι
325a (φράζεο νῦν)	om.	om.	hab.	om.
326	νῦν μέντοι ἔγωγ'	μὲν τοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ		νῦν τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ
339	ἔσπιν. ὅσον	ἦ πόσσον		ἦ παρόσον
341	δὲ ἰδοῦσα	δ' ἐσιδοῦσα		id.
349	μήνες	νύκτες		id.
350	ἐπιτελλομένου	περιτελλομένου		id.
352	θεοῖσι	βροτοῖσι		id.

	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Ap.</i> 366 <sup>a</sup>	ἀγνήσουσι	id.	—	ᾠδνήσουσι
402	οὕτις	ὅστις	—	id.
id.	ἐπεφράσατο	ἐπεφράσατο	—	ἐπιφράσσαιτο
407	πρώτιστα	πρώτα	—	id.
423	εὐκτιτον	εὐκτιμένον	—	id.
447	ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω	εἶλεν ἑκάστον	—	id.
459	ἐπὶ	ποτὶ	—	id.
501	εἰς ὅτε	εἰς ὅκε	—	id.
515	ἐρατὸν	.. ατόν	—	id.
				χρυσῆν (χαρίεν Athen- aeus)
516	ρήσσουντες	φρίσσουντες	—	id.
523	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον	id.	ἄδυντον ζάθειον	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον
<i>Herm.</i> 45	ἢ ὅτε	αἰ ὅτε	—	ἄς ὅτε
id.	δυνηθῶσιν	id.	—	δυνηθῶσιν
id.	ἀμαρυγαί	id.	ἀμάλδυναι	ἀμαρυγαί
59	ὀνομακλυτὸν	ὄνομα κλυτὸν	—	ὀνομακλυτήν
id.	ἐξονομάζων	ὀνομάζων	—	id.
65	ἄλτο	ᾠτο	—	ᾠρτο
82	νεοθλήαν ἀγκαλωρήν	νεοθλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης	—	id.
86	αὐτοτροπήσας	αὐτοτρεπῆς ὥς	αὐτοτροπήσας	αὐτοτροπήσας
87	δέμων ἠνθοῦσαν	δόμων αἴθουσαν	—	id.
90	ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα	ἐπικάμπυλος ὦμος	—	id.
91	πολὺ οἰήσεις	πολυοιμήσεις	—	id.
109	ἐνίαλλε	ἐπέλεψε	—	id.
110	ἄμπνυτο δέ	ἀνὰ δ' ἄμπνυτο	—	id.
id.	θυμὸς ἀντμῇ	θερμὸς ἀντμῇ	—	id.

<i>Herm.</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>
119	ἐκκρίνας	ἐγκλίνων		<i>VI</i>
<i>ib.</i>	αἰῶνας	<i>id.</i>		<i>id.</i>
120	πίονα	πίονι		αἰῶνος
127	χαρμοφέρων	<i>id.</i>		<i>id.</i>
132	ἐπεπειθeto	οἱ ἐπέειθετο		χίρμα φέρων
148	ιβύσας	ἰθύνας		<i>id.</i>
152	περιγυῖσι	<i>id.</i> ( <i>ιβ.</i> )		<i>id.</i>
159	φέροντα	λαβόντα		παρ' ἰγρύσι
164	πολλὰ—ἄρμενα	παῦρα—αἴσυλα		<i>id.</i>
168	ἄπαστοι	<i>id.</i>	ἄλιστοι	<i>λ.</i>
212	μῦθον ἀκούσας	φοῖβος ἀπόλλων		ἄπαστοι
224	ἔλπομαι εἶναι	ἔστιν ὁμοῖα	μῦθον ἀκούσας	φοῖβος ἀπόλλων
241	ἥδυμον	<i>id.</i>	ἔλπομαι εἶναι	ἔστιν ὁμοῖα
<i>ib.</i>	δὴ ῥα νεόλλουτος προκα- λεύμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον,	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	νῆδυμον
248	ἐμπλείους	ἐκπλείους	θῆ ῥα νέον λοχίωιν προ- καλεύμενος ἥδ' ὕ	δὴ ῥα νεόλλουτος κ.τ.λ.
254	λίκνω	κλίνῃ	λίκνω	<i>id.</i>
259	μέτ'	ἐν		<i>id.</i>
280	ὥς	<i>id.</i>		<i>id.</i>
288	ἀντήσεις ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων	<i>id.</i>	τὸν	ὥς τὸν
303	οἰωνοῖσι σὺ	οἰωνοῖσιν εὖ	ἄντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀίσσι	ἀντήσεις κ.τ.λ.
306	ἐελμένος	ἐλγμένος		οἰωνοῖσι σὺ
312	δέξο	<i>id.</i>		<i>id.</i>
313	ἐρέεινεν	<i>id.</i>		δέξαι
322	δὲ τέρβρον ἴκουτο	<i>id.</i>	δ' ἴκουτο κύρην	ἐρέεινον

<i>Heim.</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>ρ</i>
326	ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο	id.	μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἠῶ	ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο	
342	εὐθύπυλονδ'	εὐθύπυρονδ'		id.	
352	πολὺν	μέγαν		id.	
356	κατέρεξε	id.		κατέρεξε	
357	παλάμῃσεν	μάλ' ἄμῃσεν		id.	
361	ἀλεγίζων	ἀλεγύνων		ἀλεείνων	
366	έρμῃς δ' αἶθ' ἐτέρωθεν	id.	έρμῃς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον	έρμ. δ' αἶθ' ἐτέρωθεν	
	ἄμειβόμενος ἔπος ἥυδα		ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν	ἄμ. ἔπ. ἦν.	
368	ἀγορεύσω	καταλέξω		id.	
371	νέον	id.		νέον γ'	
385	φωρὴν	φωνήν		id.	
397	σπεύδοντε	σπεύδοντο		σπεύδοντε	
401	ἐς	παρὰ		id.	
402	ἐξήλανε	ἤλανε		id.	
403	ἀπᾶνευθεν	ἀπάτερθεν		id.	
422	hab.	om.		om.	
431	ἅπαντες	ἕκαστος		id.	
440	γενετῆς	γενεῆς		id.	
451	ῥυμος	οἶμος		οἶμος	
457, 8	hab.	om.		om.	
471	δέ	γε	ῥυμος	id.	
473	καὶ	καὶ	τῶν	id.	
481	φίλοκυδέα	id.		καὶ	
<i>II.</i>	κῶμον	id.		φίλορμειδέα	
486	φεύγουσα	φθέγγουσα		χῶρον	
501	νέρθεν	καλὸν		id.	
502	σμερδαλέον	ίμερόεν		id.	

	<i>m</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ψ</i>	<i>ρ</i>
<i>Herm.</i> 503	καί ῥα	ἐνθα	---	id.
id.	βόας	βόες	---	id.
id.	κατὰ	ποτὶ	---	id.
507	τὰ μὲν	τὰ μὲν	---	id.
515	ἀνακλέψης	ἅμα κλέψης	---	id.
518	κατὰ μέγαν	μέγαν	---	id.
544	φωνή τ' ἥδε πότῃσι (M)	φωνῇ καὶ πτερυγέσσι	---	id.
552	σεμνὰ	μοῖραι	---	id.
557	ἀλέγνυνεν	id.	---	ἀλέγνυνεν
560	θυίωσι	θυίωσι	---	θύσωσι
563	πειρῶνται δι' ἥπειτα παρῆξ ὕδον ἡγεμονεύειν	id.	ψευδονται δ' ἥπ. δι' ἄλ- λήλων δένουσαι	πειρῶνται κ.τ.λ.
<i>Aphr.</i> 8	γλαυκῶπιν	γλαυκῶπιδ'	---	id.
16	χρυσηλῆκατον	χρυσήλατον	---	χρυσηλῆκατον
18	πουλύχρυσα	καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε	---	id.
20	πόλεις	πόλεις	---	πόνος
66	κῆπον	κύπρον	---	id.
67	ρίμφα	θοῶς	---	id.
71	παρδάλιες	id.	---	πορδάλιες
82	καὶ	id.	---	τε καὶ
84	θαύμαινεν	id.	---	θαύμαινεν
99	βήσας	πέισας	βήσας	βήσας
114	τρωὰς	τρωὸς	---	id.
118	χρυσηλακάτου	χρυσηλάτου	---	id.
132	μὲν	om.	---	om.
• 136 } 136a {	hab.	hab.	---	{ οὐ σφιν ἀεικελή γυνή ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί

	η	θ	ι	υ	ρ
• H.S. VOL. XV.					
• Αἴθλν. 144	ἔρος	id.		—	ἔρως
146	ἀγορεύεις	id.		—	ἀγοράξεις
175	ἰοστεφάνου	εὐστεφάνου		—	id.
203	ἐνὸν	id.		—	ἐόν
205	τετιμένον	τετιμένον		—	τετιμένος
214	ἴσα θεοῖσι	ἤματα πάντα		ἴσα θεοῖσι	ἤματα πάντα
244	τάχα	τάχα		κατὰ	τάχα
247	ἐν	μετ'		—	id.
279	γηθήσεις	id.		—	γηθήσῃς
280	ἄξεις	id.		—	ἄξῃς
• id.	νῦν	νῦν		—	id.
• Αἴθλν. vi. 9	ἄνθεμ'	id.		—	ἔνθεμ'
12	κοσμήσθην	κοσμήσθην		—	κοσμείσθην
18	ἰοστεφάνου	id.		—	εὐστεφάνου
• Δίου, vii. 8	ἦγαγε	id.		—	ἦγε
37	φόβος	τάφος		φόβος	τάφος
• Αἴθλν. viii. 9	εὐθαρσέος	id.		εὐθαλέος	id.
• Αἴθλν. ix. 3	μέλητος	μελήτης		—	μελήτης
• Αἴθλν. x. 3	θέει	φέρει		—	id.
4	μῆκαιρα κυθήρης	θεὰ σαλαμῆνος		—	id.

	<i>m</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Dion.</i> xiii. 2	περσεφόνειαν	φερσεφόνειαν	id.
<i>Met. de.</i> xiv. 3	κροτάλων	id.	κροτάλη
<i>ib.</i>	τυμπάνων	id.	τυπάνων
<i>ib.</i>	βρόμος	τρόμος	βρόμος
6	θ'	δ'	id.
<i>Herm.</i> xv. 4	ῥὰ ἡμῖν	πρὶν μὲν	id.
5	πρημαίνετ' ἀελεύων κρα-	πομπῆσιν ὕπ' εὐρυς-	id.
	ταῖδς	θῆος ἄνακτος	
6	ἔξοχα ἔργα	πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη	id.
<i>Asclep.</i> xvi. 3	δωτίω	id.	δωτίνω
<i>Ion</i> xix. 7		κάρηνα	id.
24		λυγκὸς	λυγρός
26		θαλέων	θαλέθων
48		λίσομαι	λίσομαι
<i>Panod.</i> xxi. 1		θεὸν	θεῶν
<i>Hesl.</i> xxix. 3		ἔλαχε	ἐλαχες
<i>Ge.</i> xxx. 8		πέρ ἐστι	πίρεστι
14		πέρεσαιθέσιν	παρ' εὐαιθέσιν
<i>Sel.</i> xxxii. 6		ἀκτῆρες	ἀκτῖνες
<i>Diosc.</i> xxxiii. 14		ἀέλλας	ἀέλλαι

Upon casting up this table it appears that  $x$  and  $p$  agree against  $m$  in 85 cases,  $m$  and  $x$  against  $p$  in 41, and  $m$  and  $p$  against  $x$  in 7. Without relying too strongly on these figures we may conclude that  $x$  and  $p$  agree in about twice as many cases as those in which they differ, and that therefore they are about twice as near each other as  $m$  is to the nearer of them ( $x$ ). This result of counting agrees with what one would have expected from the palpable fact that  $xp$  omit the Demeter Hymn while  $m$  has it.

$y$ , seeing that we have it quoted only where it differs from  $x$ , agreed presumably in the main with  $x$ . Otherwise of the 30 recorded divergences from  $x$ , 15 are peculiar to  $y$ , 5 are common to both  $m$  and  $p$ , 5 to  $m$  only, and 5 to  $p$  only. As regards  $m$  and  $p$  therefore,  $y$  is half-way between them.

The general relationship of the archetypes is therefore settled. We proceed to investigate their intrinsic value. I begin with the family reputed least good,  $p$ .

Ap. 19. πάντων  $p$ , πάντως  $x$ , πάντοσσ'  $M$ . Πάντως is fixed by 207, besides being a good Homeric word. The reason for the existence of πάντων is hard to find. Cf. however Solon iv. 29 Bergk πάντως, -ων, -ας, Theognis 26 πάντεσσ', -ως, -ας. The coincidence with the disturbance in  $M$  is curious.

21. παντοτρόφον  $p$ , πορτιτρόφον  $mx$ . We cannot suppose that the scribe of  $p$  shared Gemoll's opinion as to the inappropriateness of πορτιτρόφον. His reading is a graphical corruption, beginning with the vowel (so πόρδαλις, πάρδαλις N 103, P 20, Φ 573, δ 457), followed by the usual change of  $\nu$  for  $\rho$  (see p. 174). As to the reading to be adopted, there can be no doubt that Gemoll is over-nice. The fact that in an enumeration of the properties of Ithaca that island is called βούβοτος is nothing against the propriety of πορτιτρόφος as an *epithetum ornans* of continent opposed to islands. Even in Odysseus' case all his oxen and part of his sheep and goats are ἐν ἡπείρῳ (ξ 100), and the only beef the suitors get is carried over by πορθμήες with Philoetius (ν 186).

24. λίμνας τε θαλάσσης  $p$ , λιμένες  $x$  (def.  $M$ ). Λίμνη is found in the sense of sea in Homer, see Lexx., but not with a genitive of θάλασσα. It may be a graphical corruption from λιμένες,  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\varsigma$  abbreviated. Hardly a pure conjecture.

32. ἀγχιάλος Πεπάρηθος  $p$ , ἀγχιάλη  $x$  (def.  $M$ ).  $p$  is very probably right; B 640 χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχιάλον, 697 ἀγχιάλόν τ' ἀντρῶνα (ἀγχιάλην Zenod.), Theocr. xxv. 65 Ἑλίκης ἐξ ἀγχιάλοιο, Ap. Rhod. iv. 425 δὲ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ.

The laws as to the number of terminations of adjectives in verse are loose, cf. Lobeck *Paralip.* p. 474 sq., Kühner-Blass § 147 esp. p. 538. As the MSS. in the Hymns vary considerably, I give in a table nine places where the question arises:

Ap. 32 ἀγχιάλη Πεπάρηθος  $x$  ἀγχιάλος  $p$  (def.  $M$ ).

ib. 181 Δήλοιο περικλύστου  $m$  περικλύστης  $xp$ .

• • ib. 251 ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νήσους  $m$  ἀμφιρύτας  $xp$ .



*Herm.* 124 καταστυφέλη ἐνὶ πέτρῃ *m* καταστυφέλω *pr.*

*ib.* 209 βουσὶν ἐνκραίρησιν *m* ἐνκραίροισιν *p.*

*ib.* 272 βουσὶ μετ' ἀγραύλησι *m* ἀγραύλοισι *pr.*

*ib.* 412 ἀγραύλησι βόεσσιν *m* ἀγραύλοισι *p.*

*Apoll.* 39, 50 καταθνητῇσι γυναιξί *m* καταθνητοῖσι *p.*<sup>2</sup>

The MSS. give the masculine termination as against the feminine in this proportion; *M* in 2 cases (out of 8), *x* in two (out of 9), *p* in 6 (out of 9). Metre, to which Lobeck *l.c.* is willing to allow a large influence, does not, it will be noticed, enter into any of these instances. Itacism on the other hand probably does, at least into genders turning upon *η* and *οι*, and the inconstancy of *x* at *Herm.* 272, 412 is noticeable in this connection. The several lines will be best noticed as they occur.

42. πόλεις *p*, πόλεις *x* (def. *M*). Possibly mere itacism, possibly an expression of a view with regard to μερόπων. If μερόπων is a simple adjective then both Cos and Miletus may stand in apposition to πόλεις, if Μερόπων is a proper name then only Cos. Cf. Peppmüller, *Philol.* 1884 p. 196.

54. εὔβουν *p*, εὔβων *x* (def. *M*). The same variant H 238 βῶν Aristarchus, codd. plerique; βούν Aristophanes, 'L' <sup>3</sup> L<sub>11</sub>,<sup>4</sup> B<sub>1</sub>,<sup>5</sup> Mc,<sup>6</sup> Pa,<sup>6</sup> Pe.<sup>7</sup>

59. δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις *p*, full line *x*,<sup>8</sup> (def. *M*). The scribe of *p*, both careless and ignorant, simply omitted what he was unable to read. The Stoll-Cobet restoration βοσκήσεις θ' οἷ κε σ' ἔχωσι is supported by the parallel case of the Delphians (536, 7). Both oracles, naturally barren spots, are to be maintained χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης, by the *forestière*.

65. γενοίμην *p*, γ' ἐροίμην *x* (def. *M*). Γενοίμην is obviously right, and preserves the tradition; γ' ἐροίμην, as we have seen (Part I. p. 174), is a common minuscule error.

71. ἴδη *p*, ἴδης *x* (def. *M*). 72 ἀτιμῆσας *p*, ἀτιμῆσω *x* (def. *M*). The fixed point in this passage is given by 71, where ἴδη must be right and ἴδης wrong. Ἀτιμῆσω seems to have been altered to suit ἴδης, see p. 269; ἀτιμῆση is a fifteenth century conjecture. In the absence of *M* therefore the original seems to be *p*'s ἀτιμῆσας, and this though ungraceful should be read. The second participle καταστρέψας goes closely with ὥση and almost = καταστρέψη καὶ ὥση. *M* 113 *sq.* is somewhat parallel.

78. ἑκαστὰ τε φῦλα νεπούδων *p*, ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν *m*. The accepted view is probably right, that *p* composed this hemistich to fill the place of ἀκηδέα χήτει λαῶν, though it is difficult to understand what confusion or lacuna can have justified *p* in doing so. At v. 59 *p* omitted a hemistich, apparently on similar grounds; here he fills the gap. Errors of *ou* for *o* in compounds of πούς are frequent (*e.g.* in ἀρτίπος I 505, θ 310, cf. νηλίπους and νηλίπος), but in this case *ou* is fixed by the metre and must have been

<sup>2</sup> H 32. ἑμὶν ἀθανάτησι, the MSS. are about equally divided between *ησι* and *οισι*. Zenodotus read the fem.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. taken from editions are distinguished by inverted commas.

<sup>4</sup> *l.c.* Barberini i. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Monte Cassino S 91.

<sup>6</sup> Parma II H ii. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Perugia E 18.

<sup>8</sup> See Part I. p. 165.

original. Possibly *πουλύποδες* in 77 suggested the form. It would be interesting if our knowledge of Byzantine phonetics permitted a guess at the century when such a conjecture was possible.

129. *δεσμάσ' p*, *δεσμάτ' m*, *δεσματ' J*, *δέσματ' KS*. The plural of *δεσμός* in the Hymns is *δεσμά*, as shown by *Herm.* 157, 409, *Dion.* vii. 12, 13 where there are no variants. (On the other hand *a* 204 *δέσματ' ἔχρησι*.) *Δεσμά σ'* therefore is probably right here, and should be read; the accent which remains on *δεσμάτ'* in *m* points to an incomplete correction; the later MSS. KS carried the alteration a step farther.

152. *οἱ δὲ πότ' ἐπαντία p*, *οἱ τὸτ' m*. The reading of *p* seems to be due to the incorporation of a variant *οἱ δὲ*<sup>ποτ'</sup>, of which *ποτ'* possibly represents *τότ'* the reading of *m*, corrupted. For the process cf. 215 *ἀπόλλωνος* for *ἀπολλων*<sup>ο</sup>.

159. *αἶθις p*, *αἶτις m*. A common variant, generally considered less correct, so A 27, Γ 36, 440, E 697, Λ 567, etc.

171. See *infra* p. 275.

176. *ἐπιδήν p*, *δὴ m*. *Δήν* and *δὴ* are variants κ 160, where Zenodotus and the second hand of 'U' (Monac. 519 B s. xiv.) read *δήν*. The difference however may be purely graphical.

178. *ὑμῶν p*, *ὑμνέων m*. Coalescence of resolved syllables is one of the most usual signs of a careless scribe; cf. *ἀφ' ὑμῶν* 171, *σφας* 460, *χρυσοῦ Sel.* xxxii. 6; in M cf. *Ap.* 263, *Herm.* 542.

211. *p* omits the verse, from *homoeoarchon*.<sup>9</sup> Its archetype naturally had it.

215. *ἀπόλλωνος p*, *ἄπολλον m*. *Ἀπόλλωνος* of course is unmetrical, and arises, I imagine, from an original error *ἀπόλλων*, corrected into the vocative thus, *ἀπόλλων*; this *ο* was then taken as a termination, = *ος*.

216. *περίη p*, *περίης x*, *πετρίην M*. On the accusative in this construction see La Roche, *Hom. Studien* p. 118; it is recommended by the corruption (graphical, see p. 144) in the earlier part of the word in M. The dative and genitive are corrections with a grammatical object.

224. *τέλμησσὸν p*, *τευμησσὸν x*, *τέμμισον m*. The form *τευμησσὸν* is established by Strabo 409, Steph. Byz. s.v. and the passage there quoted from Antimachus, who derives the name from *τευμήσσαντο*. *m* and *p* are attempts to help the metre after *υ* had fallen out, *m* perhaps with a reminiscence of *τεμέσσην a* 184.

227. *πω τότε p*, *πώποτε m*. *ποτε* is a common error, cf. 152.

233. *οἱ δὲ p*, *οὐδὲ m*. *οὐδὲ* is a corruption, possibly intended in *m* to go with its reading *κρατέουσιν* (cf. p. 277). The same variation *Aphr.* 139 is confined to AQ.

272. *προάγοιεν, m*, *προσάγοιεν p*. A corruption from misreading *ο*  
*πρ*, that arose independently in *x* and *m*. Not a correction.

<sup>9</sup> I may perhaps be permitted to coin this word, the natural correlative of *homoeoteleuton*.

293. *βωμῶ* *p*, *νηῶ* *mx*. I am unable to account for this singular corruption; ζ 162 where *βωμῶ* is the original Ludwich quotes *ναῶ* from Plut. *de sollert. anim.* 283 E, η 100 for *βωμῶν* we find the variants *πύργων* and *βουνῶν*.

306. *τυφάονα* *p*, *τυφλόν* *mx* (*τε* add. *m*). Corruption in *mx* from which *p* happens to be free; cf. 352 where the readings are *τυφάονα* *xp*, *τυφῶνα* *m*. One sees how accidental variants are, and also that when *x* and *p* diverge it is upon a point of uncial confusion.

322. *ἔτι μήσεαι* *p*, *μήσεαι* *x*, *μητίσεαι* *m*. Ἔτι no doubt is a correction based upon λ 474 and does credit to the scribe of *p*. The common archetype of *xp* had *μήσεαι*, a simple uncial corruption from ΜΗΤΙΣΕΔΙ, ΤΙ coalescing to give H. Cf. p. 279.

339. *ἡ παρόσον* *p*, *ἡ πόσσον* *x*, *ἔστιν. ὅσον*, M. On this passage see p. 279. The original reading of *xp* seems to have been **HOCON**, which produced *πόσσον* to avoid the hiatus, and afterwards *παρόσον* and *πόσσον* alike to save the metre.

356. *αἴσιον* *p*, *αἴσιμον* *mx*. A simple confusion with the more common word *αἴσιος*. Cf. *Hym.* 516, p. 294.

366. *ἀδινήσουσι* *p*, *ἀγινήσουσι* *mx*. A graphical corruption, and not a common one; cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 240 *ἀγινὸν* 'L' for *ἀδινόν*.

403. *παντός* *p*, *πάντοθ'* *mx*. Παντός[ε] seems better than *πάντοθ'*[ε] of which there is no clear example in Homer. V. Lexx.

515. *χρυσῆν* *p*, *ἐρατὸν* *m*,...*ατὸν* *x*, *χαρίεν* Athenaeus 22 C. I am unable to see that *χρυσῆν* is necessarily a correction: *m* and *x* (originally) indeed both read *ἐρατόν*, but *χαρίεν* which goes back to the second century A.D. is enough to show that other readings were then in existence, and *χρυσῆν* may be a survivor of one of these. The lacuna in *x* is an accident confined to that family. An example of a *mut* correction of *...ατὸν* is at once to hand in *ἀγατὸν* the conjecture of At D, accepted by Demetrius Chaleondyles.

*Hym.* 45. *ἄς ὅτε* *p*, *αἶ ὅτε* *x*, *ἦ ὅτε* *m*. The original of this passage is as hard to recover as that of *Ap.* 339, see below p. 279. The readings of *p* and *x* are certainly both corruptions, and that of *p* is the deeper. What can *ἄς* have meant to the scribe? hardly an accusative; did he intend it for *ὥς*?

59. *ὀνομακλυτὴν ὀνομάζων* *p*, *ὀνομακλυτὸν ὀνομάζων* *x*, *ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων* *m*. An attempt of *p* to make *ὀνομακλυτόν*, the *υ* in which was to him long, metrical. Cf. E 55, 491, 578 *ul*.

67. *φηληται*. I collect the MS. variants on this word as it appears in the Hymn to Hermes.

- |      |                          |   |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| 67.  | <i>φηληται</i> <i>xp</i> | <i>φιληται</i> <i>m</i> .                               |
| 175. |                          | <i>φιλητέον</i> <i>m</i> , <i>φιλητεύων</i> <i>xp</i> . |
| 214. | <i>φηλωτήν</i> <i>p</i>  | <i>φιλήτην</i> <i>mx</i> ( <i>φιλοτήν</i> E).           |
| 292. | <i>φηλιτέων</i> <i>p</i> | <i>φιλητέων</i> <i>mx</i> .                             |
| 446. | <i>φηλητὰ</i> <i>p</i>   | <i>φιλητὰ</i> <i>mx</i> .                               |

It will be seen that *p* has at least its full share of the correct *φη*-spellings. It would be easy to ascribe the variants to itacism, but that the *φιλ*-spelling prevailed in antiquity; so Herodian and Trypho *ap.* Choerobosc. *An. Oc.* ii. p. 2712 derive it from *ὑφειλέτης, κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ υῖ καὶ τοῦ εἰ καὶ ἐκτάσει τοῦ εἰ εἰς ἦ*. Hes. *Opp.* 375 the MSS. are divided as here. Aesch. *Choeph.* 999 the Laur. has *φιλήτης* and Eur. *Rhesus* 217 the Venetus and the other MSS., but in Photius the words *φηλοῦν· ἀπατᾶν, φιλώματα* [*sic*]. *ἐξαπάτας* follow in the series *φη*-. Archilochus (*fr.* 46) is quoted by Eustathius (*Od.* 1889, 1 *sq.*) as using the word (spelled by Eust. naturally *φιλήτης*), Seneca (*Ep.* v. 11, 13) makes the curious statement about its origin 'latronum more quos *φιλήτας Aegyptii vocant*.' Brunck's *φηλήτης ὁ ἔρως καλοῖτ' ἂν ὄντως Anth. Pal.* v. 308 is very probable for *ψιλληστής* of the MSS. On the derivation see Vaniček, p. 1192.

119. *δι' αἰῶνος τε τορήσας p, δι' αἰῶνας m.v.* Gemoll's objection to *τε* is well founded: the original was probably *δι' αἰῶν' ἀντιτορήσας*, *i.e.* *δαιωνᾶντιτορησας*, which divided wrongly gave *διαἰῶνα τιτορήσας* and the successive corrections *δι' αἰῶνας* and *δι' αἰῶνος τε τορήσας*. *p* again is furthest off. For *ἀντιτορεῖν* cf. 178, 283, E 337, K 267; for the misdivision cf. *ἀτιτάλλετο Herm.* 400, p. 291.

127. *χάρμα φέρων p, χαρμοφέρων m.v.* Again *p* is a step further off the original, which no doubt is Barnes' *χαρμόφρων*.

152. *παρ' ἰγνύσι p, περιγνύσι m, περ' ἰγνύσι v.* *Παρ'* is probably an alteration of *p'*s, cf. *Gr* xxx. 7, 14, I 336 *παριεύων, περ' ἰαύων* 'G Mor.' L<sub>13</sub>, Ven.<sub>6</sub>, Vat.<sub>12</sub>, <sub>13</sub>, <sub>15</sub>, <sub>18</sub>, <sub>25</sub>. *ib.* 198. *περ' ἀχαιῶν, παρ' ἀχαιῶν* 'L' Vat.<sub>9</sub>, <sub>23</sub>, M<sub>4</sub>. The phrase *περ' ἰγνύσι*, which has been attacked, is well defended by Theocr. xxv. 242 *περ' ἰγνύσιν ἔλιξε | κέρκον*, where similar variants occur (see Ziegler).

209. *εὔκραίροισιν p, εὔκραίρησι m.v.* For *εὔκραϊρος* with two terminations cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 304 *εὔκραίρω βοί*. The reading of *p* therefore is not necessarily itacistic or a correction. See *ante*, p. 261.

241. *νήδυμον p, ἦδυμον m.v.* *id.* 449. In neither place is *νήδυμον* possible, and we must admit it to be a correction. The two words are occasionally interchanged; no variants on *νήδυμος* are reported in the *Iliad*, nor on *Ap.* 171, *Pan* xix. 16; in the *Odyssey* however *ἦδυμον* is read δ 793 by 'P<sup>2</sup>,' μ 311 by 'PG<sup>2</sup>,' the form being in both cases metrically possible.

312. *δέξαι παρ p, δέξο παρὰ m.v.* A mistake on the part of *p*, but how far conscious it is hard to say. Variations between *-αι* and *-ο* in verbs are frequent, cf. *Ap.* 146 under *m*, p. 275.

313. *ἐρέεινον p, ἐρέεινεν m.v.* The plural is obviously right, and there is no reason why we should call it a correction. The singular of *m.v.* is an easy error, arising from the 'nearer subject.'

342. *δῖα p, δοῖα m.v.* Which of these two forms is an itacistic corruption from the other will depend on the view taken of the passage in general. I do not admit the necessity of Barnes' *τοῖα*; and in this case *δῖα* will seem more original than *δοῖα* which, though Ilgen printed it, is plainly impossible. Read therefore *δῖα, πέλωρα*.

356. *κατέρεξε* *ρ*, *κατέρεξε* *mv*. The reading of *ρ* is right, and similar confusions between the tenses of *ἔργειν*, *ἔρδειν* occur E 650, I 535.

361. *ἀλεείνων* *ρ*, *ἀλέγνων* *x*, *ἀλεγίζων* *m*. 557. *ἀλέγεινεν* *ρ*, *ἀλέγνεν* *mv*. 'Αλεγύνων seems established by *ἀγλαίας ἀλέγννε* 476 where there is no variant. The two variants of *ρ* are cases of itacism, with in one of them (*ἀλεείνων*) a slight conjecture to make a possible word.

371. *νέον γ' ἐπιτελλομένοιο* *ρ*, *νέον* *mv*. The addition of *γ'* is a metrical conjecture, which occurred independently to the scribe of D. See in general p. 275, *Ap.* 157.

386. *κραταιῶ* *ρ*, *κρατερῶ* *mv*. Gloss, or perhaps corruption (*ρ* dropping out); the reverse process A 119, and *m* on 265.

402. *ἤλαυνε* *ρ*, *ἐξήλαυνε* *mv*. Accidental omission, cf. 59 *ὀνομάζων* *ρx*, *ἐξονομάζων* *m*.

412. *ἀγραύλοισι* *ρ*, *ἀγραύλησι* *mv*. 'Αγραύλοισι is probably right, cf. 492 where there is no variant, and 272 where only *m* has *-ησι*. Apollonius iv. 1341 *ἄγραυλοι* without variant; more exx. in the Lexx. See in general *mv*, p. 261.

478. *ἐταίρων* *ρ*, *ἐταίρην* *mv*. Due probably to assonance with *λιγύφωνον*.

481. *φιλομειδέα χῶρον* *ρ*, *φιλοκνδέα κῶμον* *mv*. The adjectives are about on a level. *Φιλομειδής* is not found without a double *μ* earlier than Paul. Silentarius *Anth. Pol.* vi. 66, 10 *ἐνθάδε Καλλιμένης φιλομειδέσιν ἄνθετο Μούσαις* cf. ix. 524. 22, though it would be rash to tie the writer of this hymn down to such a rule. *Φιλοκνδής* appears to occur elsewhere only in 375, *φιλοκνδέος ἥβης*, and is a less good epithet of *κῶμος*. Either word may have been derived from the other, by itacistic change of *ει* and *υ*, then graphical change of *κ* and *μ*. I cannot account for *χῶρον*.

530. *ἀκήραον* *ρ*, *ἀκήριον* *mv* (*ἀκήραον* L). No variants are quoted on *ἀκήριος* in the Odyssey, but the reading of L shows that *ἀκήραος* was a natural error, perhaps caused by reminiscences of *ἀκήρατος*, *ἀκηράσιος*.

540. *πιφάσκειν* *ρ*, *πιφάυσκειν* *mv*. A very common phonetic error, cf. p. 289.

560. *θύσωσι* *ρ*, *θυίσωσι* *x*, *θυίωσι* *m*. The commonest of phonetic errors, cf. merely *γύων* for *γυίων* 20. Apollonius iii. 685 *θῦεν* 'L. Guelf.'; *ωπτεν* v. 85 *θυῖε* 'M' for *θῦε*, cf. χ 309, A 180.

*ib.* *ἐδωδύιαι* *ρ*, *ἐδηδυῖαι* *mv*. Apparently a graphical confusion of *ω* for *η*; cf. *φηλωτήν*, *φηλητήν* 214. K 252 *παρώχωκεν*, *παρώχηκεν*.

*Anth.* 16. *χρυσηλάκατον* *mvρ*, *χρυσήλατον* *x*. 118 *χρυσηλάτου* *ρρ*, *χρυσηλακάτου* *m*. *Art.* xxvii. I *χρυσηλάκατον* omnes. Here we have two passages where *ρ* goes wrong against one where it is right. Probably therefore *χρυσηλάκατον* in this line is not a correction but the original reading, and in *χρυσήλατον χρυσηλάτου* a syllable has accidentally fallen out. No variants are recorded in the Iliad and Odyssey.

20. *πόνος* *ρ*, *πόλις* *x*, *πόλεις* *m*. *Πόλις*, as Gemoll observes, is surprising in the sing., and feeling the difficulty *m* made *πόλεις*. *Πόνος* is a graphical

corruption; Π 726 in the phrase ἀμ πόνον ἀνδρῶν, πόλιν is read by L<sub>18</sub> Vat.<sub>4</sub>, 27.

39. κατὰ θνητοῖσι ρ, κατὰ θνητῇσι *mx*, id. 50. The feminine καταθνητή does not occur in Homer; the masc. form is therefore probably a correction conscious or unconscious of ρ. On his tendency to this formation see p. 261.

71. πορδάλιες ρ, παρδάλιες (def. M). A usual and ancient variation in the spelling of this word. Aristarchus preferred παρδ-; N 103, P 20 the MSS. are about equally divided, πορδ- is in the text of the Ven. A.

82. τε καὶ ρ, καὶ (def. M). A correction to save the quantity of καὶ before εἶδος; Ruhnken accepted it, and *Art.* xxvii. 22 ὑμέων καὶ ἄλλης, Wolf's τε is usually inserted. For the reverse cf. A 528 ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρμ', where τε is omitted by 'L' Vat.<sub>23</sub> M<sub>1</sub>, 10.

84. θάμβαινεν ρ, θαύμαινεν *x* (def. M). Θαμβάινειν does not occur, and is probably a phonetic corruption.

136, 136a. οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί ρ, οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη νῦος ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκῶα | εἴ τοι ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί *mx*. A typical instance of mechanical contamination; both lines stood in the archetype of ρ, the scribe's eye wandered from one ἀεικελίη to the other. This the commentators have recognized.

146. ἀγοράζεις ρ, ἀγορεύεις *mx*. A sheer misguided correction in ρ, ἀγοράζειν does not occur in Homer. Cf. ἀλεγίζων in *m Herm.* 361 for ἀλεγύνων.

174. ἦυρε ρ { βυρε <sup>a</sup> κῦρε *m*. This typical uncorrected graphical corruption in ρ and *x* shows how little deliberate purpose works among MSS.

203. ἦρπασ' ἐὸν ρ, ἦρπασ' ἐνὸν *x*, αἰνὸν *m*. The mere omission of ν ἐφελκυστικὸν has produced this variant in ρ. It is curious that in the other families the same letter has been incorporated with the next word, and in M an itacism has supervened to give an additional disguise. Hermann no doubt was right in establishing δν.

218. χρυσόθρονον ρ, χρυσόθρονος *mx*. Semi-conscious correction in ρ, influenced by the neighbourhood of Τίθωνον and ἐπιείκελον.

245. τ' ρ, γ' *mx*. Homeric usage shows τ' to be right; γ' is naturally a common graphical mistake.

279. γηθήσαις ρ, γηθήσεις *mc*, 280 ἄξαις ρ, ἄξεις *mx*. Possibly simple itacism, otherwise a correction of optative for future is of extremely common occurrence, e.g. H 129, I 251.

*Aphr.* vi. 9. ἔνθεμ' ρ, ἄνθεμ' *mx*. Ἄνθεμον is established by the adjective ἀνθεμόεις and Pindar's ἄνθεμα χρυσοῦ besides by later use; ἔνθεμ' must be an alteration based upon ignorance of the rare word.

18. ἐυστεφάνου Κυθερείης ρ, ἰοστεφάνου *mx*, *Aphr.* 175 ἐυστεφάνου *xρ*, ἰοστεφάνου *m*. *Aphr.* 6 ἐυστεφάνου, 288 ἐυστεφάνω without variant. It may well be, and has been by all commentators, doubted whether ἐυστέφανος or ἰοστέφανος be the more fitting epithet of Aphrodite; I incline to side with Hollander (p. 13 n.) and Gemoll in favour of ἐυστ., but without joining with Baum. in condemning the 'levitas' of *m*, which is at least consistent in

reading *ἰοστ.*; rather does *x* exhibit light conduct in wavering between the two words. *Ἑυστέφανος* is the Homeric epithet, *ἰοστέφανος* we have as early as Solon *fr.* 19, 4, Theognis 250, 1304, 1332, 1383; in Simonides *fr.* 52 the two words again are variants (*ἰοστεφάνου* 'B,' *δῖοστεφάνου* 'PQ,' *εὖστεφάνου* 'VL').

*Dion.* vii. 8. *ἦγε p, ἦγαγε mx.* In *mx* a syllable has been doubled.

*Mater deor.* xiv. 3. *κροτάλη x, κροτάλων mx.* *Κροτάλων* has been assimilated to *ἰαχή* in *p*; the scribe no doubt considered *κροτάλη* a nominative.

*ib.* *τυπάνων p, τυμπάνων mx.* *Τυπάνων* is right and not a correction; in *mx* a confusion occurred with the more familiar word, as Apollonius i. 1139 both 'L' and 'Guelf' have *τυμπάνων* where it is unmetrical, and in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 165, 5 (a passage modelled on this) *βαρὺν τυπάνου βρόμον*, Suidas quotes *τυμπάνων*.

*Asclep.* xvi. 3. *δωτίνω p, δωτίω mx.* Semi-conscious alteration in *p*, with reminiscence of *δωτίνη*. *Δωτίω* is fixed by Hesiod *op.* Strabo 442, 647, and Simonides *fr.* 30.

*Pan* xix. 26. *θαλέθων p, θαλέων x* (def. M). The theta has dropped out in *x* from the greater familiarity of *θαλέων*; the same process may be seen at *ψ* 91, Apollonius ii. 843 ('Guelf').

*Ath.* xxviii. 10. *ὀβρίμης p, ὀμβρίμης x* (def. M). Here for once *p* has the more correct spelling. The variation is perpetual in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

*Hest.* xxix. 3. *ἔλαχες p, ἔλαχε x* (def. M). The second person is surely right, and the third a correction; *φέρβει* xxx. 2 is not parallel, for there *Γαῖα* is addressed in the third person while here we have *Ἑστίνη* in the vocative and *σοῦ* v. 4. Cf. the invocations *Ἄρτεμις ἡ θαλάμους τοὺς ὀρέων ἔλαχες* *Anth. Pal.* vi. 240, 2, *ἡ τε Σάμου μεδέουσα καὶ ἡ λάχες Ἴμβρασον* *Ἡρη* id. 243, 1.

*Gē* xxx. 8. *πάρεστι p, περ ἐστι x* (def. M). *Πάρεστι* though no doubt coinciding with the original seems a real correction; otherwise it is hard to explain *περ ἐστι*. Cf. v. 14, *Herm.* 152, *anti*.

*ib.* 14. *παρ' εὐανθέσιν p, περῶσανθέσιν x* (def. M). This also is a case of correction in *p*; cf. below p. 271.

*Selene* xxxii. 6. *ἀκτίνες p, ἀκτῆρες x* (def. M). *x*'s error seems inexplicable, but there is no reason to suppose it was originally common to *p*.

*Diosc.* xxxiii. 14. *ἀέλλαι p, ἀέλλας x* (def. M). Apparently the scribe of *p* took *κατέπαυσαν* as intrans. = *κατεπαύσαντο* (as *παύσειεν* *Dem.* 351), and altered *ἀέλλας* to suit his view.

On counting up these passages it will be found that among some seventy variants peculiar to *p*, eleven are conjectures (*Ap.* 59, 78, 322, 339, *Herm.* 127, 241, *Aphe.* 146, *Aphe.* vi. 9, *Gē* xxx. 8, 14, *Diosc.* xxxiii. 14), seventeen are half-conscious conjectures (*Ap.* 19, 152, 216, 224, 356, *Herm.* 45, 59, 119, 312, 361, 386, 402, 530, *Aphe.* 39, 82, *Mot. de.* xiv. 3, *Asclep.* xvi. 3), one is an independent reading (*Ap.* 515), twenty-one are original (*Ap.* 32, 65, 71,

129, 227, 233, 272, 306, 403, *Herm.* 67, 209, 214, 292, 313, 412, 446, *Aphr.* 245, *Dionys.* vii. 8, *Mat. de.* xiv. 3, *Pan* xix. 26, *Ath.* xxviii. 10, *Hest.* xxix. 3, *Selen.* xxxii. 6); the remaining twenty-three are phonetic and graphical blunders, but to these have to be added the long list already given Pt. I. p. 174.

I proceed to examine *x*.

*Ap.* 71. ἴδης *x* (def. M), ἴδη *p*. Ἰδης 2 pers. is obviously wrong; the two forms ἴδη, ἴδης are exchanged, but in circumstances where either of them is possible, A 203, Γ 163, Δ 205; we must suppose that the scribe of *x*, under the influence of some similar association, wrote ἴδης for ἴδη, and then altered ἀτιμήσας into ἀτιμήσω (72, which he meant for aor. med.) to suit it. I think this more likely than that, with Hollander p. 10, ἀτιμήσω is a survival of ἀτιμήσων.

151. ἀνὴρ *x*, αἰεὶ *m*. Ἀνὴρ does not stand in any graphical relation to αἰεὶ, and we must suppose it to be a correction of *x*, introduced, after ὅς in 152 had become οὗ, to provide a subject for φαίη.

174. ἡμέτερον *x*, ὑμέτερον *m*. Gemoll is plainly wrong in preferring ἡμέτερον; the maidens are to establish the poet's fame, by talking of him to tourists, in return he will carry *their* fame wherever he goes [as he actually does in the Hymn]. There is the same notion of a bargain, but reversed, at θ 496, 7. Ἡμέτερον is far from being the 'bessere Ueberlieferung'; it is an itacismus purus putus.

211. ἄμ' ἐρευνθεῖ *x*, ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ *m*, ἁμαρύνθω *y* (def. *p*). The original, and the relative value of these three readings is quite uncertain. See p. 276, n. 12.

216. περὶν *x*, περὶν *m*, περὶν *p*. A correction in *x*, as in *p*: cf. p. 263.

224. τευμησὸν *x*, τέμμισον *m*, τελμησὸν *p*; *x* alone is right, the other ll. are corrections: cf. p. 263.

284. ὑποκρέμαται *x*, ἐπικρέμαται *m*. Ὑποκρέμαται is not found, and its origin in *x* is hard to explain, unless it was suggested by ὑπερθεν and ὑποδεδρομε. I may observe in passing that little use can be made in criticism of confusions between abbreviations; those for ἐπὶ and ὑπὸ are absolutely unlike.

322. μήσεαι *x*, μητίσεαι *m*, ἔτι μήσεαι *p*. *x* presents its original unaltered, while *p* has emended it, cf. p. 264, and v. 515.

339. ἡ πόσσον *x*, ἐστίν. ὅσον *m*, ἡ παρόσσον *p*. Apparently a correction in *x*, but nearer to the common original than *p*'s reading. Cf. p. 264.

515. . . ατόν *x*, ἐρατόν *m*, χρυσήν *p*, χαρίεν Athen. 22 C. Whatever view be taken of the readings of *p* and Athenaeus, it is plain with what fidelity *x* has transmitted its original.

*Herm.* 45. αἰ ὅτε *x*, ἡ ὅτε *m*, ἄς ὅτε *p*. Αἰ ὅτε though wrong seems less far than the reading of *p* from the original, cf. p. 264.

65. ὦτο *x*, ἄλτο *m*, ὦρτο *p*. A clerical error in *x* from which *p* is free. For the falling out of a ρ cf. N 125 ὦσεν 'Mor.' for ὦρσεν, Ξ 522 ὦρσεν, ὦσεν,



L<sup>17</sup>, 18, Vat.<sup>22</sup>. O 694 ὤσεν Aristarchus. ὄρσεν the majority of our MSS. It is noticeable how *v* here also refrains from correcting its original.

*Herm.* 86. αὐτοπρεπὴς ὥς *x*. αὐτοτροπήσας *mp*. These words as they stand give no sense. Whatever the original may have been they are a long way from it. Mr. Tyrrell's conjecture of αὐτοπορήσας will be admitted to be the best yet made, and seems to satisfy the sense admirably. I should however prefer αὐτοπόρος ὥς (without which it is difficult to explain the reading of *x*), or may we assume an original pair of readings, αὐτοπορήσας and αὐτοπόρος ὥς?

Making this supposition, the actual variants must be explained as the result of repeated emendation and conflation; thus αὐτο<sup>περήσας</sup>πόρος ὥς = αὐτοπερησως; then by an inversion αὐτορεπης ὥς, and by correction, to give the semblance of a known word, αὐτο(π)ρεπηςως. On the other side αὐτοπορησας, we may imagine, by the same process became αὐτοροπησας and αὐτο(τ)ροπησας. The ground for the emendation of αὐτοπόρος ὥς will naturally have been the (apparent) metrical difficulty.

232. ταναύποδα *x*, τανύποδα *mp*. The form τανύποδα exists, *e.g.* *Ajac* 837, but the metre here settles the question in favour of ταναύποδα. *x* is free from the corruption, which is phonetic, and occurs *ι* 464 and in the lemma of Apollonius' lexicon *s.c.* Cf. *πιφάσκειν* = *πιφάυσκειν*, p. 266.

254. κλίνη *x*, λίκνω *cett*. Κλίνη is usually taken as a gloss on λίκνω, but glosses do not seem to have largely invaded *x*, and it may well be a correction from a corruption, λίκνω κλίνω κλίνη.

303. οἶωνοῖσιν εὔ *x*, οἶωνοῖσι· σὺ *mp*. An uncial corruption, ΕΥ for CY, as noticed p. 174. Here we may observe the fidelity with which *x* transmits it. τυφλόν *Ap.* 306 is another case.

361. ἀλεγύνων *x*, ἀλεγίζων *m*. ἀλεείνων *p*. See p. 266; *x* has escaped the itacism of *p*.

397. σπεύδοντο *v*, σπεύδοντε *mp*. A correction in *x*, due apparently to the distance of ἔξον, which may have been taken for an adjective. The same failure to understand a construction led to ἀτιμήσω for ἀτιμήσας *Ap.* 72. Here the corrector of Γ was seized with the same idea.

*Aphe.* 16. χρυσήλατον *v*, χρυσηλάκατον *mp*; 118 χρυσηλάτου *wp* χρυσηλακάτου *m*. See p. 266; the syllable ακ seems to have fallen out accidentally before ατ.

99. πείσεια *v*, βήσεια *mp*. Πείσεια (or rather πίσεια, as Ruhnken corrected) of course is right; the variation is itacistic with a reminiscence of βήσσα. *Pon* xix 2 the word is spelled πίσση. T 9 we have πήσεια as a variant, ζ 124 πείσεια πείσεια πήσεια. *Ap. Rh.* iii. 1218 πείσεια. Cf. Ruhnken's note.

144. ἔρος *x*, ἔρωσ *mp*. A natural error in *mp*; Ξ 294 where the metre does not decide, Eust. and Vat.<sup>16</sup> have ἔρος. Ξ 315 where the metre makes ἔρος necessary, the MSS. are about equally divided; *Herm.* 434, *Aphe.* 91 there is no variant.

244. κατὰ *v*, τάχα *mp*. Κατὰ seems impossible with ἀμφικαλύψει; one must suppose it a corruption from τάχα through χατα.

*Mat. deor.* xiv. 3.  $\tau\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha$ ,  $\beta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\rho$ .  $\beta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$  occurs *Herm.* 452, *Dion.* xxvi. 10  $\tau\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\beta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$  *Anth. Pol.* vi. 165, 5, id. vi. 217. 5  $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\varsigma$   $\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\acute{o}\nu$   $\beta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$ ;  $\tau\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  is evidently the worse reading and, as there is no graphical relation between  $\beta$  and  $\tau$ , must be either a gloss or a conjecture.

*Pan.* xix. 7.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu\alpha$   $\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$   $\rho\upsilon$  (def. M). Here M is wanting  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$  of  $\gamma\rho$  gives the better sense as against  $\alpha$ 's  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu\alpha$ , which is identical with  $\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and may very probably have come from v. 4. (Ludwich, *Rh. Mus.* 1887, p. 548 prefers  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu\alpha$ .)

26.  $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\alpha$ ,  $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega\nu$   $\rho$  (def. M). See p. 268.  $\alpha$  has fallen into a clerical error.

*Hest.* xxix. 3.  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon$   $\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\varsigma$   $\rho$  (def. M).  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon$  seems the inferior construction, and the scribe was probably tempted to it by the distance from  $\eta$ . Cf. Ruhnken's note on *Dem.* 269, and *ante* p. 268.

*Ge* xxx. 3.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$   $\alpha$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$   $\rho$  (def. M).  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$  is unexplained, and on that account, besides its persistence in DEII and some members of  $\rho$  ( $BL_2NP$ ), is to be considered original.  $\alpha$  therefore again has accurately transmitted its original.  $\rho$  would seem to have corrected it.

14.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$   $\alpha$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho'\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$   $\rho$  (def. M). The original of  $\alpha$  again seems to have persisted, while  $\rho$  has endeavoured to correct it. With  $\pi(\phi)\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (p. 299) before us, and comparing  $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  v. 9, *Dem.* 451, 452, 475,  $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  *Hec. Sent.* 13 we may perhaps accept Ernesti's  $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$ . M, it must be remembered, is wanting.

*Selene* xxxii. 6.  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\rho$  (def. M). The word  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  does not exist, and how  $\alpha$  inserted it can only be guessed.

When these passages are counted, it appears that among some twenty-eight variants peculiar to  $\alpha$ , there are two downright conjectures (*Ap.* 151, *Mat. de.* xiv. 3), nine semi-conscious conjectures (*Ap.* 71, 216, 284, 339, *Herm.* 86, 397, *Aphr.* 244, *Pan* xix. 7, *Hest.* xxix. 3), no independent readings, four survivals of the original (*Ap.* 224, *Herm.* 232, 361, *Aphr.* 144) and some thirteen graphical or phonetic errors, *plus* those given Pt. I. p. 161 *sq.*

I pass to a more difficult and more important subject, the valuation of the tradition of M. Our experiences with  $\alpha$  and  $\rho$  have prepared us for a large proportion of novelties in M; we shall see to what conclusion as to their origin a detailed examination of them takes us. I may notice how important it is in such an examination to deal with archetypes of families and not with single MSS. As against AtDELIIIT or ABC.....V, the single M might seem to have little authority; when we deal with  $m$   $\epsilon$  and  $\rho$ ,  $m$  at the lowest reckoning has the weight of one to two.

*Ap.* 14.  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$   $\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\iota$  M,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota\rho'$   $\omega$   $\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\iota$  cet. When  $\omega$  fell out,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota\rho'$  was expanded to give another syllable. So 17  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\iota\omicron\nu$  for  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\theta$  has fallen out.

19.  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\sigma\sigma'$   $m$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$   $\rho$ .  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$  is fixed by v. 207 (see p. 261). Of  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\sigma'$  with the second syllable lengthened there is no example; either therefore  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$  became  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and the  $\varsigma$  was doubled to make metre, or  $\omicron\omicron$  is a graphical confusion for the minuscule omega ( $\omega$ ).

82. *ἔσται* *m*, *ἐστὶν* cet. *ἔσται* evidently is right, and occurred as a conjecture to J. The vulgate *ἐστὶν* is a corruption; cf. Θ 286 (*ἔσται*) *ἐστι* 'H post ras.,' Ven. 13, I 310 (*ἔσται*) *ἐστι* 'D' N<sub>4</sub>B<sub>1</sub> Vat. 9, K 41 (*ἔσται*, *εἴη*) *ἐστι* Ixion. γρ. Ven. A, hitherto no other MSS., 223 (*ἔσται*) *ἐστι* 'L Barocc. Mor.' Laur. 6<sup>v</sup> 8<sup>v</sup> 9<sup>v</sup> Ven. 1<sup>v</sup> Vat. 1<sup>v</sup> 3<sup>v</sup> 4<sup>v</sup> 6<sup>v</sup> 11<sup>v</sup> 23<sup>v</sup> M 1<sup>v</sup> 7<sup>v</sup> 10<sup>v</sup> 13<sup>v</sup> and τ 404, 547.

94. *τε m*, *καὶ* cet. A mechanical slip, due to the three *τε*'s before.

96. om. *Ma*, hab. *l<sub>p</sub>*. The coincidence between M and *a* is accidental, and arises of course from homoeoarchon with 98. The line stood in *m* and *x*. Baumeister and Gemoll therefore are signally mistaken in seeing an 'interpolation' in it.

To show what a part mechanical circumstances play in these omissions. I give a table of omitted lines in the Hymns.

- 11<sub>p</sub>. 35 σκύρος καὶ φώκαια καὶ αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπύ  
40 καὶ κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ.  
41 follows 35 in AtDHJK. *Homocoteleuton*.
- 11<sub>p</sub>. 23—73 om. M without apparent reason.  
144 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
145 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες.  
πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι καὶ προρέοντες L. *Homocoteleuton*.  
189 om. *p* without apparent cause.  
211 ἢ ἄμα φόρβαντι τριόπω γένος ἢ ἀμαρύνθω  
212 ἢ ἄμα λευκίππω καὶ λευκίπποιο δάμαρτι.  
212 om. *p*. *Homoeoarchon*.  
231 ἔνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ  
232 ἔλκων ἄρματα καλὰ χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατήρ ἀγαθός περ.  
232 om. MBO. *Homocoteleuton*.  
260 ἐνθάδ' ἀγνῆσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.  
289 the same words.  
261—289 om. ET.  
293—320 om. B apparently without cause.  
325 *a* omit all but *y* apparently without cause.  
344 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν διὸς ἦλυθε μητιόεντος  
345 οὔτε ποτ' ἐς θῶκον πολυδαίδαλον ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.  
344 om. E *p*. *Homoeoarchon*.  
371 τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ κατέπυσ' ἱερὸν μένος ἠελίοιο  
372 ἐξ οὗ νῦν πυθῶ κικλήσκειται· οἱ δὲ ἀνακτα  
373 πύθιον καλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον οὔνεκα κείθι  
374 αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος ἠελίοιο.  
372—4 om. D. *Homocoteleuton*.  
375 καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἔγνω ᾗσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
376 οὔνεκα μιν κρήνη καλλιρροὸς ἐξαπάφησε·  
377 βῆ δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσῃ κεχολωμένος αἰψά δ' ἵκανε  
378 στή δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε  
.....  
382 ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ ῥόον ὥσε ἀναξ ἐκίεργος ἀπόλλων

*Ap.* 376—8 repetit post 382 M. *Homocoteleuton*.

505 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης

506 ἐκ δ' ἄλως ἠπειρόνδε θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἐρύσαντο

507 ὑψοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις παρὰ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν

508 καὶ βῶμον ποίησαν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι θαλάσσης.

506—8 om. ET. *Homocoteleuton*.

537 ὅσσα ἐμοί κ' ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων

538 νῆον δὲ προφύλαχθε δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.

538 om. M<sub>p</sub>. *Homocoteleuton*.

539 om. T apparently without cause (so Bethe's collation).

*Herm.* 135 δημόν καὶ κρέα πολλὰ μετήορα δ' αἰψ' ἀνύειρε

136 σῆμα νέης φωρῆς ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκαν' αἰείρας.

136 om. M. *Homocoteleuton*.

215 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἤϊξεν ἄναξ διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων

216 ἐς Πύλον ἡγαθέην διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς.

215 om. L, perhaps from *Homocourchon*.

218 ἔχνια τ' εἰσενόησεν ἐκηβόλος εἰπέ τε μῦθον

219 ὦ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι.

220 ἔχνια μὲν τάδε γ' ἐστὶ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων.

218, 219 om. M. *Homocourchon*.

422 om. *ap* without apparent cause.

456 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὀλίγος περ ἑὼν κλυτὰ μῆδεα οἶδας

457 ἴξε πέπον καὶ θυμὸν ἐπαίνει πρεσβυτέροισιν

458 νῦν γάρ τοι κλέος ἔσται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

457, 458 om. *ap*. *Homocourchon*.

498 βουκολίας τ' ἐπέτελλεν· ἔδεκτο δὲ Μαιάδος υἱὸς

499 γηθήσας· κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρός.

499 om. M apparently from *Homocoteleuton*.

509 σήματ' ἐπεὶ κίθαριν μὲν ἐκηβόλῳ ἐγγυάλιξεν

510 ἰμερτήν δεδαώς· ὁ δ' ὑπωλέμιον κιθάριζεν.

510 om. M apparently from *Homocoteleuton* (ξεν and ζεν).

532 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ διὸς ὀμφῆς

533 μαντείην δὲ φέριστε διοτρεφές ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις

534 οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον.

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον *p* from the influence of δαήμεναι in 532 and 534.

535 om. E without apparent cause.

*Apoll.* 10 ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον ἄρῃος

11 ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν.

ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν E, from the influence of ἔργον in 10 and ἔργ' in 11.

96 πᾶσιν ἐταιρίζουσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται

97 ἢ τις νυμφάων αἴτ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται.

97 om. E. *Homocoteleuton*.

136 οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα

*Arhr.* 136 α εἴ τοι ἀεικέλῃ γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί.

οὗ σφιν ἀεικέλῃ γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί ρ, from the influence of ἀεικέλῃ—ἔσσομαι in both lines.

Out of twenty-seven cases therefore in which omissions are testified to by our MSS. (and no others can enter into the question), twenty-one are the result of similarities of words at the beginning or at the end of a line, acting on the eye of the scribe. The remainder are probably due to mechanical circumstances of a similar sort, but which escape our observation. The conclusion therefore with regard to the value of a particular omission is overwhelmingly in favour of its being accidental. Moreover (and this is a consequence which finds its application in part III.), it follows that if we seek to improve the text by insertions of our own, these must, by their wording, explain their omission.

99. φραδμοσύνης M (-ηισ m), φραδμοσύνη cet. M is right (cf. *Herm.* 172 τιμῆς without variant). Similar errors arising out of the 'Ionic dative' are B 227 (κλισίης) κλισίη(η) Laur. <sub>8</sub> R<sub>1</sub> Ven. <sub>10</sub> 'Cant.' Vat. <sub>1</sub> M <sub>11</sub>, 456 (κορυφῆς) κορυφῇ(ῃ) L <sub>9</sub>, <sub>17</sub> Ven. <sub>2</sub>, and no doubt the variant ἐκ κορυφῆς Ven. <sub>5</sub> Vat. <sub>6</sub> M <sub>9</sub>, <sub>19</sub> 'Vrat. a' is due to the same cause, E 75 (κονίης) κονίη(η) codd. plerique, I 627 α (ἀτρείδης) ἀτρείδη(η) 'G' Laur. <sub>8</sub> (cl. H 373 ἀτρείδης without variant). The simple confusion ἄλλης ἄλλαις occurs *missim*. In the opposite sense of Z 456 (ἄλλης gen.) ἄλλης. -οις, -αις codd. ἄλλη Vat. <sub>5</sub>, K 542 (δεξιῇ) 'S Cant. Vrat. b. A. Mosc. 3' L <sub>2</sub>, <sub>3</sub>, <sub>16</sub> R<sub>1</sub> Ven. <sub>11</sub> etc.

110. ἀπὸ μεγάροιο m, ἀπέκ cet. The fact that ἀπέκ does not occur in Homer is nothing against it here, seeing that v. 428 we have ὑπέκ νεφέων without variant, but a comparison of similar variants makes it probable that ἀπέκ here is a scribe's contrivance to make metre and ἀπὸ original. Cf. H 131 ἀπὸ μελέων, ἀπέκ L <sub>19</sub> Ven. <sub>6</sub>, in ras., ἀπὸ μελέων Ven. <sub>9</sub> ἀπαὶ αλ., ψ 43 ἀπὸ μεγάροιο, ἀπ' ἐκ 'J,' υ 343 ἀπὸ μεγάροιο without variant, I 248 ὑπὸ τρώων, ὑπ' ἐκ' 'Vrat. 6, 2 man.' Vat. <sub>12</sub>, <sub>15</sub>, <sub>10</sub>

114. ἴθμαθ' m, ἴσμαθ' v, ἴσθμαθ' S<sub>1</sub>, ἴδμαθ' DTK. An error of spelling partly occasioned by the influence of ἴσθμός; m alone preserves the correct form. The identical errors occur E 778 and in addition the forms ἴθμ' L <sub>10</sub>, ἴφθιμαθ' Ven. <sub>5</sub>, οἴμαθ' M <sub>12</sub>.

116. μενῆνυσεν m, μενούνησεν cet. Itacism, and so 142 ἰλάσκαζες, 143 τοι (prob.), 146 σοὶ, 162 κρεμβαλιαστήν, 218 περρεβοῦς, ἰολκόν, 223 εἷξας, 224 μυκάλισσον, 117 φοίνικε for φοίνικι, 120 ἦγε for ἦμε must be called accidental.

125. ἐπώρξατο m, ἐπήρξατο cet. Ἐπώρξατο is possibly a conjecture, intended in the sense of ἐπωρέξατο (as Ilgen thought), or ω may simply have come out of η by ordinary permutation (cf. p. 266). Ἐπήρξατο is used unhomerically, but Gemoll's discussion upon its meaning is somewhat beside the mark: to the writer of this hymn no doubt it was simply an old word for 'to serve, pour.'

<sup>10</sup> La Roche, *Hom. Untersuchungen* i. p. 53, 51.

126. *κρατερὸν m*, *καρτερὸν cet.*, *sim.* 358. A constant change, due to absence of feeling for quantitative metre, *passim* in the Iliad MSS.

127. *ἄβροτον m*, *ἄμβροτον cet.* (cf. 411 *τερψιβρότου m*, *τερψιμβρότου cet.*). *Herm.* 71 *ἄμβροτοι*, 339 *λησίμβροτοι* without variation supports the *μβρ* here, but the forms, especially in *ἄβριμος*, etc., vary indefinitely in the MSS. Cf. La Roche, *Hom. Untersuch.* i. p. 6, 7.

129. *σπείρατα m*, *πείρατα cet.* *Σπείρατα* is perhaps a phonetic variation, as *σβήσαν* for *βήσαν* B 532 'C Eton.' L<sub>19</sub>, Ven.<sub>2</sub>, Vat.<sub>9, 15, 20</sub> Mc, helped by the reminiscence of *σπείρου*.

145. *ὑψηλῶν τ' ὀρέων ποταμοὶ ἄλαδε m*, *ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοὶ θ' cet.* An accidental transposition; at 24 there is no variant.

146. *ἐπιτέρπεο m*, *ἐπιτέρπεται cet.* The present is right, Thucydides' *ἐτέρφθης* being governed by *ἄλλ' ὅτε* in his version. *m*'s variant is no doubt accidental, cf. 428 *πέφανται* for *πέφαντο*, A 424 *ἔποντο* codd., *ἔπονται* Aristarch., B 448 *ἡρέθονται*, *ἡρέθοντο* Zenod., MSS. about equally divided, Δ 184 *δειδίσσεο*, *δειδίσσει* Mc, 264 *εὔχεται*, *εὔχεο* MSS. divided, *al.*

151. *ἄθάνατος m*, *ἄθανάτους cet.* Quite accidental, for the nom. can hardly be given sense. Cf. E 901 *καταθνητός*, *κατὰ θνητὸν*, 'Vrat. a' Pe, Ω 499 *αὐτούς*, *αὐτός* 'L Lips.' Vat.<sub>1, 23</sub>.

157. *δηλιάδες m*, *δηλιάδες δ' ἄρ. m* is obviously right, δ' is added to make metre. I have no instances of δ' itself used for this purpose, but the following are examples of the insertion of other quantity-making letters or words. Θ 21 *ἂν ἐρύσαιτ'*, *ἂν μ' ἐρύσαιτ'* 'S. Mosc. 1' and many MSS. Δ 457 *ἔξω τε χροός, τ' ἐκ χροός* 'BC' L<sub>9, 12</sub> (cf. *ἀπὸ ἀπέκ*, v. 110, p. 274); Δ 459 *δὲ μεγάλθυμοι, δ' αὖ* 'L Harl. Vrat. b, Mosc. 3' L<sub>3, 4, 16</sub>, Ven.<sub>3</sub>, A.<sup>11</sup> Vat.<sub>6, 15, 19, 23, 25</sub>, M<sub>1, 12</sub>; *Ap.* 491 *ἐπικαίοντές γ' ἐπὶ m* ΓΟ, *ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ cet.*, Γ 430 *πρίν γ' εὔχε'*, *γ' om.* 'CD' Vat.<sub>10, 22</sub>, *ib.* 442 *ὦδέ γ' ἔρω*s Ven. A. and L<sub>3</sub>, *γ' om.* cet., E 821 *τήν γ' οὐτάμεν, γ' om.* 'L' L<sub>3, 6, 12, 21</sub> M<sub>1, 12</sub>. Θ 131 *ἤντε ἄρνες, ἤντε γ'* 'S Cant.' L<sub>16</sub>, R<sub>1</sub> M<sub>5, 11</sub> *ἤνπερ* M<sub>10</sub>, *h. Herm.* 371 *νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο, νέον γ'* D p (exc. AQ).

162. *κρεμβαλιαστήν M*, *κρεμβαλιασ(τ)ὺν ἄρ.* Itacism; *m* no doubt had *κρεμβαλιαστὺν*. Cf. the similar variations *πουλὺν*, *πουλῆν*, *πολλὺν*, *πολλῆν* Θ 50, K 27.

171. *ὑποκρίνεσθ' m*, *ὑποκρίνασθ' cet.* A very common exchange. It may suffice to quote from the Hymns alone *Ap.* 321, 430, 543, *Herm.* 343, 408, *Ares* viii. 12. Here the aorist seems fixed by *μνήσασθ'* 167 where there is no variant.

181. *γὰρ m*, *δ' αὖ cet.* Δ' αὖ is here the better reading. Such particles are constantly interchanged; I give for instances H 328 *πολλοὶ γὰρ τεθνήσκει, μὲν* many codd., *δὴ* Ven.<sub>5</sub>, N<sub>4</sub>, Vat.<sub>1</sub>, *δὲ* N<sub>2</sub>, Pa, Pe, Θ 238 *δὴ ποτὲ φημι, γάρ* 'H' Ven. 13.

*ib.* Δήλοιο *περικλύστου m*, *περικλύστης ἄρ.* On *περίκλυστος* see Lobeck, *Proleg.* p. 474; the word varies in one play of Aeschylus, *Pers.* 599 *περικλύστα νᾶσος*, 882 *νᾶσοι—περίκλυστοι*, so that *περικλύστου* here need

<sup>11</sup> A = Angelica C i. 2.

not be called a 'conjecture.' A real conjecture is to hand in the second reading of Γ, *περικλύστοιο*, which would involve the omission of *μέγ'*. Cf. p. 261.

192. *ἀφραδέες* *m*, *ἀμφαδέες* cet. One of the most signal instances of the excellence of *M*. The corruption *ἀμφαδέες* arose from *ρ* dropping out of *ἀφραδέες*, leaving *ἀφαδέες*, to strengthen which *μ* was added more or less on the analogy of *ὄβριμος*, *ὄμβριμος*. Γ's corrector saw the truth.

198. *εἶδος ἀγανή* *m*, *ἀγητή* cet. No defence of *ἀγανή* can be offered; it is a conjecture, possibly motivated by some corruption in *ἀγητή*.

200. *ἐν δ'* *m*, *ἐνθ'* cet. 'Εν δ' is naturally right; *τῆσιν* needs a preposition. Δ' and θ' are exchanged almost *passim* as particles, it is rarer to find them confused as parts of words; cf. however ξ 78 *ἐν δ'*, *ἐνθ'* 'FO,' A 93 *οὔθ'*, *οὐδ'*, MSS. divided.

204. *μέγα* *m*, *μέγαν* cet. *Μέγα* is very likely an accident, due to the abbreviation *μέγᾱ*. *Μέγας* and *μέγα* (adverb) are exchanged in the *Iliad*, B 111, I 18, but not before a vowel.

209. *ὀππότεν ἰέμενος* *m*, *ὄππος' ἀνώμενος* cet. (*ὀππότη' S*). *ἀνώμενος* appears really to conceal Martin's brilliant conjecture *μνωόμενος*; the consonants *μν* occurring together seem to have had a tendency to part, *c.g.* A 113 *κλυταιμνήστρης*, *κλυταιμνήστρης* Ven. A, λ 439 *κλυταιμνήστρα* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 71 (cod. Laur. 32, 9), Ω 347 *αἰσυμνητῆρι*, *αἰσυμνητῆρ'* 'Pap. 2 man.'. *νώνυμος*, *νώνυμος* frequently; in these instances *ν* has fallen out while *μ* remains, but Θ 304 *αἰσύμηθεν* codd., *αἰσύμηθεν* Aristarch., *αἰσύνηθεν* (ut vid.) Aristophanes and Zenodotus. *Μνωόμενος* then became *νωόμενος*, and *οππως οππος* somewhat as in *M* at *Ap.* 19; *α* was then added to give a sort of word. 'Ιέμενος in *M* wears a strong look of a conjecture, while conversely from *ιέμενος* one could hardly suppose *ωόμενος* conjectured.

I may notice further that the principal verb, *ἔκιες*, is not necessarily sound, cf. ο 157 *κιχών* 'GUZ.' *κιών* 'FPHXDJLW Eust.'<sup>12</sup>

220. *τῷ τ' οὐχάδε* *m*, *τό τοι οὐχάδε* cet. *Τοι* first disappeared, under the influence of hiatus, then *το* was lengthened to make metre.

223. *ἀπ'* *m*, *ἐπ'* cet. The context makes *ἀπ'* right; the interchange of these prepositions need not be illustrated. Demetrius conjectured *ἀπ'*.

<sup>12</sup> The passage that follows, 209--213, is no touchstone to decide the excellence of MSS. Where many proper names come together and a corruption takes place the particular form that they will assume is almost pure chance: the authority lies in the facts of the story, not in one or another family. Find once a consistent story for Apollo's amours, and the names will be decided independently of diplomatic evidence. The actual H. given by the MSS. are much on a level; 209 *ἀτλαντίδα* *m* is not necessarily a conjecture more than *ἀσαντίδα* of cet., nor 211 is *ἀμαρύνθω* *n* necessarily superior to *θα' ἔρεχθεῖ* *m* or *ἀα' ἔρευθεῖ* *x*. 213 *ἐλέλιψεν* *m* is enigmatical, possibly a corruption for

*ἐνέλειψεν* intended as the 1 aor. of *ἐλλείπω*, but in face of the total absence of direction from the context one cannot call it a conjecture (Schneidewin's notion that *ἐνέλιπεν* of *xp* represented a marginal note *ἐλλείπει* has met with no one's acceptance but Baumeister's. *Λείπει*, not *ἐλλείπει*, is the word found in this connection.) *Τρίπος* 213 is *genitive*: the form *τρίοψ* is warranted by Apollodorus i. 7, 4, 2 *Κανάκη δὲ ἐγέννησεν Τρίοπα*, 3 *Ἰφιμέδειαν τὴν Τρίοπος*. Translate 'he came not short of Triops (his ancestor),' cp Δ 399, 400, though of whom this is said, as the passage stands, is doubtful.

224. τέμμισον *m*, τευμησσόν *x*, τελμησσόν *p*. Another correction to make metre, see *ante*, p. 263.

231. ἀναπνέει *m*, ἀναπνείει *cet*. Right; contra, *Herm.* 413 *m* is wrong with ἔρμειω against ἔρμέω of *cet*.

232. om. MBO; hab. *cet*. Homoeoteleuton, acting (naturally) independently on M and these two members of *p*. See *ante*, p. 272.

233. ἐκ δὲ δίφροιο *m*, ἐκ δίδροιο. Accidental reduplication.

234. κρατεύουσι *m*, κροτέουσι *cet*. A mistake in spelling; or can the scribe of *m* have intended κρατέουσι to go with οὐδὲ of *m* (and *x*)? It is needless to say that κροτέουσι is established by O 453.

247. τελφοῦσ' *m*, δελφοῦσ' *cet.*, and 256, 276. At 244 *m* has with the rest δελφούση; at 377, 379, 386, 387 all have the correct τελφ. At 244 Γ, at 276 L, have been corrected to τελφ. A striking case of the arbitrariness of both corruptions and corrections.

249. πολλοὶ *m*, ἐνθαδ' *cet*. Πολλοὶ has a fair claim to be called an independent reading; at least it is hard to see how ἐνθάδ' here if it were original should have lost its place. In 249 it is justified as an antecedent to ὅσοι in 250, 251, which are not repeated in the corresponding passage below: there (260) it may either therefore not have stood at all, or may have been ejected by the influence of ἐνθάδ' in 258.

251. ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νήσους *m*, ἀμφιρύτας *cet*. See *ante*, p. 261. V. 291 in the same phrase ἀμφιρύτους omnes. The -ους of *m* is therefore original, and -ας of *xp* probably a grammatical correction. In this hymn v. 27 we have Δήλω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ without variant, and the fem. termination

is the rule in the Odyssey (but α 50 νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ 'Ma'), cf. also Apollonius i. 1305 Τήνῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ. Later the word has two terminations, e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 983. The usage then is about equally balanced, and the conclusion must be to follow the majority of MSS. in each particular case.

263. πηγῶν *m*, πηγέων *cet*. A mere corruption, cf. p. 263.

269. παρνησοῖο *m*, παρνασ(σ)οῖο *cet*. Vv. 282, 396, 521, *Herm.* 555 παρνησοῖο without variation. The prose form is a variation in several places in τ, φ, and ω, and therefore we need not call παρνησοῖο here a correction.

*ib.* κρίση *m*, κρίσση *cet.*, and so 282, 431, 438, 445. The single σ is right, see Ebeling *Lc. Hom. s. κρίσα*. Whether *m* preserved the right spelling and *xp* corrupted it, or *m* corrected a common error, is an open question.

272. ἀλλά τοι ὥς *m*, ἀλλά καὶ ὥς *p*. Τοι might possibly be supposed repeated from τοι 270, but the sense of the passage seems to give it the preference over καὶ. Ἀλλά καὶ would represent the absence of chariots and horses as a disadvantage *in spite of* which the oracle might still prosper. Telphusa's argument is 'there will be no chariots indeed, but so, you see' (τοι), i.e. therefore, the place will do for an oracle. Τοι is persuasive and argumentative. Baumeister felt the objection to ὥς, though his conjecture is nonsense: τοι is not, as Gemoll says, Ruhnken's conjecture. For the permutation cf. τ 224 αὐτάρ τοι 'GPHJULW', ἀλλά καὶ ὥς 'XD γρ. U<sup>2</sup>'.



279. *ναιετάεσκον m, ναιετάασκον ap.* A mistake in spelling: cf. *Pan* xix. 32 *ψαφερότριχα v* for *ψαφαρότριχα*, *Ap.* 346 *φραζάσκετο v* for *-έσκετο*.

284. *πέτρος m, πέτρη ap.* *Πέτρος* appears to mean always a small stone: perhaps here it is a correction motivated by hiatus, cf. 341. The same variant is noted by Eustathius on *Π* 411 but without MS. support hitherto.

292. *ἄρ' m, ἄν ap.* *Ἄρ'* evidently gives much the livelier sense, and *ἄν* might have crept in grammatically, apart from its graphical closeness; cf. *Hom.* 246 *ἀνά, ἄρα*, *E* 686 *ἄρ', ἄν*, *L* 9<sup>14</sup> 17<sup>17</sup> *Ven.* 11<sup>11</sup> *κ* 130 *ἄμα* *Aristarch.* 'Ω,' *ἄρα* some critics and 'P' *ἄλα* *Rhianus* and *Callistratus*, 257 *ἄμα* 'Ω,' *ἄρα* 'P,' *ω* 8 *ἀνά* 'Ω' *ἄμα* 'FMZ,' *Ap. Rhod.* iii. 198 *ἀνὰ* *Laur. Guelf. Laur.* 16' *ἄρα* *codd. dett.* In the parallel passage *v.* 252 the MS. reading is *τοῖσιν δέ τ' ἐγώ*, and Ilgen's *κ'* for *τ'* is by no means necessary.

293. *θεμιστεύοιμι m, θεμιστεύσοιμι ap.* The parallel *v.* 253, where the variant only extends to *ΒΓ* of the *Parisienses*, makes the present certain. The insertion of *σ* between vowels in verb-forms is a common error in MSS. So *έκέλευε -ευσε* *B* 28, 50, 65, *Γ* 119, *I* 660, *Δ* 641, etc., *βουλεύωσ' -εύσωσ'* *B* 347, *τίωσ' τίσωσ'* *I* 258, etc. Cf. also *v.* 403, *Herm.* 560, *Apoll.* 125.

295. *καλὰ, διηνεκὲς m; μακρὰ, διαμπερές ap.* *V.* 255 all MSS. have *μακρὰ, διηνεκὲς*, from which it may be supposed that here where the line is repeated *m* failed in memory over one word, and *ap* over the other. *καλὰ* might be a reduplication of *μάλα*; for the exchange cf. *μ* 436 where *Apoll.* *L* reads *καλοὶ* for *μακροί*. *Διηνεκὲς* as an adv. does not appear elsewhere.

308. *ἦνεκ' ἄρα M (ἦνίκε' m?), εὔτ' ἄρα δὴ ap.* The dots affixed in *M* call attention to the error of spelling in *ἦνεκ'*, which is not for *οὔνεκ'* or *εἵνεκ'*, as *Ruhnken* and *Hollander* suggest, but a mere blunder for *ἦνίκε'*, which occurs without variant *χ* 198, *Theognis* 1275. It is an independent reading, and, of the two, preferable to *εὔτ' ἄρα δὴ* of *ap*.

318. *ἔμβαλον m, ἔμβαλεν ap.* The 3 pers. of *ap* is evidently due to a misunderstanding of the person referred to in *ἐλοῦσα*. The right correction occurred to *Demetrius Chalcondyles* and the reviser of *Γ*. The connexion of 317. 318 is still unsettled, and the alterations of *τέκον*, from *Ruhnken's* to *Gennoll's*, are futile. *Chalcondyles' λείπει* hits the mark; the words *ὃν τέκον αὐτῇ* are emphatic and cannot be dispensed with. *Hephaestus* is 'her son whom she bore herself' in contrast to the unnatural methods of *Zeus*, who must needs assume the part of mother: 324 *οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τεκόμην*; On the other hand a construction is required between 317 and 318; to read *δὲ* for *ἀνά*, with *Abel* and the second hand of *Γ*, is equivalent to giving up the situation. A lacuna, containing such a line as *αἰσχρὸς ἐμοὶ καὶ ὄνειδος ἐν οὐρανῷ· ὃν τε καὶ αὐτῇ* or the like must be supposed. The similar ending caused the omission; if the assonance offends, cf. 230, 231, and 537, 538.<sup>124</sup>

321. *χαρίσασθαι M, χαρίζεσθαι ap.* The aorist, as *Hollander* p. 22 says, is more suitable to the context which deals with a past event; see the

<sup>124</sup> This passage is discussed by *Peppmüller*. I cannot agree either with his alteration of *αὐτῇ* (317), nor his bracketing of 318-321.

passages collected in Ebeling, *L.c. Hom.* We should therefore read *χαρίσ(σ)ασθαι*, though I have not found another example of the doubling of *σ* in this word. Gemoll's 'vielleicht richtige Konjekture' begs the question; why, if M's reading is right, should it be a conjecture? The single *σ* of *χαρίσασθαι* is so far in favour of its genuineness, cf. 430, *Hym.* 343, 408.

Presents and aorists infin. are often exchanged; cf. E 255 *ἐπιβαίνεμεν*, *ἐπιβήμεναι* 'EM' Ven. <sub>3</sub>, Vat. <sub>25</sub>, γρ. Vat. <sub>5</sub>, M 50 *διαβαίνεμεν*, *διαβήμεναι* 'Townl.' Z 105 *μαχέσασθαι*, *μαχέεσθαι* 'E' L <sub>15</sub>, <sub>20</sub>, Vat. <sub>3</sub>, <sub>6</sub>, <sub>16</sub>, <sub>21</sub>, M <sub>1</sub>, <sub>6</sub>, A 213 id. *μαχέεσθαι* L <sub>2</sub>, Vat. <sub>25</sub>, M <sub>3</sub>, <sub>13</sub> Pa, Θ 449 *ὀλλύσαι*, *ὀλλύναι*, L<sub>5</sub>, Vat. <sub>2</sub>.

322. *σχέτλια m*, *σχέτλιε xp*. An accident; assimilation to *ποικιλομήτα*.

ib. *μητίσαι m*, *μήσαι x*, *ἔτι μήσαι p*. See p. 264. *Μητίομαι* is amply guaranteed in Homer, cf. merely 325a, *Dem.* 345, Γ 416. The passage λ 474 *σχέτλιε τίπτ' ἔτι μείζον ἐπὶ φρεσὶ μήσαι ἔργον* (where *ἔτι* goes closely with *μείζον*) is not enough to turn the balance in favour of *p*; <sup>12b</sup> rather it supplied the correction *ἔτι*, after the original *μητίσαι* had, as explained above, contracted into *ΜΗ(ΤΙ)CΕΔΙ*.

326. *καὶ νῦν μέντοι m*, *καὶ νῦν μὲν τοὶ γὰρ x*, *καὶ νῦν τοι γὰρ p*. *m*'s combination is perhaps the best. It may be doubted whether the other reading was *καὶ νῦν τοι γὰρ* or *καὶ νῦν μὲν γὰρ*; *x* at any rate presents a conflation of both.

339. *ἐστιν. ὅσον m*, *ἡ πόσσον x*, *ἡ παρόσον p*. I have suggested above, p. 264, that the *π* in the reading of *xp* was due to the scribe's desire to avoid the hiatus *HOCON*; Demetrius Chalcondyles less sensitive restored *ἡ ὅσον*. The point in M's reading may be an indication of the same feeling, and *ἐστιν* a correction for the same purpose. The *ἡ* of *xp* would suit with an original *εἴη* (Hermann's conjecture), the first syllable of which was treated as a dittography of the second and consequently omitted; cf. A 366 where for *εἴη* Vat. <sub>2</sub>, <sub>25</sub> read *ἡ*. M's *ἐστιν* on the other hand suggests *ἔστω* (which I would put in the text), and *ἔστω ὅσον*, *εἴη ὅσον* may have been a pair of independent readings. Parts of the verb 'to be' are often interchanged, *c.g.* K 41 *ἔσται*, *ἐστι*, *εἴη*, 239 *ἐστιν*, *εἴη*, A 366 *ἐστι*, *εἴη*, *ἡ* and even *ἔλθοι*: *Ap.* 82 *ἔσται*, *ἐστι*. Anth. Pal. vi. 243, 4 *εἴη. ὅσοι* 'P' *ἴσμεν ὅσοι* 'Pl.' is a curious resemblance.

341. *ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα m*, *ἡ δ' ἐσιδοῦσα xp*. The reading of *xp* is palpably a metrical expedient; in v. 255 it has invaded *m* also. This desire, semi-conscious, of scribes and readers, both mediaeval and ancient, to avoid what they considered hiatus, leads to different combinations: cf.

ρ 9. *με ἴδεται*, *μ' ἐσιδεται* 'FGXDUZ'; so perhaps *τε ἴδη* is rightly restored Hes. *Op.* 610 for *τ' ἐσιδη* of codd.

Z 365. *δ' ἐσελεύσομαι*, *δὲ ἐλεύσομαι*, MSS. equally divided; ρ 52 *δ' ἐσελεύσομαι* Aristarchus and most MSS., *δὲ ἐλεύσομαι* Aristophanes, *δ' ἐλεύσομαι* 'F'.

Γ 349. *ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ* L <sub>5</sub>, <sub>11</sub>, <sub>16</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, Ven. <sub>1</sub>, <sub>5</sub>, <sub>10</sub>, Vat. <sub>11</sub>, Mo,<sup>13</sup> Pa. Pe. M <sub>11</sub>,

<sup>12b</sup> As lately Peppmüller, *L.c.* n. 8. has maintained.

<sup>13</sup> Mo = Modena iii. D 4.

for ἀσπίδι ἐν. Sim. P 45. The commonest reading is a mixture, ἀσπίδι ἐνί.

Δ 542. ἐλοῦσ' ἀτάρ, ἐλοῦσ' αὐτάρ vulg. for the proper ἐλοῦσα ἀτάρ which seems found unambiguously only in L<sub>14</sub>, Vat.<sub>12</sub>, B<sub>1</sub>.

Cf. also Θ 376 ὄφρ' ἂν ἴδωμαι for ὄφρα ἴδωμαι, H 198 οὐδέ τ' αἰδρεῖη for οὐδέ τι ἰδρεῖη, H 452 ὅτ' ἐγώ, τότ' ἐγώ for τὸ ἐγώ, I 564 κλαῖ' ὅτε μιν for κλαῖε ὁ μιν, Λ 417 ἀμφὶ δέ τ' αἰσσοῦνται, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰσσοῦνται and even ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖτ' αἰσσοῦνται for ἀμφί τε αἰσσοῦνται, E 4 δαῖε δέ οἱ, δαῖε δ' οἱ for δαίε οἱ.

342. ὤετο M, οἶετο *rp*. Ignorant misspelling.

349. μῆνες *m*, νύκτες *xp*. Μῆνες, the reading without variant of the parallel places, λ 294, ξ 293, is undoubtedly the real tradition; νύκτες is inappropriate in the context and owes its position to the automatic suggestion of ἡμέραι. Gemoll's 'Besserung,' applied to μῆνες, begs the question; if *m* is right and *xp* are wrong, why must *m* be a 'Besserung' of *xp*?

350. ἐπιτελλομένου *m*, περιτελλομένου *cet*. Περιτελλομένου is read in the two Odyssey places just quoted, but in both cases with the variant ἐπι-; λ 295 'sch. Yv 65,' ξ 294, ἐπι *supraser*. 'H<sub>3</sub>X.' It is improper therefore to talk of *m*'s 'coniectandi libido' with Baumeister. The ἐπι- probably came from ἐπήλυθον which follows (so ξ 204, ἐπήλυθον itself is *supraser*. παρή in 'X'), helped by a reminiscence of the word ἐπιτέλλεσθαι itself.

352. τυφῶν *m*, τυφάονα *cet*. Natural variation of spelling, like ἀγήρων, ἀγήρω τ', ἀγήραον B 447, εἰσῶ εἰσαο I 645 etc.

*ib.* πῆμα θεοῖσι *m*, πῆμα βροτοῖσι *cet*. Ruhnken accepted θεοῖσι, and after him Ilgen. βροτοῖσι, however, seems fixed by 306 and μ 125; the homocoteleuton of 351, 352 may have produced the opposite of its usual effect, and have made the scribe of *m* imagine that the second βροτοῖσι had driven out the original word. We have the same change β 216, βροτῶν 'Ω' θεῶν 'PY'; contrariwise Hes. *Therog.* 329 πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις.

356. τῶγ' *m*, τῆγ' *cet*. I do not know if τῶγ' is a real correction, based on a misunderstanding (*i.e.* = τῶγ'), or a graphical confusion, to be added to the instances p. 266.

367. τυφωνεὺς *m*, τυφωεύς *cet*. Ruhnken is inclined to defend τυφωνεὺς, comparing the article in Hesychius, τυφωνεῖ ἐνὶ τῶν γιγάντων. The form in Hesych. is generally emended into τυφωεῖ, but even so it is evidently the same corruption as in our passage; it is a half-conscious rewriting, due to a mental mixture of τυφῶν and τυφωεύς. In MSS. at large also there is a tendency to insert a *v* between adjacent vowels.

374. πέλας *m*, πέλωρ *cet*. A corruption that I cannot explain. There is no similarity between the symbol for *as* and *ωρ*; still we have the same change exactly ι 428. 'An pro τέρας?' says Ruhnken.

375. βοῖβος *m*, φοῖβος *cet*. Phonetic.

379. ἐξαπαφούσα *m*, ἐπαπάφουσα *cet*. Right accentuation preserved in *m*.

394. ἀγγέλλουσι *m*, ἀγγέλλουσι *v*, ἀγγελέουσι *p*. *m* preserves the present; in ῥέξουσιν however it wavers with the rest. I agree with Gemoll that the

present is to be retained in both cases, and that οἱ ῥα—Παρνησοῖο is parenthetical.<sup>13a</sup> The arrangement is harsh, but excusable as an amplification of Κρηῆτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωίου. The whole hymn gives the history of existing institutions, and this parenthesis calls attention to the point now to be explained: 'he saw a ship in which were men, Cretans, the Cretans who etc.' Müller, *Dorians* i. p. 233, says 'it is known from many traditions and historical traces that the connexion established by the Cretans continued for a long time.' Cf. 518 οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες, *Herm.* 125, 6. Peppmüller *l.c.* p. 266 sq. defends the transpositions.

402. οὔτις *m*, ὅστις *xp.* ἐπεφράσατο *m*, ἐπιφράσσατο *v*, ἐπιφράσσαιτο *p.* Nothing seems certain here except that νοῆσαι is corrupt and that the commonly adopted ἡδ' ἐνόησεν (after θ 94) is an inert supplement. Query νωμῆσαι? on the meaning of the word see under *Dem.* 373, in part III.; cf. E 777 νέμεσθαι, νέεσθαι, Theognis 705 νόοιο 'ΑΟ,' νόημα *cet.* Νωμήσαι would have the advantage of preserving ἐπεφράσατο, which seems genuine, while ἐπιφράσσατο and -αιτο are evidently metrical corrections. Translate 'not one had the wit to lay hands on him,' on the supposed dolphin. Οὔτις therefore seems the better reading, ὅστις may have been a conjecture to avoid the apparent asyndeton of 403. (Peppmüller *l.c.* accepts οὐδ' ἐνόησε.)

403. ἀνασσεύσκει *m* (and T), ἀνασσεύσασκε *cet.* The imperfect is more in accordance with τίνασσε. See v. 293 for the tendency of σ to insert itself.

*ib.* νῆια δουρός *m*, δούρα *cet.* An ignorant correction.

407. τὰ πρώτιστα *m*, πρῶτα *cet.* Τὰ πρώτισθ' occurs v. 237, πρώτιστα *Herm.* 25, 111 and confirm the form. Πρῶτα is presumably a gloss. Similar variants are Δ 297 ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα (πρώτιστα 'Vrat. b.c.' R<sub>4</sub>, Vat.<sup>20, 31</sup> A Mc, πρῶτον Ven.<sup>3</sup> Vat.<sup>6, 25</sup>), Ξ 295 οἶον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ Aristarchus 'ACL' Ven.<sup>3</sup> Vat.<sup>2, 23, 25</sup> Pa, Pe (πρώτιστον alii and most MSS. πρῶτον om. περ L<sup>6, 8</sup> Vat.<sup>13</sup> Mc). These variations are unintentional, a specimen of a real conjecture is that of Demetrius, οἱ τὰ πρῶτα.

420. ἦι' *m*, ἦεν *x*, ἦεν *p.* It is generally recognized that *m* has kept the right form. ἦεν arises first from contraction (as ἦε M 371), then ν is added to avoid the hiatus. Similar variants occur σ 150; A 609 H 307 ἦι' preserves itself intact.

423. εὐκτιτον αἶπυ *m*, εὐκτί(σ)μενον αἶπύ *xp.* The same unmetrical corruption appears B 592, where εὐκτιστον, εὐκτίμενον and the impossible εὐκτίμεν' are common variants; Quintus, xii. 91 the MSS. have εὐκτίμενον ἐξαλαπάξειν for the necessary εὐκτιτον.

431. ἐπὶ *m*, ἐπεὶ *xp.* Ἐπὶ Κρίσης 'over against Crisa'; Crisa, being the principal place to which the gulf at that time led, is used as a general direction, equivalent to a point of the compass. 'When it had gone past all the Peloponnesus, and over against Crisa began to show the great gulf that

<sup>13a</sup> Another parenthesis which interrupts the logical order, but in past time, is Theoc. xiii. 22-24.

severs off the fertile Peloponnesus, i.e. to the East. For the sense cf. Herod. vii. 115 κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου, and other exx. in the Lexx. Ἐπεὶ of χρ is intolerable after ὅτε: Schneidewin's very bad alteration τάχ' ἐφαίνετο, though accepted by Gemoll, is sufficiently refuted by Ap. Rhod. iv. 1231 Πέλοπος δὲ νέον κατεφαίνετο γαῖα, Theocr. vii. 10 κοῦπω τὰν μεσάταν ὁδὸν ἄνυμες, οὐδὲ τὸ σᾶμα | ἄμιν τὸ Βρασίλα κατεφαίνετο.<sup>13b</sup>

436. ἄψορρον *m*, ἄψορροι *xr*. Cf. *Her. m.* 141 παννύχιον *m*, παννύχιος *xr*. The adverb is not impossible, at any rate the variation has precedents; Ω 330 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἄψορροι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἀπονέοντο, ἄψορρον 'Ambr. L,' Ven. <sup>10</sup>: ἀντίον, ἀντίος, ἐναντίον, ἐναντίος, πλησίον, πλησίος, interchange *missim*, in the *Iliad*.

447. μέγα γὰρ δέος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω *m*, εἶλεν ἕκαστον *xr*. It is hard to see in what way the reading of *m* is inferior to that of *xr*. The turn is Homeric, Α 11 μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω. A *prioni* both readings may be independent. Somewhat similar changes of subject are δ 508 τὸ δὲ τρύφος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ, ἔμβαλε 'G,' ξ 31 ἔκπεσε, ἔκβαλε 'GXD.'

459. ἐπὶ *m*, ποτὶ *xr*. These prepositions are constantly interchanged; cf. H 83, K 336, 347, M 115, etc. There is a natural presumption that ἐπὶ is a gloss, and here the metre confirms it.

496. δελφίνιος *m*, δέλφειος *xr* (δελφίος DAOPQ). A word containing the elements δελφιν- seems necessary after δελφῖνι 494, δελφῖνίῳ 495, but δελφίνιος is obviously out of the question. May the right form be found in δελφίνης? Ap. Rhod. ii. 706 the name of the python is given in the line δελφύνην τόξοισι πελώριον ἐξενάριξεν, where the scholiast of L doubts as to the gender; τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δράκοντος οἱ μὲν ἀρρενικῶς οἱ δὲ θηλυκῶς εἶπον, δ καὶ βέλτιον. However this be in the verse of Apollonius, the existence of the masc. form δελφύνης seems assured by the next sentence of the scholiast, who continues ἄλλως. ὅτι δελφύνης ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ φυλάσσων τὸ ἐν δελφοῖς χρηστήριον Μαιάνδριος καὶ Καλλίμαχος εἶπον. If then the temple-keeper was called δελφύνης, the same word may have been an epithet of the altar; the spelling, on which in any case no weight can be laid (the MS. Guelf. in Apollonius has δελφίνην), may have varied according to the derivation imagined; here naturally one must read δελφίνης. The somewhat unusual masc. termination and the familiar title (Rhianus, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 278. 3 Φοῶβε σὺ δ' Ἰλαος δελφίνιε) amply accounts for M's -ιος, and δελφίνιος easily passed into δελφίος. Cf. the variants for ἐλατιονίδη v. 210.

501. εἰς ὅτε *m*, εἰσόκε *xr*. The use of εἰσόκε in Homer is mostly confined to places where it is followed by κε, e.g. β 99 εἰς ὅτε κεν, τ 144, ω 134; later, e.g. Athena xxviii. 14 Ap. Rhod. iv. 800, 1212, the word is found alone. In the *Odyssey* places there are several variants, β 99 εἰς ὅκε τέ 'H,' ω 134 εἰσόκε 'FZ,' and to a similar corruption I suppose that εἰς ὅτε is due here.

502. ἔφαθ' *m*, ἔφατ' *xr*. The inferior family neglect the aspirate.

505. βῆσαν *m*, βαῖνον *xr*. Βαῖνον is fixed by A 437, and the 1 aor.

<sup>13b</sup> I am glad to find myself in agreement here with R. Peppmüller, *Philologus* liii. p. 270.

seems only transitive. Βῆσαν may be a late gloss. The same variant however occurs O 384 Σ 68.

507. ἔργματα *m*, ἔρματα *cp*. The spelling of *m* is wrong, as at A 486 in 'H 2 man.,' Ven. 13. The γ is more frequent in ἐερμέναι; H 89 all codd., σ 295 'JH 2,' Apoll. 104.

516. ῥήσσοντες *m* Γ, φρίσσοντες *cp*. Only Baumeister has been found to suggest that *m* conjectured ῥήσσοντες—a feat that moderns as well as Byzantines might have been proud of. Φρίσσοντες is a curious example of double corruption, itacism (ρίσσοντες, so ῥύσσοντες Vat. 15 Σ 571), and correction into an actual word ((φρίσσοντες). Σ 571, the other passage where ῥήσσειν appears in Homer, 'Harl. Vat.' L 12, Ven. 3, Vat. 5, 22, 25, 26, turn it merely into πρήσσοντες. Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 4 εἰσήρρησεν codd., εἰσέφρησεν *c. l.* in schol.

537. αἰέν *m*, ὅσσα *cp*. Αἰέν perhaps, as Hollander p. 19 says, comes from αἰεῖ in 536.

543. ὄμματα *m*, ἡματα *cp*. Apparently a sheer, uncorrected error.

*Herm.* 11.<sup>13c</sup> <sup>εἰς</sup> μῆς *m*, μεις *cet*. T 117 the Chian read μῆς, but no MS. evidence is known for it. Is μῆς here merely itacistic? Hes. *Op.* 557 μεις without variant.

12. ἄγαγ' ἀρίσημα *m*, ἄγαγεν *cet*. In *m* first ν was omitted, then the ε, to avoid hiatus, suppressed.

15. πολύδοκον *m*, πυλῆδοκον *cet*. Itacism, cf. 50 πήχεις, 151 ἡλυμένος, 289 πήματον.

42. Marg. γρ. ὡς δοκεῖ μοι ἀγῶν' ἐξέτο *m*; cf. 88 γρ. ον, ην; *Ap.* 391 ἴσως <sup>η</sup> λείπει στίχος εἰς; *Herm.* xv. 5 πημαίνεται, these acknowledged corrections show the sort of intentional conjecture that the scribes of *m* effected. It is needless to say that none of them are the work of the actual writer of *M*; he copied them from his archetype with the rest of the book. I imagine them to be due to the tenth century propagator of *m*; at that period we find conjecture active on the margins of MSS. If ἀγῶν' on this line be thought too poor a suggestion to be true, then the original note can be put back into the uncial period, and time given for ΔΙΩΝ to corrupt into ΑΓΩΝ; but it seems to me a true scribe's conjecture, aiming merely at the nearest intelligible word, like a printer's correction of an author's MS. The identical correction, reversed, occurs in Laur. 32, 9 *Agamemnon* 1146, where for ἀγῶνα of the text the reviser writes in the margin γρ. αἰώνα.

45. ἢ ὅτε *m*, αἰ ὅτε *cp*, αἶς ὅτε *p*. This passage has been misinterpreted by every commentator, so far as I am aware, but Baumeister.<sup>14</sup> Accepting his αἰ δέ τε the translation goes: 'as when a swift thought passes through the heart of him whom thick cares disturb, and they, the sparks, dart from

<sup>13c</sup> I refer generally to Ludwich's edition (1891), in which are summed up his articles in the *Neue Jahrbuch für Philologie* 1886-1888.

*Rheinisches Museum*, 1888-1890.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwich's αἰψα is an attempt at the right sense.

his eyes, so at one time, word and deed, did brave Hermes devise.' That is to say Hermes' ἔργον followed upon his ἔπος with the rapidity with which, when a man is puzzled, as soon as ever an idea comes to him, his eyes light up. All four members (νόημα—ἀμαρυγαί, ἔπος—ἔργον) are necessary to the comparison; and therefore, if for no other reason, the theory of Hermann (praef. p. xlviii.) and others, that we have two alternatives run together in the text, falls to the ground; so does any interpretation based on ἢ ὅτε of *m*. Gemoll's inability to understand what cares and glances have to do with each other is a wonderful admission, even for a commentator. The psychology is minutely accurate; as long as the man is tossed by constant anxieties (ἐπιστροφῶσι μέριμναι) which seem to admit no solution, so long his eyes are dull; but *no sooner* does the happy thought cross his breast (διὰ στέρνοιο περήσῃ) than his eyes light up and glances dart from them (δινηθῶσιν) like light from a pool. He is in fact 'stung with the splendour of a sudden thought,' his case is

as when a great thought strikes along the brain  
and flushes all the cheek.<sup>15</sup>

The Homeric δέ τε to introduce an additional touch in the simile needs no illustration.

The palaeographical account on the other hand of the origin of the actual MS. readings is by no means as satisfactory. From ΔΙΔΕΤΕ one may perhaps get ΔΙΟΤΕ of *x* and ἀς ὅτε, as suggested p. 264, may be a further correction, but ἢ ὅτε of *m* is very far away and may point to an independent though inferior reading ἡύτε cl. v. 55. Somewhat similarly in Ap. Rhod. iv. 1453 Stephanus emended ἢ ὅτε for ἡύτε.

59. ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων *m*, ὀνομάζων *x*, ὀνομακλυτὴν ὀνομάζων *p*. *m* only preserves the original; in *x* the ἐξ has fallen out, as of ἐξήλυνε in v. 402, though there in *p* only. *x* leaves the line imperfect, *p* makes the impossible emendation ὀνομακλυτὴν; cf. p. 264. For ἐξονομάζειν cf. δ 278.

65. ἄλτο *m*, ὦτο *x*, ὠρτο *p*. Independent variants; T 62 δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο, marg. Ven. A ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐκ θρόνου ὠρτο οὕτω καὶ ἡ μασσαλιωτική, no MSS. seem to have the variant.

74. ἀγέλας *m*, ἀγέλης *x*. A matter of spelling; cf. 154 ἔλαθε, 356 ἡσυχία, *Aphr.* ἔκατι, *Herm.* xii. ἦραν.

78. πρῶτας *m* πρόσθεν *x*. Perhaps a gloss; cf. Δ 129 πρόσθε, πρῶτον L<sub>18</sub>, M 40 πρόσθεν, πρῶτον L<sub>5</sub>, 9, 12, 15, Ven. 9, 'C,' A, Mo, Vat. 20, 21, 29, M<sub>6</sub>.

82. νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν M, νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης *x*. The passage is somewhat uncertain, from the non-occurrence elsewhere of ἄγκαλον. The word presented by M is particularly mysterious. Hermann (praef. p. lvi.) conjectured ὥρης for the last word, and with this assumption

<sup>15</sup> Prof. Tyrrell has anticipated this Tennysonian reminiscence. Another is suggested by

*Aphr.* 219 sq.; who does not think of 'And thee returning on thy silver wheels'!

νεοθηλεαναγκαλωρην can be derived without much difficulty from νεοθηλε-<sup>ο</sup>  
αγκαλωρησ, if one compares the similar processes νεογνοίων 406 = νεογνέων,<sup>δ</sup>  
όλοσποδός 238 = ύλσποδος.<sup>ς</sup> The cadence resembles Hes. *Theog.* 576  
νεοθηλέας άνθεσι ποίης, Athen. 682 F στεφάνους εύώδεας άνθεα γαίης. Cf.  
also Mimnernus *fr.* 2, 1 πολυανθέος ὥρη | έαρος.

87. δέμων άνθοῦσαν *m.* δόμων αἰθουσαν *ap.* A striking instance of the deprivation of *ap.* Δέμειν in Homer is not used except of actual building, τείχη, πύργους, etc., but it is no great stretch to apply it to building up, terracing, tending, a vineyard, in the sense of the expressions *εύκτιμένη έν άλωή, εύκτιμένην κατ' άλωήν*.<sup>16</sup> What the old man was actually doing is defined by v. 90 ὦ γέρον ὅστε φυτὰ σκάπτεις, and his own words v. 207 ἔσκαπτον περιῖ γουνὸν άλωής οἶνοπέδοιο; in v. 188 he had moved on to another job. When therefore Hermes found him he was 'building up' his vineyard by digging about and tending the roots of his vines, *i.e.* digging out the furrows and loosening the earth about the roots, a usual springtime occupation in Mediterranean countries where corn and fodder are raised between the vines before the grape ripens (άνθοῦσαν). Gemoll's note lacks actuality. Δόμων αἰθουσαν seems partly corruption, partly conjecture.

88. ὀγχήστων λεχεποίων *M* originally; ὀγχηστον λεχεποιήν *ap.* The plural is inexplicable, unless it is another case of ω = η, cf. p. 266.

90. ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα *m.* ἐπικάμπυλος ὥμους *ap.* It is hard to believe that so satisfactory and stable a reading as ἐπικάμπυλος ὥμους can ever have been corrupted into ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα. Ξύλα may well mean the lower woody stalk of the vines about which the gardener is actually digging: this dry wood (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου, Eur. *Cycl.* 572 κύγκανα δ' ἀσπαλάθου ξύλα Theocr. xxiv. 89) is eminently 'twisted,' ἐπικάμπυλος, in contrast to the straight shoot which springs new each year. For the adjective cf. Hes. *Op.* 427 ἐπικάμπυλα κᾶλα; and generally Apollonius i. 1117 στύπος ἀμπέλου ἔντροφον ὕλη.

91. οἰνήσεις *m.* οἰνήσεις *ap.* οἰνήσεις of course is right. The words *εὐτ' άν τάδε πάντα φέρησι* illustrate άνθοῦσαν (the vine still in flower).

98. ἐγένετο *m.* ἐγίγνετο *ap.* A corruption, through ἐγίνετο.

108. πυρός δ' ἐπεμαίετο τύνη *m.* τέχνην *ap.* Τύνη is a considerable corruption from τέχνην, but θυμός v. 110 is analogous; Ruhnken conjectured αὐτμήν. The sense of the v. is difficult; ἐπιμαίεσθαι with an accusative elsewhere means 'to touch,' as ι 441 οἶον ἐπεμαίετο νῶτα, and this does not suit τέχνην. Ilgen, and after him Hermann, wished to give ἐπεμαίετο the sense of 'desire' and make it govern πυρός directly, as indeed is more natural, cl. K 401 δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός. Still the writer may have used the word as equivalent to ἐκμάσσατο, 511.

109. ἐνιάλλε σιδήρῳ *m.* ἐπέλεψε σιδήρῳ *ap.* On primitive fire-making see the passages and authorities quoted in Baumeister's and Gemoll's notes.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotus uses it in two places of a road: see Ilgen, or the Lexx.



Ἐπέλεψε seems sound, of pruning and pointing the stick to make it a proper borer; so in exactly the same sense A 236 *περὶ γὰρ ῥά ἐ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε* | *φύλλα τε καὶ φλοῖόν*, of the sceptre, and Φ 455 *ἀπολεψέμεν οὐατα χαλκῷ*, with variants *ἀποκόψειν*, *ἀποκοψέμεν*. Ἐνίαλλε has hitherto been inexplicable; according to *ἵαλλε* and *προίαλλε* it can only mean ‘thrust on, dashed on,’ which, as Gemoll has seen, would make *σιδήρῳ* = *στορεῖ*, naturally an impossible combination. Dr. Postgate suggests that *ἐνίαλλε* may be a contortion of *λείαινε* ‘smoothed’ (Quintus xii. 136 *οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ἀπ’ ὄζους* | *λείαινον*). In any case the actual process of friction is omitted (as the act of lighting is v. 113), for *σιδήρῳ* can mean nothing but ‘knife.’ If Hermes had a *γλύφανον* with which he scooped out the tortoise and apparently killed two cows, there is nothing to prevent another tool appearing on the scene.

110. *ἄμπνυτο* *m*, *ἀνὰ δ’ ἄμπνυτο* *ap*. *m* is right, seeing that *ἄμ(εμ)πνυτο* has the *υ* long in Homer. Similar variations depending on misapprehended metre are B 828 *οἱ δ’ ἀδρήστειαν*, *οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ἀδρήστειαν* ‘H,’ L<sub>10</sub> Ven. 1<sup>13</sup>, Vat. 1<sup>13</sup> 14<sup>1</sup> 23<sup>1</sup>, M 1<sup>12</sup>, Pa, Pe, B<sub>1</sub>, E 363 *τῇ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀρης*, *τῇ δ’ ἄρης*, MSS. equally

divided. H 186 *ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ τὸν ἵκανε* vulg., *δὴ ῥ’ ἵκανε* Ven. A, Ven. 1<sup>1</sup>.

Vat. 10<sup>1</sup>, *δὴ ῥ’ ἵκοντο* Aristarch., no codd., A 528 *ἄρμ’ ἰθύνομεν*, *ἄρματ’ ἰθύνομεν* MSS. equally divided, M 218 *ὄρνις ἦλθε* Aristarch. but no MSS., *ὄρνις ἐπῆλθε* MSS.

*ἢ. θυμὸς αὐτμῇ m*, *θερμὸς αὐτμῇ ap*. Ἀναπνέειν seems always used of mental or bodily processes in Homer; still the phrase *θερμὸς αὐτμῇ* is so strongly supported (see the comm.) that *θυμὸς* must be supposed a correction of *θεμὸς*, *ρ* having fallen out.

119. *ἐκκρίνας m*, *ἐγκλίνων ap*. The place is admittedly difficult.<sup>161</sup> Ἐγκλίνων can hardly be distinguished in meaning from *ἐκύλινδε*. Ἐκκρίνας does not occur in Homer, but may mean ‘taking them apart,’ *i.e.* first one then the other. I am unable to judge between the readings. I may observe however that *ἐκύλινδε*, which neither Baum. nor Gemoll can understand, is necessary to the story. Hermes had thrown two cows down; they fell upon their backs (*ἐπὶ νῶτα*); he then, in order to get at their backbones (*αἰῶνες*), rolled them over and pierced their spines with his *γλύφανον*.

One understands that when cattle are poleaxed at the present day the essential part of the process consists in the penetration of the brain by a spike, by which death is immediately produced. Hermes’ action in ‘boring’ through the cows’ *αἰῶνες* is virtually the same. The throat-cutting was a second stage, passed over by the writer here; in v. 405 Apollo mentions the second act only, *χειροτομήσαι*. The two parts of the operation are clearly given in the account γ 442 *sq.*, Ap. Rhod. i. 425 *sq.*, and where Eumaeus kills a pig ξ 425. Quintus i. 264 gives only the former part; the second only is mentioned A 457 *sq.*, B 420 *sq.*, Γ 292, H 313. The instruments are given in a line of Anth. P. vi. 306, 4 *σὺν πελέκει καὶ τὰν λαιμοτόμον σφαγίδα*.

<sup>161</sup> Ludwig, *N. J. f. Phil.* 1888, p. 734 *sq.*

Gemoll's difficulties are therefore unnecessary. On *ἀντιτορήσας*, which I would read, see p. 265.

120. *πίονα δημῶ* *m*, *πίονι δημῶ* *xp*. The inferior MSS. attract *πίονα* into the case of *δημῶ*; so in the same phrase Ψ 750 we have *πίονι* in 'L' (and the reverse mistake *πίονα δημόν* in L<sub>4</sub>), ι 464 *πίονι* 'GPHJTKW', ρ 241 in the phrase *πίονι δημῶ* we find *πίονα* in 'G.'

132. *ἐπεπείθετο* *m*, *οἱ ἐπείθετο* *xp*. The dative *ἰμείροντι* 133 makes *οἱ* necessary. 'Επεπείθετο (v. 395) no doubt was invented by one of the scribes of *m* after *οἱ* had fallen out, to make metre. Somewhat similar is H 195 where for *γε πύθωνται* we find *πεπύθωνται* in 'F Vrat. c. Mosc. 3, L<sub>9</sub>, Ven. 9, Vat. 9, 22, while *γε* is omitted without substitute in M<sub>5, 7, 11</sub>. M 162 *ὦ πεπλήγετο, ἐπεπλήγετο* 'L' Vat. 19, 23, *ib.* 229 *οἱ πειθοίατο, πεπιθοίατο* 'Ambros.,' O 162 *ἐπέεσσ' ἐπιπείσεται, ἐπέεσσι πεπείσεται* L<sub>19</sub>, Vat. 2, M<sub>9</sub>, A Mo, *πιπείσεται* Ven. 9.

138. *ἐπειδὴ* *m*, *ἐπεὶ* *xp*, *ἐπεὶ τοι* A ed. pr. Here on the contrary *m* has preserved the necessary *δὴ*, the place of which after it had fallen out in *xp* was supplied by the conjecture *τοι* in A and ed. pr. Cf. φ 25 *ἐπειδὴ Διὸς υἱόν, δὴ* om. 'U,' 205 *αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ, δὴ* om. 'DWY.' So Hollander, p. 22. These two instances, following one upon the other, may show the arbitrariness of correction.

141. *παννύχιον* *m*, *παννύχιος* *xp*. *Παννύχιον* might stand as an adverb cf. ἄψορον *xp*. 436, p. 282.

*ib.* *κατέλαμπε* *m*, *ἐπέλαμπε* *xp*. 'Επέλαμψε occurs P 650, and the parts of *ἀπολάμπω* frequently; *καταλάμπω* though found in later Greek is not Homeric. Does this however affect its position here?

148. *ἰθύσας* *m*, *ἰθύνας* *xp*. 'Ιθύσας is the right form and is generally accepted, cf. *ἐπιθύει* 475. For a similar confusion between like forms cf. H 195 where for *δύω* Aristarchus read *δύνω* and the form is preserved in Vat. 12.

*ib.* *ἄντρον* *m*, *ἄντρον* *xp*. The accusative seems a conjecture resting on a misapprehension. 'Ἄντρον (of the construction of which Baum. doubts) is of course directly dependent on *ἰθύσας*; cf. O 693 *ἰθυσε νεός, α* 119 *βῆ δ' ἰθὺς προθύροιο, γ* 17 *ἰθὺς κίε Νέστορος* 'straight for.'

159. *φέροντα* *m*, *λαβόντα* *xp*. Here, as in other passages where the sense is lost, the merits of the MSS. cannot be estimated from their readings. *Prima facie* *φέροντα* and *λαβόντα* are on a level, and as they do not improve the sense there is no reason to call one a correction of the other. The sense appears to me to require a lacuna which might be filled thus;

159 ὅς σε λαβὼν ῥίψει κατὰ τάρταρον ἡερόεντα (cf. 256)

159α ἢ σε λαθόντα μεταξὺ κατ' ἄγκεα φηλητεύσειν.

'either Apollo will bind you and throw you down to Tartarus, or if you escape (*λαθόντα*) you will be an outlaw in the *maechia*.' This utilizes the reading of *xp*; the resemblance of *σε λαβὼν* to *σε λαθόντα* accounts for the omission of 159α and the contamination *λαβόντα*.

• 164. ὅς μάλα πολλὰ μετὰ φρεσὶν ἄρμενα οἶδε *m*, παῦρα—αἴσυλα *xp*

*Αἴσυλα* seems too cynical a term to suit *Hermes'* supposed character (*νήπιον*, *ταρβαλέον κ.τ.λ.*), and with this feeling Ruhnken conjectured *αἴσιμα*. The passage T 201 quoted by editors since Pierson is not in point; there Aeneas retorts to Achilles that he also understands *ἡμὲν κερτομίας ἥδ' αἴσυλα μυθήσασθαι*, i.e. to utter scoff and evil speech. Could a precocious infant make the same reply to his mother? *Hermes'* answer is rather that he is not an ordinary child, senseless and without counsel, timorous and afraid; for (166) his action is deliberate and intended for their common benefit. This difficulty is by no means removed by the reading of M, *πολλὰ—ἄρμενα*. On the other hand I cannot imagine that this is a correction or corruption from that of *αἴσιμα*; the difficulties in *παῦρα—αἴσυλα* were not likely to occur to a Byzantine scribe or reader. *Ἄρμενα* in Homer always and Hesiod mostly is used of concrete objects: *Scut.* 84 however οἱ ῥά μιν ἡσπάζοντο καὶ ἄρμενα πάντα παρείχον, 116 μάλα γάρ νύ οἱ ἄρμενα εἶπεν are metaphorical instances, and cf. *Theognis* 275, 695, *Theocr.* xxix. 9, *Plato Anth.* vii. 35, 1. On the whole, to make the best of what the MSS. give us, I suggest that the actual readings are the result of the dislocation of two original ones, *πολλὰ—αἴσυλα*, i.e. 'a very naughty boy (justly) afraid and dreading his mother's rebuke,' and *παῦρα—ἄρμενα* 'a boy with few sensible, fitting ideas,' etc. For the dislocation cf. *Ap.* 295, p. 278.

169. *ἀεξόμεθ' m, ἀνεξόμεθ' αἴσιμα*. A graphical mistake, cf. B 560 *ἀσίνην, ἀσίην* Et. Mag. Vat. 1 (post ras.), 656 *ἀργινόντα, ἀργιόντα* 'S,' L 11, R 1, A.

183. *πότνια μήτηρ m, μαῖα αἴσιμα*. I confess myself unable to decide if (with all the editors) *μήτηρ* is half gloss half reminiscence, or (with Hollander, p. 23) *μαῖα* is a gloss upon *μήτηρ*.

200. *κέλευθα m, κέλευθον αἴσιμα*. For the plural cf. v. 348, *Dem.* 381, *Ap.* 452, 472, *Pind.* xix. 7; it is a variant Ψ 501 ('Vrat. a'), but unfortunately I have not marked this line for collation. Under these circumstances the plural has at least as much claim to consideration as the singular.

202. *ἴδοιμι m, ἴδοιτο αἴσιμα*. Hard as the omission of *τις* with *ἴδοιτο* is it seems impossible to resist the analogy of N 287 οὐδέ κεν ἔνθα τεόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας ὄνοιτο, Hes. *Theog.* 740 οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν | οὐδας ἴκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο: *Op.* 12 τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαινέσσειε νοήσας is softened by the participle. Cf. Jelf-Kühner § 373, 6. It does not however follow that *m's* *ἴδοιμι* is a correction; Ruhnken and Ilgen preferred it. In any case *Ernesti's* *ἴδοιο* (a parallel might indeed be found P 681) is surely very bad, though Gemoll and Ludwig print it. Cf. A 216 om. *τινα*.

208. *νοήσας m, νοήσαι αἴσιμα*. *Νοήσας* is put out of court by the fact that *δοκέω* according to the Lexx. is followed by an infinitive in Homer; whether it is a conjecture or a corruption I leave unsettled. On the general construction I follow Franke quoted by Baumeister (whose parallels are not all relevant). V. 277 μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὄπωπα βοῶν κλόπον ὑμετέρων | αἴτινες αἰ βόες εἰσι, and *Dem.* 57 φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουσ' ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν | ὅστις ἔην, ib. 119 establish the sense here as 'I thought I saw, but I know not for sure, I thought I saw a boy—whoever the boy was that went with the oxen.'

For examples in later Greek see Blaydes on *Nub.* 883 τὸν κρείττον' ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἥττονα. In both the passages of this hymn the supplement is malicious; here the speaker contrives in the parenthesis to give the information which he denies he possesses.

230. κρονίωνα *m*, κρονίωνος *xp*. Accidental assimilation to παῖδα, cf. p. 279.

238. ὀλοσποδὸς *m*, ὕλης σποδὸς. Ὀλοσποδός must be a corruption, perhaps through υλσποδοσ; cf. ἀγκαλωρήν, etc., p. 143. The verse is sound as it stands and requires no alteration. The charred logs (πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην) are kept alive by a covering of wood-ash (σποδὸς ὕλης), in the same way as the δαλός in ε 487 and Metaneira's boy *Dem.* 239 and cf. Theocr. xi. 51, xxiv. 88; while v. 140 Hermes puts out his own fire with ordinary dust (μέλαινα κόνις).

241. προκαλούμενος *m*, προκαλεύμενος *xp*. A common variation in spelling; B 684 καλεῦντο, καλοῦντο L<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>13</sub> 'Eust. G'; on the other hand M 283 Aristarchus read λωτοῦντα while all the MSS. have -εῦντα.

246. παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχὸν *m*, ἄρα *xp*. For confusions between ἀνὰ and ἄρα see p. 278, *Ap.* 292. Here the decision turns on the construction of παπταίνειν, for which see Ebeling *Ler. Hom.* Ἀνὰ occurs *Ap.* Rhod. iii. 1284 παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ νειὸν ἴδε ζύγα, M 333 with the addition of the clause εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο; the direct acc. Δ 220; in other passages the verb is absolute or with other prepositions. The balance of sense seems in favour of ἀνὰ; at least it is gratuitous, with Baumeister, to call it a conjecture.

248. ἐμπλείους *m*, ἐκπλείους *xp*. Ἐκπλειος is not Homeric, and κ is an easy corruption from μ.

255. θᾶπτον· ἐπεὶ om. *m*. Accidental, cf. *Ap̄hr.* 156.

259. μέτ' *m*, ἐν *xp*. There is no ex. of ἡγεμονεύειν in Homer with a preposition except v. 461, which obviously is not comparable. Μετ' and ἐν therefore stand on about a level; elsewhere they are interchanged, cf. *Ap̄hr.* 247 where μετ' is impossible. Δ 470 ἐνὶ, μετὰ codd. equally divided, γρ. μετα Ven. A, both readings Eust.

265. κρατερῶ *m*, κραταιῶ *xp*. Gloss or emendation from κρατεῶ = κραταιῶ. The reverse, κραταιῶ for κρατερῶ, stands in γ v. 386. Δ 119 for κραταιοῦ, which the metre necessitates, we have κρατεροῦ, καρτεροῦ, κρατερροῦ (L<sub>5</sub>). Cf. also *Ap.* 126, 358.

287. μήλων *m*, κρειῶν *xp*. Μήλων is either a gloss or the result of μηλοβοτήρας 286.

292. αὔχος *m*, ἀρχός *xp*. The corruption in *m* is phonetic; ρ fell out, and α was strengthened in accordance with a common tendency; cf. *Ap.* 540 p. 266, πιφάσκειν, B 867 νάστης, ναύστης Eust., Δ 578 φανσιάδην, φασιάδην 'G Barocc. Townl,' Ven<sub>2</sub>, Vat.<sub>11</sub> m. 2, M<sub>4, 13</sub>. Π 338 καυλόν, καλόν 'A(B)CDHL Cant.' and most MSS. Mr. Goodwin's correction πανομένη for παομένη *Dem.* 393 rests on the same law.

294. κρατὸς *m*, κρατοῦς L, κρατὺς *xp*. The mistake in *m* seems accidental, especially as the accent is preserved. L's κρατοῦς looks like a correction of the same error conflated with the text.

303. *αὐτοῖς m, τούτοις xp.* A correction in *m* from *ταύτοις*, which is actually the reading of E. The exchange of *ου* and *αν* hardly needs illustration, cf. however E 253, Z 55, H 285.

306. *έέλμενος m, έλιγμένος xp.* Cf. 151 *σπάργανον άμφ' ώμοις έίλυμένος, Ar.* 450 *χαίτης έίλυμένος εύρέας ώμους*, and *Herm.* 245 *δολίης έίλυμένον έντροπήσει*; for other exx. in Homer see Gehring's index. The survival of the *nominative* both in *m* and in *xp*, when the acc. would have been so much easier a construction, is a considerable proof of its genuineness. Translate 'he pushed his wrap down past his ears, with his shoulders covered in it,' i.e. although his shoulders were covered in it; he uncovered his head but no more; *άμφ' ώμοισιν κ.τ.λ.* is parenthetical. As to the divergence between *m* and *xp*, I incline (with Windisch) to regard both forms as corruptions from an original *είλυμένος*; the *υ* fell out, and *είλμένος* was corrected conjecturally by *m* to *έ[ε]λμένος*, by *xp* to *έλ[ιγ]μένος*. Commentators have universally taken *παρά* to mean 'up,' but Hermes was till this moment a bundle of *σπάργανα* (240); now, beginning to walk seriously (*σπουδῇ ίών*), he undoes his head to talk with more dignity to Apollo.

339. *γαῖαν m, γαιη xp.* *Γαῖαν* has been neglected by all editors, even Ruhnken, but I see no reason why it may not be the better reading. Of the parallels given by Ebeling, *Lev. Hom.* p. 448b, the following are in point:

- δ 417. πάντα δὲ γινόμενος πειρήσεται ὅσος' ἐπὶ γαῖαν  
έρπετα γίνονται καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ.  
η 332. τοῦ μέν κεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν  
ἄσβεστον κλέος εἶη, ἐγὼ δέ κε πατρίδ' ἰκοίμην.  
ρ 386. οὗτοι γὰρ κλητοί γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν  
πτωχὸν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις καλέοι.  
ψ 371. ἤδη μὲν φάος ἦεν ἐπὶ χθόνα.

I have omitted cases in which there is a verb other than the verb 'to be.' In the remaining instances the 'pregnant accusative' is doubtless to be explained by some notion of motion or extension inherent in the subject; and it will hardly be disputed that *ἀνδρῶν, ὅποσοι λησιμβροτοὶ εἰς' ἐπὶ γαῖαν* fulfils this condition as well as any of the exx. from the *Odyssey*. The corruption from *γαῖαν* to *γαίη* is easy, the reverse seems impossible.

342. *εὐθύπυλον m, εὐθύπορον xp.* The reading of *m* is of course right, and is supported by 342, 355; *πόρον* may be an emendation for *πολον*, helped by the occurrence of the word in 398; at any rate it is unnecessary with Gemoll to call *πύλον* a 'Besserung.'

349. *βαίνων m, βαίνοι xp.* I cannot explain *βαίνων*, which is impossible in this construction.

352. *πολὺν στίβον m, μέγαν xp.* I have no instance of an exchange between *πολὺς* and *μέγας*. It is impossible to say *a priori* that one reading is more original than the other.

361. *ἀλεγίζων m, ἀλεγύνων v, ἀλεείνων xp.* Apparently a real conjecture

in *m*, arising from a corruption of ἀλεγύνων similar to *p*'s ἀλέγεινεν 557. Cf. *ante*, p. 266.

368. ἀγορεύσω *m*, καταλέξω *xp*. These synonyms are perpetually exchanged, e.g. K 384 καταλέξον vulg., ἀγόρευσον 'γρ. L,' Vat. 3, 6, 10, 19, 23, M 1; 413 καταλέξω Aristarchus vulg., ἀγορεύσω alii 'D Townl.,' Ven. 9, N 4, Vat. 16, 22, M 3; 427 καταλέξω vulg., ἀγορεύσω 'D' L 4, N 4, Ven. 9, 11. Cf B, Vat. 12, 14, 22, 27, ἀγορεύω Vat. 1.

383. ἐπιδεύομαι *m*, ἐπιδαίομαι *xp* (ἐπιδέομαι II). The common original seems ἐπιδέομαι, out of which *m* has made ἐπιδε(ύ)ομαι, *xp* ἐπιδαίομαι in order to lengthen the syllable. Both inventions are of course *voces nihili*. 'Quidam' in Stephanus suggest ἐπομόσσομαι, Barnes' ἐπιδώσομαι however at present holds the field. This has all the marks of a bad conjecture; the sense it gives is but mediocre (X 254 δεῦρο θεοὺς ἐπιδώμεθα is not really parallel), and it is inconceivable that a familiar and, so to speak, stable form like ἐπιδώσομαι should have crumbled into ἐπιδέομαι. To heal a corruption, one must first discover the circumstance that started it. Among the more common accidents that may set corruption in motion is the case where a word is omitted in its proper place, and added at the end of the line. I collect here some instances of this process and its results:

A 239. μέγας ἔσσεται ὄρκος, μέγας ὄρκος ἐσεῖται 'G Barocc.,' L 6, 19, Ven. 6. *ib.* 287 περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι, πάντων περιέμμεναι Eust. (Neumann, p. 200). B 731 ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε, ἀσκληπιοῦ νῖε δύο (*i.e.* to the scribe νῖε δῶω) L 5, Mo. Γ 442 ὦδέ γ' ἔρωσ φρένας, ὦδε φρένας ἔρωσ (*i.e.* φρένῳς ἔρωσ Eust. who therefore proposes to read ἔρος). Z 211 αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι, εὐχομαι αἵματος εἶναι 'Lips. Mosc. 3.' *ib.* 261 μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει, οἶνος μένος μέγα 'O,' L 19, Ven. 6 οἶνος μέγα μένος Ven. 9, Vat. 13 οἶνος μάλα μένος 'L' Vat. 19, 23 μέγα σθένος οἶνος Boissonade *An.* i. 114, *ib.* 335 τρώων τόσσον χόλω, τόσσον τρώων χόλω L 5, Vat. 2, 19, 21, 23 Mo. H 130 φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι, χεῖρας ἀναείραι φίλας 'D,' φίλας χεῖρας ἀναείραι Vat. 16. Θ 79 οὔτε δὺ αἶαντες, οὔτ' αἶαντε δύο 'C.' *ib.* 305 δέμας εἰκυῖα θεοῖσι, θεοῖς δέμας εἰοικῖα Ath. 632 F. I 204 ἐμῶ ὑπέασι μελάθρῳ, ἐμῶ μελάθρῳ (*i.e.* μελαῖθρῳ) ὑπέασσιν L 5, Vat. 2, M 9, Mo. Λ 76 σφοῖσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθείατο, ἐν σφοῖσιν μεγάροις ἐκάθηντο Eust.

Here therefore I suppose that the original was the ordinary formula μέγαν δ' ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι and that ὄρκον was omitted and added at the end, producing the line δ' ἐπὶ ὁμοῦμαι ὄρκον, and that in course of centuries of copying the unmetrical collection of syllables δεπιομουμαι was weakened down to δεπιδεομαι or δαιομαι.

385. φωρήν *m*, φωνήν *xp*. The most signal proof of the excellence of *m*; the rarity of the word, and the easy permutation of *p* and *v* (see Part I. p. 174) amply explain the corruption in *xp*, and give the lie to Baumeister's designation of φωρήν as 'conjectura.'<sup>16b</sup>

400. ὄχου δὲ τὰ χρήματα τιτάλλετο *m*, ἦχ' (ἦχ) οὐ δὲ τὰ χρήματ'

<sup>16b</sup> Ludwig, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1889, p. 415 and ed. alone of recent writers doubts this

palmary instance of *m*'s superiority—surely without ground.

ἀτιτάλλετο *μρ.* Does *Μ*'s ὄχου imply a former ὄκκου, or is it entirely unintelligent, like ὄλοσποδός v. 238? 'Ατιτάλλετο, though an existing form, is metrically impossible, and Demetrius' ἀτάλλετο seems certain; ἀτιτάλλετο arose from misdivision, χρηματαταλλετο χρημα | ταταλλετο, τιταλλετο, finally χρηματατιταλλετο, which Valla made ἀντιβάλλετο and Lascaris ἀντιτάλλετο (cf. λ 250 κομέειν ἀτιταλλέμεναι τε, ἀντιτελλέμεναι 'F'). The conjectures for ἦχ' οὐ δὴ are unconvincing. I hazard the suggestion ἦχ' οὐ δει, i.e. 'on the ground' of the cave, where the cows were, in contradistinction to the roast meat which (135) μετήορα δ' αἶψ' ἀνάειρε.

401. ἐς *μ*, παρὰ *μρ.* 'Ες is perhaps a gloss on παρὰ, in which there is certainly more force; so Franke *μρ.* Baumeister.

403. ἀπάνευθεν *μ*, ἀπάτερθεν *μρ.* These two words are exchanged E 445, where ἀπάνευθεν is read by 'S Cant.' R<sub>1</sub>, Vat.<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>11, 13</sub> and the mixture ἀπάνερθεν in L<sub>11</sub>. 'Απάνευθε is far the more frequent word in Homer, an ex. of it in a somewhat similar sense to this is P 198 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἀπάνευθεν ἶδεν.

404. γαίη κατ' *Μ*, πέτρη ἐπ' *μρ.* I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of γαίη κατ'.

411. ἀμβολάδην *μ* cum punctis, ἐμβολάδην *μρ.* ἐμβολάδην is an ἄπαξ εἰρημένον, but the meaning which must be 'closely, clinging,' is amply guaranteed by the forms ἐμβάλλειν, ἐμβλημα, ἐμβολάς, ἐμβολεύς, ἐμβολος, 'graft.' ἀμβολάδην exists but in the senses of either (1) boiling, throwing up, or (2) preluding, as 426. The change of α and ε before consonants is so frequent (ἀγείρειν, ἐγείρειν, ἀν', ἐν, ἀμβαίνοντες, ἐμβαίνοντες, ἄμπνυτο, ἔμπνυτο, ἀνήκας, ἐνήκας, ἀγκλίνας, ἐγκλίνας) that we need not call ἀμβολάδην a 'conjecture.'

418. λύρην *μ*, χειρός *μρ.* The quantity of the υ̅ naturally puts λύρην out of the question. I explain it as a scribe's conjecture to avoid the homoeoteleuton of 418, 419. Cf. *μρ.* 352 πῆμα θεοῖσιν, p. 280.

422. vers. hab. *μ*, om. *μρ.* 'Eximius ille codex Moscov. hunc locum pulcherrimo versu auget,' Ruhnken. The two thetas account for its loss in *μρ.* Gemoll, whose suspicions are too easily roused, objects to this v. and to 457, 8, which also *μ* alone preserves; why not to the Hymn to Demeter itself?

429. αἰοιδὸν *μ*, αἰοιδῇ *μρ.* αἰοιδὸν seems the result of assimilation to υἰόν v. 430. Cf. A 171 ἄφενον καὶ πλοῦτον 'Barocc. Mor. Mosc. I ex corr.' for ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτος.

431. ἅπαντες *μ*, ἕκαστος *μρ.* Ilgen after Wolf accepted ἅπαντες, under the idea that ἕκαστος came from v. 428; it seems more probably a gloss. ἕκαστος with a plural is well established in Homer; variants of ἕκαστος ἕκαστοι occur in several passages, and τ 463 'Vind. 5' reads ἅπαντα for ἕκαστα.

440. γενετῆς *μ*, γενεῆς *μρ.* *μ* is obviously right, but why call it with Gemoll a 'Besserung'? σ 6 the MSS. read γενετῆς, γενεῆς 'διχῶς Didymus,' and contra Z 142 γενεήν, γενετήν 'Plut. Cons. ad Apoll. 6.' In the other places there seem to be no variants.

451. *χορὸς* M, *χοροί* *xp*. Did the scribe of M mistake *χορ*<sup>οι</sup> for *χορ*<sup>ο</sup>?

453. *ἄλλο μέλησεν* m, *ὦδε μέλησεν* *xp*. The double *ὦδε* in *xp* is singular. Possibly *ὦδε* and *ἄλλο* were originally inverted in the arch. of *xp* and *ὦδε* written over *ἄλλο* as a correction; the next scribe then gave *ὦδε* in the first place, but without correcting *ὦδε* in the second. 'Mosc. ex coniectura puto' says Baum., but who by the light of nature would have thought of *ἄλλο*?

456. *οἶσθα* m, *οἶδας* *xp*. *οἶδας* occurs v. 467 without variant, and *a* 337 where Zenodotus read *ῥδεις*; in other places in Homer the form is *οἶσθα* without variant (e.g. v. 382), except A 85, where Zenodotus read *οἶσθας*. Here therefore we may call *οἶσθα* a grammatical gloss.

457, 458. hab. m, om. *xp*. 'Sind nur in M überliefert und jedenfalls Interpolation,' Gemoll. Possibly, but their omission in *xp* is no evidence, for there was never a clearer case of *homoeoarchon*. This even Baum. admits. Cf. *ante*, p. 272.

468. *θαάσσεις* m, *θαάσσεις* *xp*. *Θαάσσεις* is not, as might be supposed, a mere error in spelling. The ancients considered the word *θαάζειν* to have the meaning of *θαάσσειν*; schol. Aesch. *Suppl.* 603 gives *καθήμενος* as an equivalent of *θαάζων*, schol. Soph. *O.R.* 2 gives *θάσsetai* and *θοῶς προκάθησθε* as explanations of *θαάζετε*, Hesych. s.v. *θαάζει* among other interpretations has *κάθηται*. There is no variant to *θαασσέμεν* 172, nor in the places where the word occurs in the Iliad and Odyssey; Apollonius ii. 1026 we have *θαάσσων* in 'Guelf.' On the whole therefore we may call *θαάσσεις* a half-conscious variant.

471. *δέ* m, *γε* *xp*. These particles are exchanged *passim* in the Homeric MSS.; the sense gives the preference to *δέ*.

482. *ὅστις ἂν καὶ αὐτήν* m, *ὅστις ἂν αὐτήν* *xp*. The extra syllable in m may be the result of contamination, e.g. of *ὅσ* <sup>καὶ</sup> *τις* <sup>τις</sup> *ἂν* or *ὅς* <sup>τις</sup> *κε* <sup>ἂν</sup> *μεν*, cl. 486.

486. *φεύγουσα* m, *φθέγγουσα* *xp*. *Φεύγουσα* coincides with Martin's conjecture, and is generally accepted; it must be supposed that in the case of *xp* the *v* first fell out of *φεύγουσα*, then *φέγουσα* was written *φέγγουσα* to make metre, and *φθέγγουσα* to look like a real word. Cf. *μ* 351 *στρέυγεσθαι, στρέγγεσθαι* 'NK,' Dionysius Chalceus (Bergk vol. ii. p. 262, fr. 2, 1), *πενσόμενοι* 'L,' *πessόμενοι* 'BPV.'

487. *ἰὼν* m, *ἐὼν* *xp*. 'Ἐὼν is made necessary by *νήις*, but the words are hardly distinguishable graphically, so great is the resemblance of form, and often of meaning; e.g. *Δ* 277 *ἐόντι* Aristarch. vulg., *ἰόντι* Zenod. 'MS' L<sup>10</sup>, Ven. <sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>, Vat. <sup>1</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>25</sup>, 426, *ἐὼν* codd., *ἰὼν* Aristarchus, Vat. <sup>1</sup>, *Δ* 230, *ἐὼν*, *ἰὼν* Aristarchus *διχῶς*; *ἐὼν* vulg. *ἰὼν* L<sup>8</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>18</sup>, Ven. <sup>2</sup> <sup>13</sup>, Vat. <sup>4</sup>, M <sup>4</sup> <sup>10</sup>, M 264, *ἰόντας* vulg. *ἐόντας* L<sup>6</sup> <sup>17</sup>, R<sup>1</sup>, A, Vat. <sup>14</sup> <sup>22</sup>, M <sup>5</sup> <sup>11</sup>.

487. *ἐρεῖνῃ* m, *ἐρέεινε* *xp*. The error of *xp* is accidental, and was avoided v. 483.

499. om m, hab. *xp*. The omission, no doubt accidental, may be due either to homoeoteleuton, or to the recurrence of *νίός* in 500.



501. ὑπὸ νέρθεν *m*, ὑπὸ καλὸν *xp*.

502 ὑπὸ καλὸν *m*, ὑπὸ μέλος *xp*.

The reading of *m* in both places is consistent and intelligible, that of *xp* is in neither case possible, and admits of explanation on graphical grounds. So in 501 καλὸν is impossible with ἰμερόεν (or σμερδαλέον) following in 502; it crept in from ὑπὸ καλὸν underneath. In 502 μέλος is impossible metrically; it may be accounted for either by supposing that μέλος in 501 (after itself supplanting μέρος, which v. 53 makes certain) was copied mechanically into 502, or, more elaborately, one may suppose that when ὑπὸ καλὸν had taken the place of ὑπὸ νερθε in 501, the scribe was offended by the second καλόν, and substituted a new word for it. For this complex process cf. 352, 418. The reading of *m* therefore seems original in both places; translate 'the lyre rang beneath (his touch) and the god sang sweetly to it' (ὑπὸ, cf. φ 411). I have written ὑπένερθε as more Homeric, cf. *Ap.* 118.

502. σμερδαλέον *m*, ἰμερόεν *xp*. It is hard to understand the objection to σμερδαλέον; it occurs in the same sense 54, 420 without variant, and these passages are thought sufficient to replace χειρὸς 501, where no MS. reads it, while here where *m* reads σμερδαλέον it is called a 'reminiscence.' Suspicion should more naturally fall upon ἰμερόεν, as a palpably easier word, helped also by the analogy of Σ 570. Ilgen's correction of αἶσεν to αἶδεν in obedience to the earlier passages is superfluous; the scribe had no inducement to make such an alteration, cf. φ 411 for the form.

503. καί ῥα *m*, ἔνθα *xp*. ἔνθα makes more of a paragraph, καί ῥα carries the action on with less break. Which sense is the more appropriate may be a matter of opinion. I see no reason why the two readings may not be independent.

*ib.* βόας *m*, βόες *xp*. βόας, since Clarke conjectured it, has prevailed; βόες was an obvious error.

*ib.* κατὰ *m*, ποτὶ *xp*. κατὰ may be a gloss; *προτὶ* and *ποτὶ* are constantly glossed in the *Iliad* MSS., cf. *c.g.* K 336. Similarly *Ap.* 459 ἐπὶ.

507. τὰ μὲν *m*, τὸ μὲν *xp*. Either reading may stand; the plural of the article seems commoner in later Greek, the singular in Homer, *c.g.* β 46. The conjectures ῥ' ὁ μὲν, ὁ μὲν are singularly misplaced; the apodosis to μὲν is δ' in 511, and the opposition is not between *persons*, which ὁ would imply, but between the different occupations of Hermes. τὰ μὲν 'in one respect,' *i.e.* as regarded Apollo, αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' 'for himself on the other hand.'

510. om. *m*, but, singularly, Baum. and Gemoll are asleep to the 'interpolation' in *xp*.

515. ἄμα κλέψης *m*, ἀνακλέψης *xp*. Ἀνακλέπτειν does not exist, and the sense of ἄμα is admitted to be good. The change of ἄμα and ἀνά and generally of μ and ν is sufficiently motivated by graphical laws, cf. *ante*, p. 278. Baum.'s 'correctio' is therefore unnecessary.

516. ἐπ' ἀμοίβημα *M*, ἐπαμοίβια *xp*. Neither [ἐπ]αμοίβιος nor [ἐπ]αμοίβιμος (for which ἐπ' ἀμοίβημα must be meant) occur; Wolf and Ludwich are no doubt right in reading the latter form, the comparative

rarity of the termination (Kühner-Blass § 33 2, 5, 335, 15, Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 171, who gives a list of adjectives of both formations) accounting for the omission of -μ-. Cf. Δ 381 παραΐσια, παραΐσιμα 'N,' Z 62 αΐσιμα, αΐσια, 'Bekker *An.* 831, 16.'

518. κ μέγ<sup>τ'</sup> M, μέγαν<sup>αν</sup> *xp.* The reading of M points to a variant κατά. Κατόμνυμι is unhomeric; cf. Eur. *Hcl.* 835 ἀλλ' ἄγνόν ὄρκον σὸν κára κατώμοσα.

524. ἀριθμῶ *m*, ἀρθμῶ *xp.* The same phonetic variant occurs H 302 ἀρθμήσαντε, ἀριθμήσαντε L<sub>3, 4, 8, 16, 20</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>, A, Pa, Vat. <sub>3, 6, 10, 19, 23</sub> M<sub>1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11</sub>, π 427 ἄρθμιοι, ἀρίθμιοι 'DHULWZ.'

533. διαμπερές *m*, διοτρεφές *xp.* A second epithet of Hermes, after φέριστε, seems unnecessary; on the other hand the inversion διαμπερές ἦν ἐρεείνεις is strange, and διαμπερές itself is not very significant, since in the text as we have it there is no mention of this request.

534. ἄλλων *m*, ἄλλον *xp.* This might be thought a casual variant, but in the similar phrase μήτε τιν' ἄλλων | ἀθανάτων E 827 ἄλλων is read by several MSS., some of a distinct family, *e.g.* 'Cant. Vrat. a,' L<sub>2, 11, 12, 16</sub>, Ven. <sub>10</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, Mc, Pa, Pe, Vat. <sub>3, 6, 11</sub> M<sub>1, 5, 7, 11, 12</sub>.

537. ἐμοῖο *m*, ἐμείο *xp.* A phonetic variant, occurring *passim* in the *Iliad* (A 259, 301, 341, Δ 343, E 214, Z 362, Θ 149 *al.*); cf. *Dem.* 72, *Ap.* 166, 314.

542. περιτραπῶν, *m*, περιτροπέων *xp.* Correction in *m*, supervening on a corruption (περιτροπῶν, περιτραπῶν). For the contraction cf. p. 263.

543. οὐδ' ἀπατήσω *m*, ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ *xp.* *m* obviously has taken the ending of 545, induced by the recurrence of ἐμῆς ὁμφῆς ἀπονήσεται.

544. φωνή τ' ἡδὲ πότῃσι M, φωνή καὶ πτερύγεσσι *xp.* The strength of the view which regards *m*'s reading as independent is the solidity of the reading of *xp.* The citations brought by the commentators to justify πτερύγεσσιν only make it the more inconceivable that so regular an expression should have been glossed by a rare word like ποτῃσι. There is a complete absence of *motive*, failing which we are bound to admit the independence of ποτῃσι, a word imitated, as by Aratus *Phaen.* 278, from ε 337 αἰθυίῃ δ' εἰκυῖα ποτῇ (*v.l.* -ήν). Ποτή (Hesych. ποτήν ιδέαν. οἱ δὲ πτῆσιν. E.M. ποτή· ἡ πτῆσις. ὡς ἔχω ὀχή, οὕτω πέτω ποτή) is a concrete noun meaning 'course, flight,' and of several birds seen at once and taking different directions may well be used in the plural (Quintus xii. 5 πτήσιας οἰωνῶν). For the form cf. *Herac.* xv. 5 πομπῇσιν ὕπ' Εὐρυσθέως, O 633 βοδὸς ἀμφὶ φονῇσιν, E 887 χαλκοῖο τυπῇσιν, etc. Since Ruhnken and Ilgen every editor has preferred the *xp* reading, but their rejection of ποτῃσι rests on mistaken ideas of ancient and mediaeval text-alteration. A rare word is not used to gloss a familiar one, and Byzantine scribes had neither wish nor capacity to invent a 'gesuchte Wendung' of this sort. The two readings are independent.

550. υἱός *m*, υἱέ *xp.* Υἱός is perhaps an accident, the result of the neighbourhood of ἐρικυδέος; cf. 429.

• 552. σεμναὶ *m*, μοῖραι *xp.* Of the two words μοῖραι is the more

likely to have been a gloss. Hermann's *Θρίαι*, however brilliant, is not conclusive; Mr. A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* xv. p. 7 prefers *μοῖραι*, Ludwig *σεμναί*.

556. *δικασκαλίαν ἐπὶ m*, *διδάσκαλοι ἦν ἐπὶ xp*. See Part I. p. 143; *δικασκαλίαν ἐπὶ* is an example of real Byzantine correction.

560. *θυῖωσιν m*, *θυίσωσι x*, *θύσωσι p*. The reading of *m* is accepted by every one since Ruhnken; *σ* inserted between vowels, to form futures and aorists, is a very common error (see p. 278). The correct spelling *υι* is shared by *m* with *x* (cf. p. 266).

565. *ἄνδρ' ἄδαῆ m*, *ἄνδρα δαείης xp*. Cf. p. 145; this unconcealed corruption in *m* may come from *ἄνδραδαει<sup>ης</sup>*, abbreviated or not, the super-scribed syllable being understood as a correction of *ει*. So reversely *ἀπόλλωνος* for *ἀπόλλων* p. 263, in *p*.

*νομίζων m*, *ὀμιλεῖ xp*. *Νομίζων* similarly seems to be a correction from an ancient corruption arising from a mis-division; *ἀθανατοισι | νομιλει*.

*Arhr.* 8. *γλαυκῶπιν m*, *γλαυκῶπιδ' xp*. *a* 156, Hes. *Theog.* 13, 888, *Ar.* 314 *γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην*, Ath. xxviii. 2 *γλαυκῶπιν* before a consonant without variant; on the other hand *Ar.* 323 *γλαυκῶπιδ' Ἀθήνην*, Θ 373 *γλαυκῶπιδα εἶπη* also without variant. Here accordingly the authority is about equal.

10. *ἄδον m*, *ἄδεν xp*. "Ἄδεν no doubt is from *εὔαδεν* v. 9. In the same word *Ar.* 22 all the MSS. have the plural.

18. *πουλύχρυσα δὲ m*, *καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε xp*. 'Mira lectio in M partim errore nata partim hariolatione' Baum. I cannot regard *πουλύχρυσα δὲ* otherwise than as original; there would be a complete absence of inducement to misunderstand or to improve upon *καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε*. The passage must have run at first

18 *καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε [παρθενίη μὲν τ' ἀγαμή τε]*

18a *πουλύχρυσα δὲ τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θήρας ἐναίρειν*

19 *φόρμιγγές τε χοροί τε κ.τ.λ.*

The letters *αδε* repeated in exactly the same position in consecutive lines produced the double omission; so in 10 and 11 *ἔργον* and *ἔργ'* had a like effect in E. Artemis' bow is called *παγχρύσεια Art.* xxvii. 5.

25. *στερρῶς m*, *στερεῶς xp*. Correction in *m*, to make metre of *στερῶς* after the second *ε* had fallen out.

38. *ἐθέλη m*, *θέλοι xp*. Itacism in *m*; so *πόλεις* 20, *κῆπον* 66, *νηός* 138, *έρμαίω* 148, *νῦν* 280.

66. *τροίης m*, *τροίην xp*. For the gen. after *ἐπὶ* in the sense of motion, see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.* p. 451a. Here the meaning 'towards Troy' (the place of arrival being more closely indicated by "Ἰδην δ' ἵκανε 68) seems not inappropriate.

67. *νέφεσι ρίμφα m*, *νεφέεσσι θοῶς xp*. I do not see why *m*'s reading is necessarily the less genuine. Gemoll attributes *ρίμφα* to the 'Belesenheit' of the author of the 'recension'; sooner than make such a demand upon the

learning of any scribe or reader of *m* I would consider *θοῶς* a gloss upon the rarer *ρίμφα* (and thereby settle Baumeister's doubts). For *ρίμφα* in Homer see the Lexx.

114. *τρωὰς m, τρωὸς xp.* The rarity of the fem. *τρωάς* as an *adjective* explains the corruption *τρωός*; several critics conjectured *m*'s reading, which no doubt is original.

118. *χρυσηλακάτου m, χρυσηλάτου xp.* At v 16 this corruption was confined to *ω*; here it has invaded *ρ* also. See p. 266.

125. *ψαύσειν m, ψαύειν xp.* On the insertion and omission of *σ* cf. p. 278. Here the tense decides the interpretation. All commentators but Ruhnken and Matthiae prefer the present, which must mean 'I thought my feet did not even touch the ground,' of some one who moves so fast he thinks he swims in air. But are we to suppose Aphrodite representing this maiden as *walking* from Phrygia to Troy, 'across fields of men, and much unparted and untilled land where hungry beasts roam'? Surely Hermes carried her; Baum.'s citation  $\Xi$  228 οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῦν of Hera is against him; Hera flew, as is explicitly said of Hermes (ε 49 πέτετο), and therefore literally 'did not touch the earth'; and similarly Persephone and Hermes *Dem.* 384 βαθὺν ἡέρα τέμνον ἰόντες, and the bearers of Memnon, Quintus ii. 569, τυτθὸν ὑπὲρ γαίης. We must therefore read the future and translate 'I thought I should never touch the ground again,' *i.e.* the journey was so long she thought it would never end. The antithesis with 126 is good: 'I thought we were going on for ever, *but* he assured me I was being taken to you,' *i.e.* that the journey had a definite end.

132. *μέν m, om. xp.* 'Coniectura additum' the relentless Baum. does not fail to say.

135. *δοιῶ τε κασιγνήτω m, σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις xp.* *m*'s reading may be recommended to the consideration of those who believe in the 'Belesenheit des Urhebers der Recension.' It is a corruption superficially corrected, possibly arising from  $\omega$  *σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις*, *σοιω* being made into *δοιω* to give the semblance of a word.

139. *κε—τε m, τε—κεν xp.* These confusions are the result of the number of particles in the line. One (supplied by Matthiae as *τοι*) has disappeared entirely. In the second place *m*'s *τε* is obviously right, in the first *κε* is not impossible. See the Lexx. on *κε* with the future.

147. *ἀθανάτου δ' ἔκατι m, ἀθανάτοιο δ' ἔκητι xp.* Ἐκατι is an error of spelling in which *m* is accompanied by N, cf. p. 284, but *ἀθανάτου δὲ ἔκητι* is a possible reading, cl. ο 319 ἔρμαίοιο ἔκητι, π 86 ἀπόλλωνός γε ἔκητι, υ 42 σέθεν τε ἔκητι and was printed by Hermann, followed by Abel.

157. *λέχον m, λέχος xp.* The ending in *m* may be due to assonance with *εὖστροφον*, cf. p. 289. Scribes are sometimes thought to have mistaken the abbreviation ° (= *ος*) for *ον*, see Vitelli *Musæo italiano* i. pp. 13, 170.

174. *κῦρε m, βυρε α, ηυρε βρ.* Κῦρε is right, cf. *Dem.* 189 and see *ante*, p. 267. Does not the correct κῦρε by the side of monsters such as *δοιῶτε κασιγνήτω* and *γαῖαν κατ'* suggest that all are equally accidental survivors?

175. Cf. *ante*, p. 267.

189. βιοφθάλμιος *m*, βιοθάλμιος *xp*. A case of semi-conscious assimilation to a familiar word, in which *m* is joined by NP; cf. exactly ἀριθμῶ for ἀρθμῶ *Herm.* 524.

204. ἐπιοινοχοεύειν—205. τετιμένον—206. ἀφύσσειν *m*.

ἐπιοινοχοεῦοι — τετιμένος — ἀφύσσω *xp*.

Ruhnken wished to insert the *m* reading throughout, but besides the harshness of the change from optative to infinitive, a copula (*e.g.* χρυσέου τ'), as Baumeister observes, is necessary. On the other hand, once the *m* reading in existence, it is hard to see any reason for altering it, while three infinitives might conceivably have been corrected into optatives by a scribe who wished to assimilate them to μετείη. The *m* reading now receives this amount of independent support that τετιμένονος of *x* points, as I have said above,

p. 172, to τετιμένον<sup>os</sup>, *i.e.* an original acc. with a nom. as variant or correction. The passage T 234 does not support one reading more than the other.

229. εὐηγενέος *m*, εὐγενέος *xp*. Εὐηγενέος is right, but not as Baum. says 'ex emendatione'; the η fell out of the unfamiliar form in the carelessly spelled *xp* as at A 427 εὐηγενέος Σώκοιο it has fallen out in Ven. 13, M 12, 13, and at Ψ 81 in Ven. 10, B 1, Vat. 6, M 7.

241. τοῖος *m*, τοιοῦτος *xp*. Τοῖος may have come from 239, but more probably is due to the falling away of ουτ, so H 242 τοιοῦτον ἐόντα we have τοῖον in L 3, 4, 12, 15, Vat. 23, M 10 and τοῖον περ, evidently by a correction, in 'L.'

247. ὄνειδος ἐν *m*, μετ' *xp*. Ἐν is necessary here, as Demetrius saw. For the exchange of the prepositions cf. *Herm.* 259 p. 289.

255. ζώνην *m*, ζώνη *xp*. There is no variant v. 282; the acc. is perhaps due to the influence of ἐθέμην.

280. νῦν *m*, νυν *xp*. Itacism in *m*, but is Hermann's correction μιν really necessary? In 267 we have an at least equal portent, ἐ as a plural, and there fortunately it is beyond the reach of emendation. Νυν 3rd pers. sing. is used as early as Theognis 364 and Theognis writes virtually the same conventional epic dialect as that of this hymn.

*Ap. Rh.* vi. 4. ἦνυκε *m*, ἦνυκε *xp*. Itacism, and so 12 κοσμήσθην, *Dion.* vii. 13 ληδοί. *Ath.* xi. 3 αὐτοί.

15. ἰδέσθαι *m*, ἰδόντες *xp*. Ἰδέσθαι is certainly unintentional; perhaps ἄγεσθαι 17 produced it.

*Dion.* vii. 29 δὲ καστέρω M, ἡ ἐκαστέρω *xp*. The mysterious δὲ seems to represent an original ὅγε in *m*; for such a variant cf. K 506 where for ἡ ἔτι in the third member 'C' has ὅγε (repeated from 504), for the omission of γ cf. Ψ 332 where the Aristarchean reading according to schol. V was ἡέ, according to Eust. (Neumann, p. 328) ἡ τόγε. For the sense, apart from the difficulty of taking ἐκαστέρω as epexegetic of Ἵπερβορέους (which ὅγε would necessitate), there seems no instance of a repetition of γε in alternatives; see Ebeling, *Lcx. Hom.* p. 248a. The ordinary reading here corresponds exactly to β 326 ἡ—ἡ ὅγε—ἡέ, *Ap. Rhod.* i. 308 ἡέ—ἡ ὅγε—ἡ iii. 1241 ἡ—ἡ

ὄγε—ἦέ. Ὅγε therefore in *m* was a mechanical repetition of ὄγε in 28; the fact that it remains in the unintelligible form ὀέ uncorrected, in *M*, is a proof how little the MS. underwent a thoroughgoing editing.

*Artem.* ix. 3. μέλητος *m*, μελήτης *x*, μιλήτης *p*. The proper name is preserved, as usual, in the best MS.

*Ap̄hr.* x. 3. θέει *m*, φέρει *xp*. So far as sense goes θέει seems to me the better reading (*sc.* αὐτῇ). That there are difficulties in the way of φέρει ἄνθος may be seen by Gemoll's note, where the rash conjecture ἔσθος is hazarded. With θέει the translation of ἄνθος will be 'bloom, beauty' (as *Dem.* 108 *al.*), not 'flower' literally. Ἐπιθέω itself does not seem to be used in this sense, but ἐπιτρέχω is and abundantly, v. Lexx. The change of subject should not be a hindrance.

To φέρει I have no objection as an independent reading, but it is easy to account for it: *θ* and *φ* are close, cf. p. 301, and the change of subject would be sufficient motive for a scribe to alter θέει by inserting *ρ*. The actual variant occurs O 88 θέουσα, φέρουσα 'Lips. Harl. frgm. Mosc.' Ven. 3, Vat. 25.

4. μάκαιρα κυθήρης *m*, θεὰ σαλαμῖνος *xp*. The objections raised against κυθήρης on the score of sense are sufficiently met by Hollander's observation (p. 32) that κυθήρης corresponds to κυθέριαν of v. 1. It has not been noticed that χαῖρε μάκαιρα κυθήρης εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα gives a line with a diaeresis after the third foot—a grave objection against a Homeric verse, but perhaps less weighty in a composition of the uncertain date of this hymn.

5. εἰναλῆς τε κύπρου *m*, καὶ πάσης Κύπρου *xp*. (M. de Vries has had the kindness to assure me, Jan. 23, 1894, that this is the reading of *M*. I regret that it was overlooked in the edition.) Κύπρος, κύπρις in Homer have the *υ* long by position; Κύπρις is found as early as Ibycus *fr.* v. 2 καλλικόμων μελέδημα σὲ μὲν Κύπρις, and often later. Both quantities meet Theocr. xviii. 51. Hermann regarded the variants of vv. 4, 5 as two different versions of the same passage. Cf. *Ap̄hr.* vi. 2, 3.

*Demetr.* xiii. 1. θεὰν *m*, θεὸν *xp*. The unmetrical θεὰν may be a gloss.

2. περσεφόνειαν *m*, φερσεφόνειαν *xp*. The variant is common, the *π*-form appears to be right; cf. I 457 περσεφόνεια Ven. A, 569 περσεφόνειαν Ven. A, φερσ. Vat. 11, *M* 13, κ 494 φερσ. 'Matro *fr.* vi. 6,' 509 φερσ. 'H,' 534 φερσ. 'H,' λ 217 φερσ. 'GD,' 226 'GHD,' 635 φερσ. 'GD γρ. U<sup>2</sup>,' μ 70 φασιμέλουσα, a reading handed down for πασιμέλουσα but without MS. authority.

*Heracl.* xv. 4. ὃς ῥὰ ἦμὲν *m*, ὃς πρὶν μὲν *xp*.

5. πημαίνει<sup>η</sup> ἄεθλεύων κραταιῶς *m*, πομπῆσιν ὕπ' εὐρυσθῆος ἄνακτος.

6. ἔξοχα ἔργα *m*, πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη *xp*.

There may be some doubt as to the restitution of *m*'s reading (Ilgen inserted δὲ between ἄεθλεύων and κραταιῶς, I would suggest καρταιῶς, on the analogy of the perpetual interchange of κράτος, κάρτος, κρατερός, καρτερός, and make a stop at v. 5), but no one will, I imagine, with

Baumeister and Gemoll consider a Byzantine scribe to be the author of the whole. At least one may with equal right ask why the reading of *xp* is not an invention. Hermann again saw two versions of the same passage. The

unmetrical state of *M* as it stands, and the correction <sup>η</sup> *πημαίνετ'*, might have suggested that the line was not of quite recent origin. Cf. Hollander, p. 33.

This condition of vv. 4, 5 in *M* and the corruption *Dion.* xvii. 5 make it likely that *m* or the archetype of *m*, which we know to have been mutilated and which ended abruptly at xviii. 4 (Part I. p. 142), had suffered some damage on its last page or two.

The result of this investigation shows that out of some 150 variations peculiar to *m* not more than six are deliberate conjectures (*Ap.* 198, 209, *Herm.* 306, 349, 361, 418), thirty-four are semi-conscious conjectures (*Ap.* 125, 181, 284, 295, 350, 352, 367, 459, 496, 501, 505, *Herm.* 78, 82, 132, 141, 148, 208, 265, 287, 303, 383, 400, 401, 411, 431, 456, 468, 503, 524, 542, *Aphr.* 25, 135, 189, *Dionys.* vii. 29); substantive variants there are seventy-nine, of which thirty-three are independent (*Ap.* 181, 308, 321, 326, 339, 436, 447, *Herm.* 45, 65, 90, 119, 159, 164, 200, 202, 259, 368, 403, 502, 503, 518, 552, *Aphr.* 8, 18, 66, 67, 204, *Aphr.* x. 3, 4, 5, *Herac.* xv. 4, 5, 6), and forty-six original (*Ap.* 82, 99, 110, 114, 157, 192, 200, 272, 292, 293, 318, 322, 341, 349, 402, 407, 420, 423, 431, 516, *Herm.* 59, 87, 91, 110, 138, 148, 246, 248, 339, 342, 385, 440, 453, 486, 501, 503, 515, 516, 544, 560, *Aphr.* 114, 118, 125, 174, 229, *Art.* ix. 3). The remaining twenty-six are graphical or phonetic corruptions, and their number is to be augmented by those collected Pt. I. p. 143 *sq.*

The peculiar readings of *γ* have next to be considered.

*Ap.* 55. πολλήν *γ*, οἷσεις *xp* (def. *M*). The readings are as nearly on a level in point of sense as any pair can be; they seem to me independent. Gemoll puts πολλήν in the text; Hollander, p. 30, is more guarded. We miss the evidence of *M*.

136-8. βεβρίθει καθορώσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην

γθοσύνη ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι

νήσων ἡπίρου τε φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μάλλον hab. *γ*, om. *mvp*.

Whether *γ* had 139 also we cannot definitely conclude. The verses 136-8 and 139 are incompatible with each other; on the other hand either alone gives a fully adequate sense. To emend or transpose the whole passage therefore so as to include all four lines seems mistaken; we have evidently two versions of the same passage, one preserved by *mvp* the other by *γ*, independent one of the other. This is the view of Hermann, praef. pp. xx. xxi. As illustrations of similar alternatives I give H 234, 234a, Θ 415, 415a, *Aphr.* 136, 136a, *Dion.* i. 4-6, 7.

162. βαμβαλιαστὴν *γ*, κρεμβαλιαστὴν *mvp*. The vulgate is well established, see comm. Still βαμβαλιαστὴς is not necessarily a graphical corruption, as Hollander, p. 30, assumes; it is a verbal noun from βαμβαλιάζω,

a form which may well exist by the side of *βαμβαίνων* K 375 *βαμβαίνει* Anth. Pal. v. 272, 4, *βαμβαλύζων* schol. Ven. *ib.*, *βαμβαλύζειν* Lex. Sequ. *ap.* Bekker *An.* i. p. 30 (copied by Eust. 812, 45), *βαμβακύζω* Hipponax *fr.* 17, 2, *βομβυλιάζουσιν οἱ δεινῶς δεδιότες* Ar. *Probl.* 27, 11 (949a 13). In these passages it means 'chatter' or 'rattle' (*ἄσαφῇ φωνῇ προιέμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου* schol. Ven. *l.c.*) of the teeth, and from teeth it is but a step to 'bones.' I take *βαμβαλιαστὴν* therefore to be an independent reading.

211. *ἀμαρύνθω γ, ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ m, ἄμ' ἐρευθεῖ x.* On this place I have expressed a general opinion above, p. 276 n. 12. *Ἀμάρυνθος* is known to us as a town Strabo 448 *ταύτης [τῆς Ἐρετρίας] δ' ἐστὶ κώμη ἢ Ἀμάρυνθος ἀφ' ἑπτὰ σταδίων τοῦ τείχους*, and the evidence for the word as the name of a person is very slight (Steph. Byz. *Ἀμάρυνθος νῆσος τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἀπὸ τινος κυνηγοῦ τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος*, a mere eponym; Probus Verg. *Ecl.* ii. 48 *Narcissus flos ut Arcesilaus* refert a *Narcisso Amaranthi qui fuit Erectheis ex insula Euboea*. C. Müller, *F. H. G.* i. p. 102, corrected 'Erectheis' into 'Eretriensis'; it would be as simple to change 'amaranthi' into 'amaranthio'). In any case it is a long step to call *Amarynthus* an 'amasium' of Apollo, and I wonder at the facility with which editors have followed Schneidewin in printing *Ἀμαρύνθω*.

325a. *hab. γ, om. mαp.* The similarity between *νῦν μή τοι* and *νῦν μέντοι* caused *mαp* to omit it. Editors, kinder to *γ* than to *m*, have not called it an interpolation.

523. *ἄδυτον ζάθεον γ, αὐτοῦ δάπεδον mαp.* I do not share in the certainty of editors in regard to the reading of *γ*; the graphical likeness between *α(δ)υτονζαθεον* and *αυτουδαπε(δ)ον* is of course considerable, but it may be doubted which way it tells.

*Herm.* 45. *ἀμαλδύναι γ, ἀμαρυναί mαp.* I cannot suggest any explanation of *ἀμαλδύναι*.

241. *θῆ ρα νέον λοχάων γ, δῆ ρα νεόλλουτος mαp.* *Νέον λοχάων* still resists all attempts at explanation; and the conjectures based upon it do not deserve mention. The alternative *νεόλλουτος* may fairly mean 'new-born,' of an infant who has received the attentions that the goddesses give Apollo, *Ap.* 120; the periphrase suits the semi-serious style of this Hymn; cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 17 *ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ῥύπτομαι* where the scholiast says *τουτέστι ζῶ, μεταφορικῶς. τῷ γὰρ ζῶντι ἔπεται τὸ ῥύπτεσθαι*. A sense has been got for the passage by patching *νεόλλουτος* with Hermann's conjecture *φῆ* for *δῆ*. This is strikingly confirmed by *γ*'s *θῆ*, since *φ* and *θ* are exchanged not unfrequently, more on phonetic than on graphical grounds; so A 268 for *φηρσίν θηρσίν* is read in 'L Lips. Vrat. b,' L<sup>3, 4, 14</sup>, Ven. 1, R<sup>1</sup>, A Vat. 23, 29, M<sup>1, 11, 13</sup>, and as a correction in several other MSS., M 302 for *αὐτόφι, αὐτόθι* is in L<sup>6, 17</sup>, Ven. 2, Vat. 12, 14, 22, 23, M<sup>4, 7, 9</sup> Mo. The particle *φῆ* was read by Zenod. at B 144, but is found in no MS., at Ξ 499 it is given as *δὲ φῆ* or *δ' ἔφη* (and in the latter sense Aristarchus interpreted it). Cf. also Hipponax *fr.* 14, 2. We are next to suppose that *θῆ* became in the majority of MSS. *δῆ*, for which change cf. I 394 *θῆν, δῆ* 'E S Cant.' L<sup>16</sup>, R<sup>1</sup>, M<sup>3, 11</sup>, cl. Θ 448, K 104.



288. ἄντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις δίεσσι γ, ἀντήσης (εις) ἀγέ-  
λῃσι βοῶν καὶ πάεσι μῆλων *μαρ*. Hollander's examination (p. 27) of these  
lines is unexceptionable. The two readings are independent.<sup>17</sup>

326. μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦω γ, ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο *μαρ*. Again I  
refer to Hollander *l.c.*

366. ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν γ, δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβό-  
μενος ἔπος ἡῦδα *μαρ*. Hollander, p. 26. This case falls under the head of  
'formula of speaking,' of variations in which there are countless instances in  
the Iliad and Odyssey; *e.g.* A 73 ὃ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν,  
Aristarchus and all MSS.; ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς εἰποῦσ' Ven. <sup>1</sup>, Vat. <sup>13</sup>, *ib.* 560 τὴν δ'  
ἀπαμειβόμενος vulg., τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας γρ. Ven. A, Δ 92 ἔπεα πτερόεντα  
προσηύδα vulg., προσέφη γλαυκῶπις ἀθήνη 'NS Cant. Lips. Mos.' L <sup>11</sup>, <sup>16</sup>,  
<sup>18</sup>, Ven. <sup>5</sup>, R <sup>1</sup>, P, Pa, M <sup>11</sup>; E 764 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφέλη-  
γερέτα Ζεὺς vulg., τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε some  
ancients (ἐνιοι Schol. Ven. A) 'LS Cant. Vrat. b Mosc. 1', L <sup>5</sup>, <sup>14</sup>, R <sup>1</sup>, Vat. <sup>2</sup>,  
<sup>3</sup>, <sup>6</sup>, <sup>12</sup>, <sup>23</sup>, M <sup>1</sup>, <sup>9</sup>, <sup>11</sup>, <sup>12</sup>, <sup>13</sup> etc. For single words exchanged cf. *Herm.* 368  
ἀγορεύσω, καταλέξω, p. 291. Similar variations occur in phrases denoting  
'going away.'

473. τῶν γ, καὶ *μαρ*. In the uncertainty as to what word is hidden  
by παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν it is impossible to decide absolutely between these two  
variants. Profs. Ludwich and Tyrrell have broken the monopoly of Hermann's  
*πανομφαῖον*, which however brilliant does not satisfy the graphical con-  
ditions; Tyrrell's πεδ' ἀφνειῶν is more than ingenious, but are we really to  
introduce πεδὰ = μετὰ into Homer? Another mysterious phrase, bearing  
some likeness to this, is φησὶ δ' ἀνὴρ φρένας ἀφνειός Hes. *Op.* 455. The older  
conjectures are collected in Ilgen.

563. ψεύδονται δ' ἥπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δενέουσαι γ, πειρῶνται δ'  
ἥπειτα παρέξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν *μαρ*. Δονέουσαι Baum., but this conjecture  
has for the first time been clearly explained by Mr. A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* xv.  
p. 7. As long as δονέουσαι referred to women, no clear picture or intelligible  
motive was given; but the applicability of the term to *bees* or bee-women  
is at once evident. Δονεῖν is divided in meaning between motion and sound;  
in the latter sense we have δονήσεται *Ap.* 270 of chariots, and in the neuter  
Theocr. xx. 29 κῆν αὐλῶ δονέω. I take δονέουσαι therefore of the *angry buzz*  
of bees that will not settle, 'buzzing about among each other.' Similarly,  
metaphorically, Anth. P. v. 121 μὴ σύγε—ἀμφιδονοίης τὸν καλόν. I see how-  
ever no reason to suppose that δενέουσαι is anything but a graphical  
corruption, to which marginalia are peculiarly liable, not necessarily going  
back many years; and the other reading, which it must be remembered  
belongs to *m* also, was certainly not invented (as Gemoll supposes, *Einleitung*,  
p. 10) to supersede it. Schneidewin's, Hollander's (p. 28) and Ludwich's  
attempts to read both vv. at once are not happy. We find everywhere in  
the Hymns that real variants are original alternatives, not a sequence inter-  
rupted. I take the two lines therefore to be independent, as 288, 326, 366.

<sup>17</sup> Ἄντην is not certain; Hollander emends it ἀντᾶς, Gemoll after Schneidewin ἀντῆς.

*Pan* xix. 48. ἵλαμαι *y*, λίσομαι *xp* (*Asclep.* xvi. 5 λίτομαι omnes, *Apoll.* xxi. 5 ἵλαμαι omnes). Gemoll here bestows his 'Besserung' upon *y*; again I take ἵλαμαι and λίσομαι to be independent alternatives, and the latter is not necessarily a corruption of λίτομαι or λίσσομαι, but a regularly formed *future*, implied in λίσαι A 394, λίσῃ κ 526 and cf. the variants Anth. Pal. v. 164. See Veitch, *Greek Verbs s.v.*

Counting up these fourteen solitary readings of *y*, we find that nearly all of them are independent variants; of none of them however can we say that it is right to the exclusion of the corresponding reading. The variants are of great value and interest, but we are to remember that *y* (as far as we can judge of it from the way in which it is cited) is a close relation of *x* and a member of the general *xp* family. Also, from *Herm.* 45 (ἀμαλδύναι), 241 (λοχάων), 288 (ἄντην), 563 (δενέουσαι), it is plain that *y* is as severely corrupted as the other families.

We may next look at such variants as have two families to support them. It may be expected *prima facie* that a reading found in two such distant families as *m* and *y* will have a strong claim to acceptance.

*Ap.* 217 ἡδ' ἀγνῆνας *m* ἡ μαγνηίδας *xp*.  
ἡ μαγνηῆνας *y*.

The readings of *my* evidently go back to a common source, which may be Matthiae's ἡδ' Ἐνῆνας; *m* of the two is nearer the original, and has not made the step of taking on *μ*-. A bridge may be made from ἐνῆνας to ἀγνῆνας if we imagine the former written itacistically αἰνῆνας, and I confused with Γ. The corruption must be very old, and we are therefore correct in positing an uncial exchange. (So Hollander, p. 24.) The *xp* reading is a further correction of μαγνηνας.

*Herm.* 168. ἄπαστοι *m*, <sup>λι</sup> *y*. The amount of authority for  
ἄπαστοι *p*.

ἄλιστοι is uncertain for it is very possible that the superscription in *p* may be drawn from a *y* source. In point of sense however ἄπαστοι does not seem appropriate; Hermes and his mother would hardly starve even if they were not recognized by the other Olympians. Ἄπαστοι also may be explained as a correction of ΑΑ(1)CΤΟΙ from ΑΛΙCΤΟΙ; the corruption again is uncial.

212. μῦθον ἀκούσας *my*, φοῖβος ἀπόλλων *xp*. The variants are equally balanced in authority and sense, and seem independent.

224. ἔλπομαι εἶναι *my*, ἔστιν ὁμοῖα. Either reading gives a good construction, and no such expedients as reading κένταυρον λασιαύχενα (Schneidewin) or omitting 225 (Hollander) are wanted. Construe in the one case οὔτε κενταύρου βήματα ἔλπομαι εἶναι τὰ βήματα ἐκείνου ὅστις κ.τ.λ., in the other οὔτε κενταύρου βήμασιν ἔστιν ὁμοῖα τὰ βήματα ἐκείνου ὅστις κ.τ.λ. Of the two variants ἔλπομαι εἶναι is the livelier, but if it were original I cannot see a reason for altering it to ἔστιν ὁμοῖα, for the difficulty such as it is is on the side of the latter.

280. ὥς *mx*, τὸν *y*, ὥς τὸν *p*. 'Ως is probably an interpretation which the difficulty of the construction has forced into the text.

322. δὲ τέρθρον ἱκοντο *mx*, δ' ἱκοντο κάρηνα *yp*. On τέρθρον see the Lexx. In Attic (*e.g.* Aristophanes) the word denotes part of a ship, and the nautical connotation is predominant in it. However it is used of other material things (στέγη οἰκίας Hesych., ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τέρθρον θυράων Apollodorus Bergk, *P.L.G.* iii. p. 378) and there seems nothing in the etymology to give it a more definite meaning than 'point, peak.' Accordingly with Ruhnken and Ludwich I keep it here; the more technical the meaning of τέρθρον, the harder it is to imagine a learned reader wishing to insert it at the price of disturbing an inoffensive reading like ἱκοντο κάρηνα. It has also the joint authority of *m* and *x*.

451. ὕμνος *my*, οἶμος *xp*. I confess myself unable to fix the relation between these words. The eagerness of editors to accept in this case, where it might obviously be a gloss, the reading of *m* is singular. θ 429 αἰοιδῆς ὕμνον is undecisive and cuts both ways. On the whole I should prefer οἶμος, as the less common word. Ludwich, *Homérica* i. p. 6 note, holds the interesting view that the corruption of ὕμνος to οἶμος is phonetic.

*Ap. h.* 214. ἴσα θεοῖσι *my*, ἥματα πάντα *xp*. Here again, as *Herm.* 224, the sense given by one reading, ἴσα θεοῖσι, is the livelier, but there is no positive reason to reject the other. The arguments brought by editors in favour of ἴσα θεοῖσι may all be turned against them.

*Dion.* vii. 37. φόβος *my*, τάφος *xp*. Here again, as *Herm.* 451, the reading of *my* wears the look of a gloss.

*Ares* viii. 9. εὐθαρσέος *mx*, εὐθαλέος *yp*. Εὐθαλέος is naturally appropriate to ἥβης, and the *a*, which is used by Pind., Eur., Aristoph. (*Birds* 1062), need be no stumbling-block in a document of the very uncertain age of this hymn. It is equally unlikely to have suggested a correction to a scribe, and I am not inclined, with Hollander (p. 29) and Gemoll, to consider εὐθαρσέος unoriginal.

Of the nine readings then which are shared equally between the four families there appear to be five cases of independent variants and four where the one variant has proceeded from the other, viz. *Ap.* 217 and *Herm.* 168 as the result of corruption, *Herm.* 451 and *Dion.* vii. 37 as part of a process of interpretation. The way in which the families are distributed—now on the right side, now on the wrong—is a proof of the arbitrariness of tradition and the merely relative difference between MSS.

We have thus discussed the variants offered by the four families in detail; our next step is to collect our results:—

Of conscious conjectures, there are in *m* 6, in *x* 2, in *p* 11;  
 of semi-conscious conjectures, in *m* 34, in *x* 9, in *p* 17;  
 of independent readings, in *m* 33, in *x* 0, in *p* 1;  
 of exclusively right readings, in *m* 46, in *x* 4, in *p* 21;  
 of graphical and phonetic blunders, in *m* about 90, in *x* about 20, in *p*  
 about 50.

These figures, which are necessarily only loosely approximate, give a fairly correct idea of the value of the various archetypes after an unprejudiced survey of their variants.

*m* is in every way the most strongly characterized branch. It has a very large number of graphical and phonetic blunders, of which some 34 are roughly and only half-intentionally corrected while the greater number remain untouched. It has also nearly 80 peculiar readings which have always belonged to it; 33 of these have an equal claim to acceptance with the alternatives in the other families, 46 are sole survivors of the original. *m* therefore appears in the excellent character of an uncorrected codex, whose errors are due to natural causes, and which represents a distinct line of tradition.

*x*, *p*, and *y* form in comparison a uniform vulgate, valuable as preserving the alternatives to *m*'s independent readings, and the correct originals of *m*'s innumerable blunders. Among themselves they differ as follows. *x* is principally valuable for the fidelity of its copying and the almost entire absence of conjecture, to which its singular corruptions offered much occasion, *p* has the general defect of having passed through the hands of particularly ignorant scribes, whose errors and whose half-intentional corrections of them detract from its value; a larger proportion however of genuine survivals remains in *p* than in *x*. *y* offers a small number of variants, whose chief value is that they consist for the most part of entire lines.

No one family therefore represents the original fully, and no family can be dispensed with; all in part, none entirely, possess the inheritance. They possess it in different degrees, and this proportion is their value. Paradosis is a fickle goddess, and dispenses her favour with a deplorable lack of system. When all our weighing and balancing is done, it remains for the editor of these Hymns to take his good where he finds it.

I next endeavour, with the knowledge that we have gathered up to this point, to reconstruct the history of the text. The fifteenth century copies fall into two classes. The former contains the MSS. ELITDAtHJKS; of these HJK seem to be descended from DAt, DAt from an ancestor which had a close connection with LII; S also seems derived from LII. LII, the parents of DAtHJKS, go back to a common ancestor *b*. ET similarly spring from one parent *a*, and the origins of *a* and *b* lead to a common family-archetype *x*.

The other fifteenth and sixteenth century copies, ABCFGL<sub>2</sub>L<sub>3</sub>NOP QR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>VMm, point through several but less well defined stages to a common origin *p*.

Both of these archetypes were minuscule, and in all probability passed, as single MSS., through several minuscule stages. While they were apart, readings were added to the margin of *x* from another stock *y*, about which from the circumstances in which it is given us we can say little but that its readings stand equidistant between *m* and *p*, and therefore the natural presumption may be correct, that it belonged in the main to *x*.

- Next, *x* and *p*, and therefore *y*, all issued from one common stock *z*, a

MS. written well in the uncial period and probably pretty far back in that. When *x* and *p* differ, it is accordingly generally on points of uncial variation. *z* contained the hymns minus that to Demeter and the fragment to Dionysus, combined in one collection with various other quasi-epic writings.

Parallel to *z* and its progeny, there had descended another family, represented by the single fourteenth century MS. M. This had for at least two generations minuscule ancestors, and may be traced back without admixture to an uncial progenitor  $\mu$ . This copy, as well as all its offspring save M, possessed at least two more Hymns than the *z* family, and presented them in company with the Iliad and possibly other Homeric poems.

This  $\mu$  coincided in the main with *z*, though in a very considerable number of lines it offered different readings. Whether  $\mu$  and *z* ever had a common ancestor, that is, a universal archetype of the Hymns, must be a doubtful question. It is perhaps too generally assumed that the tradition of any author necessitates a single archetype. Where the writer is an historical person, as Persius or Martial, such an expression may have meaning; but when we deal with a corpus of writings of uncertain authorship and different ages, the expression original archetype becomes as theoretical as original family of languages. In the absence of any documentary evidence bearing on the Homeric Hymns earlier than the fourteenth century, no conclusion of the sort can be drawn; nor, considering the endless possible relations between manuscripts and scribes in the whole course of antiquity, can any explanation be offered of the connexions and combinations that may have existed between *m* at any of its stages and the different members of *z*.

The stemma therefore which I subjoin does not end in a single point, but in two open threads.

Whether however or no there was ever a common archetype of the Hymns, there are a certain number of errors common to all the MSS. alike. These I will next enumerate. To arrive at errors common to an entire tradition is from the circumstances of the case difficult; there is *ex hypothesi* no other MS. authority with which to compare them. On the other hand objective certainty is equally imperative, and to include readings which have been displaced by brilliant conjectures is but a begging the question. A modified objectivity may be had in cases (1) where the passage is quoted by some other writer, (2) where the traditional reading is unmetrical or palpably corrupt, (3) where analogy of sources or other similar literature is very strong. With these criteria we may collect the following series (the interpretation of the passages will be considered in Part III.):

Ap. 165. ἀλλά γε λητὼ; ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι Thuc., 171 ἀφ' ἡμέων, ἀφ' ἡμῶς Thuc., 184 τεθυωδέα a vox nihili, 255 ἡ δ' ἐσιδοῦσα; ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα v. 341 seems proof that this is wrong (see p. 279), 371 ἕμερον μένος; ἕμερον is a vox nihili, and the Homeric analogy seems to necessitate ἱερόν, which Barnes first restored; 392 ἡμαθόην, for νῆα θοήν as corrected in M; 446 κρισσαγῶν without meaning; Lascaris in T corrected κρισσαίων, an uncial error; Herm. 133 περὴν, 325 εὐμι(ν)λίη, 346 ὅδ' ἐκτός, all three at least unexplained, if not corrupt; 419 and 501 κατὰ μέλος, where κατὰ μέρος

seems established by v. 53: 473 *παῖδ' ἀφνειόν*, unmetrical: *Ἀρην*. 252 *στοναχῆσεται* a vox nihili, 254 *σχέτλιον οὐκ ὀνότατον*, unmetrical (no doubt originally *ὀνοταστόν*) and the Homeric *ὀνομαστόν* seems imperiously necessary.

These very restricted instances throw a clear light upon the character of the tradition of the Hymns, at the furthest point to which the MSS. take it. That such forms as *ἕμερον*, *ἡμαθόην*, *κρισσαγῶν*, *εὐμιλίη*, *παῖδ' ἀφνειόν*, *ὀνότατον* should have come into existence, and having come into existence have persisted uncorrected till the fifteenth century in a language and style so familiar as the Homeric, is surely a very remarkable phenomenon. It points, in my judgment, to the great neglect of these poems; they will have been copied from time to time, but seldom read; and as it is the reader and not the scribe who notices errors and to whom corrections in MSS. are due, these corruptions once in being continued undisturbed down to the Renaissance. The overwhelming number of corruptions in M (see Part I. p. 143 *sq.*) suggests that this family met with even fewer readers than the others; an opinion confirmed by the survival of the Demeter hymn alone in M. If free commerce had existed between the various families and exchanges of variants had been frequent, surely the two first hymns could not have failed to be added to the truncated corpus.

The next question which presents itself is this: Given a number of variants that, so far back as our MSS. reach, are not deducible from each other, what is their origin? Are they due to early interpolation, to a recension made in classical times, or how?

To answer this question I will compare the phenomena of a text which bears an obvious resemblance to this, namely the *Iliad*. I invite consideration of the following variants:—

- (1) Γ 126 *πορφυρέην, μαρμαρέην*.
- (2) *ib.* 211 *έζομένω, έζομένων*.
- (3) Δ 260 *κρητήρι, κρητήρσι*.
- (4) *ib.* 456 *πόνος, φόβος*.
- (5) *ib.* 527 *ἀπεσσύμενον, έπεσσύμενον*.
- (6) E 31 *τειχεσιπλήτα, τειχεσιβλήτα*.
- (7) *ib.* 60 *πάντα, πολλά*.
- (8) *ib.* 293 *έξελεύθη, έξεσύθη*.
- (9) *ib.* 394 *καί, κεν*.
- (10) *ib.* 549 *ὀρσίλοχον, ὀρτίλοχον*.
- (11) *ib.* 744 *πολίων, πόλεων*.
- (12) *ib.* 791 *δὲ έκάς, δ' έκαθεν*.
- (13) *ib.* 797 *τείρετο, τρίβετο*.
- (14) Z 226 *έγχεα, έγχεσι*.
- (15) *ib.* 288 *ή δ' είς οἶκον ιούσα παρίστατο φωριαμοῖσι, αὐτὴ δ' είς θάλαμον κατεβήσето κηώεντα*.
- (16) H 12 *λύντο, λύσε*.
- (17) *ib.* 193 *δύνω, δύω*.

- (18) *ib.* 197 ἐλών, ἐκών.
- (19) *ib.* 420 ὀτρύνοντο νέκυς, ὠτρυνον νέκυας.
- (20) *ib.* 481 πιέμεναι πρὶν λείψαι, πρὶν πιέειν πρὶν λείψαι.
- (21) Θ 191 ὄφρα, αἴκε.
- (22) *ib.* 378 προφανέντε, προφανείσα, προφανείσας.
- (23) *ib.* 408 κεν εἴπω, νοήσω.
- (24) *ib.* 526 εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος, ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος.
- (25) I 612 ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀχεύων, ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων (κινυρίζων).
- (26) K 413 καταλέξω, ἀγορεύσω.
- (27) *ib.* 538 μετὰ φρεσί, κατὰ φρένα.
- (28) Λ 86 δειπνον, δόρπον.
- (29) *ib.* 144 οὔδας ἔρεισεν, οὔδει ἐρείσθη.
- (30) *ib.* 466 ἵκετ' αὐτή, ἵκετο φωνή.
- (31) *ib.* 688 ὄφειλον, ὄφελλον.

I draw short the list, which is not meant to be exhaustive, with the former half of the *Iliad*. All these are MS. variants. Now suppose that our knowledge of the *Iliad* text depended entirely upon fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS., and that scholia and other external sources were not existent; what account would be given of these readings? I imagine that criticism would make short work of them, and assign them on one ground or another to the 'kritische Thätigkeit' of unrestful Byzantines. Nos. 1, 4, 13, 28, 30 are excellent examples of the gloss supplanting the original; 15, 23, 25, 26 point to the common phenomenon of 'unconscious cerebration' *i.e.* recollection, on the part of the scribe; 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, etc. might be thought due to intentional correction of supposed grammatical and orthographical errors—and so with the remainder. Yet what do we find? Of the 'glosses' *πορφυρέην* (1) is ascribed to Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus, *μαρμαρέην* was the contemporary vulgate which the majority of the MSS. have preserved; *πόνος* (4) was Aristarchus' reading, which he preferred to the already existent *φόβος*; *τείρετο* (13) was Aristarchus' preference, *τρίβετο* was read by ἄλλοι; the most striking instance (28) shows that *δόρπον* is not an effort of misplaced antiquarianism, nor *δειπνον* an explanatory gloss; *δόρπον* has Zenodotus for godfather; *αὐτή* (30), be it better than *φωνή*, is due to no Tzetzes, but to Aristarchus. Analysis of the other cases shows that these variants, which in appearance seem so explicable by the ordinary accidents of tradition, are without exception of the respectable antiquity of 2,000 years, and were reviewed, approved or rejected by the librarians of Ptolemaic Alexandria.

These variants, thus seen to be ancient, are of the same sort as the variants which we have been discussing throughout the Hymns; some of them are literally identical. Our history of the transmission of the Hymns begins with the fourteenth century. What reason have we to suppose that, if it were continued farther back, these variants would not be found in existence at any given period? That all of them are ancient does not necessarily follow, for in the *Iliad* there are hundreds of variants beside those

which I have quoted on whose history we have no light. But considering the Hymn-variants as a mass, it appears reasonable to conclude, after they have been subjected to detailed examination, and *in default of external evidence to the contrary*, that they have always subsisted in the Hymn-corpus, and that they go back to times approximating to the original collection.

The test of this theory can only be a papyrus of the Homeric Hymns from a tomb in Egypt or the gallabiyeh of an Arab; but, *in tanto*, we may content ourselves with the one piece of substantive evidence that does exist—the quotation made by the fifth-century Athenian Thucydides. Thuc. iii. 104, in a familiar context, quotes the *Hymn to Apollo* 146–150, 165–171, and exhibits the following variations from our tradition:—

MSS.	Thuc.
146 ἀλλά σὺ	ἀλλ' ὅτε. <sup>18</sup>
ib. μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπειαι ἦτορ	μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης.
148 αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδείεσσι καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισι	σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγνιάν.
149 οἱ δέ σε	ἐνθα σε.
ib.	τε post πυγμαχίῃ add. Thuc.
ib. ὀρχηθμῶ <sup>18a</sup>	ὀρχηστνῷ.
150 στήσωνται	καθέσωσι.
165 ἀλλάγε δὴ λητὼ μὲν	ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν.
168 ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθὼν	ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν.
171 ἀφ' ἡμέων, ημῶν, ὑμῶν	ἀφήμως, εὐφήμως.

Very different views have been held at different times upon the relation of these two versions. Many of the opinions are collected by Gemoll *ad loc.* The most natural perhaps was to give the preference to apparent age, and suppose the Thucydidean the original; then to assume both corrupted, and to arrange a composition from elements of either of them. The only sound view however is that most justly expressed by Gemoll, 'im ganzen und grossen stehen beide Texte fest, und der Herausgeber hat sich für den einen oder den andern zu entscheiden.' If a positive analogy is wanted, I need only point to the prae-Alexandrian variants upon the Iliad and Odyssey, for instance in Plato; these no one that I am aware of would seek to introduce into the text of Homer at the expense of the vulgate.

<sup>18</sup> It may be noticed that the ἀλλ' ὅτε of Thucydides is far from 'sinnlos,' as Gemoll carelessly asserts. The sense is perspicuous: 'You, Apollo, at one time walk about on rocky Delos, at another you wander through the islands and mankind, for you have many temples and groves, and all heights and peaks and streams are dear to you; *but when* you take your pleasure in Delos in especial, *then* (apodictic) the Ionians gather.' The MS. tradition is more emphatic in favour of Delos: 'but

it is in Delos that you take your pleasure; there (relative) the Ionians gather.'

Incidentally it may be worth suggesting that a proposition such as 'Thucydides quotes from memory' is intrinsically absurd. What do we know of the circumstances under which a Greek of the fifth century wrote a book? All we are entitled to say, as judges of evidence, is 'Thucydides quotes.'

<sup>18a</sup> ὀρχηθμῶ καὶ ἀοιδῇ is supported by the identical phrase in Theognis 791.



There are however two places in which a doubt may be felt as to the genuineness of one or both traditions. The former is

ἀλλάγε λητῶ μὲν καὶ ἀπόλλων *m*      ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν ἀπόλλων Thuc.  
 ἀλλάγε δὴ λητῶ μὲν ἀπόλλων *xp*      (ἄγε δὴ λητῶ *b*, ἄγε δὴ λήκοι *c*).

Editors until Ernesti allowed the MS. reading to stand in the text, although Normann (1687), in an edition of a speech of Aristides, had advised the substitution of the Thucydidean. The arguments against the vulgate are (1) that there is no example of ἄγε being given so much substantive force as to balance χαίρετε (ἄγε μὲν, χαίρετε δέ), (2) the μὲν after λητῶ calls imperatively for a verb before it. Δὴ λητῶ is therefore corrupt, and M's reading is an attempt at a correction, to unite λητῶ and ἀπόλλων; and as an original is wanted, no doubt it is ἰλήκοι μὲν. The transition will be facilitated if we suppose the vocative λητοῖ (vv. 14, 62) the intervening stage; δὴ is then a corruption of *θι* taken for *θη* (*θην*).

This account is remarkably confirmed when we find that in the late MSS. of Thucydides the same phenomenon has taken place. Bekker's apparatus, which, to the shame of the learned world, is still the only one available for the third book, shows that while the elder MSS. have ἰλήκοι, one of the later (*b*) has the reading of the Hymns λητῶ, while another (*c*) has the intermediate stage λήκοι. It is not necessary to suppose that these late Byzantine scribes were aware of a rare book like the Hymns; the corruption in both places alike was graphical. Gemoll therefore is so far right when he says that the two traditions are identical. The other case is

Ap. 171 ἀφ' ἡμέων *mv*.      ἀφήμωσ Thuc.  
                  ἀφ' ὑμῶν *p*.      εὐφήμωσ I. P. Q. c. d. e. f. i.

In the first place ὑμῶν of *p* is doubtless an itacism, cf. Ap. 174, p. 10; similarly εὐφήμωσ of the later MSS. of Thucydides must be a metrical correction from ἀφήμωσ, since *a* and *ευ* can only exchange through minuscule forms, and the testimony of *mv* takes *αφ* back to the uncial period (this naturally disposes of the attempt of Ruhnken and his followers to put εὐφήμωσ in the text). Taking then the reading of the best MSS. of both traditions, *αφημωσ* on the whole offers more of sense than ἀφ' ἡμέων, and may accordingly be considered a correction from it. The difficulties seem concentrated in ἀφημεων, and this we may therefore suppose the original of the passage. From this form emendation must start. A singular coincidence of corruption occurs in Ap. Rh. iv. 1373 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ νηδύος ἄμμε φέρουσα | ἡμέας ἀργαλέοισιν ὀιζύει καμάτοισιν.

Twice therefore where the Thucydidean and the manuscript versions differ, corruption has had its way: in the former it is confined to the MS. tradition, in the latter it has invaded both sources. The other passages appear to be genuine variants, and confirm the view that we have taken of the differences within the manuscripts themselves, namely, that they are from their origin independent.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Compare also the variants given by Pausanias in *Dem.* 482, and by Antig. Carystius in *Herm.* 51.



<i>Ap.</i>	168	ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών codd. ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών Thuc.
<i>ib.</i>	211	[? ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ <i>m</i> ἄμ' ἐρευθεῖ <i>x</i> ἀμαρύνθω <i>y</i> ].
<i>ib.</i>	249	πολλοὶ <i>m</i> ἐνθάδ' <i>xp.</i>
<i>ib.</i>	308	ἡνίκ' ἄρα <i>m</i> εὐτ' ἄρα δὴ <i>xp.</i>
<i>ib.</i>	423	ἐρατὸν <i>mx</i> χρυσήν <i>p</i> χαρίεν Athenaeus.
<i>ib.</i>	523	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον <i>m xp</i> ἄδυτου ζάθεον <i>y</i> .
<i>Herm.</i>	45	[? ἦ ὅτε <i>m</i> αὐ' ὅτε <i>x</i> ἄς ὅτε <i>p</i> ].
<i>ib.</i>		[? ἀμαρνγαί <i>mxp</i> ἀμάλδυναι <i>y</i> ].
	51	συμφώνους codd. θηλυτέρων Antigonus Carystius.
	63	ἄλτο <i>m</i> ὦρτο <i>xp.</i>
	86	[? αὐτοτροπήσας <i>myp</i> αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς <i>x</i> ].
	90	ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα <i>m</i> ἐπικάμπυλος ὦμος <i>xp.</i>
	109	ἐνίαλλε <i>M</i> (=λείαινε?) ἐπέλεψε <i>xp.</i>
	159	φέροντα <i>m</i> λαβόντα <i>xp.</i>
	164	[? πολλὰ—ἄρμενα <i>m</i> παῦρα—αἴσυλα <i>xp</i> ].
	212	μῦθον ἀκούσας <i>my</i> φοῖβος ἀπόλλων <i>xp.</i>
	224	ἔλπομαι εἶναι <i>my</i> ἔστιν ὁμοία <i>xp.</i>
	241	[? δὴ ῥα νεόλλουτος <i>m xp</i> θῆ ῥα νέον λοχάων <i>y</i> ].
	288	ἄντησις ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων <i>mxp.</i> ἄντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀίεσσι <i>y</i> .
	322	τέρθρον ἵκοντο <i>mx</i> ἵκοντο κάρηνα <i>yp.</i>
	326	ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο <i>mxp</i> μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦῶ <i>y</i> .
	352	πολὺν <i>m</i> μέγαν <i>xp.</i>
	366	δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ἠὔδα <i>mxp.</i> δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισι ἔειπεν <i>y</i> .
	368	ἀγορεύσω <i>m</i> καταλέξω <i>xp.</i>
	403	ἀπάνευθε <i>m</i> ἀπάτερθε <i>xp.</i>
	431	ἅπαντες <i>m</i> ἕκαστος <i>xp.</i>
	451	[? ὕμνος <i>my</i> οἶμος <i>xp</i> ].
	473	καὶ <i>mxp</i> τῶν <i>y</i> .
	502	σμερδαλέον <i>m</i> ἱμερόεν <i>xp.</i>
	503	καὶ ῥα <i>m</i> ἔνθα <i>xp.</i>
	518	κατὰ <i>m</i> μέγαν <i>m xp.</i>
	544	τ' ἠδὲ ποτῆσι <i>m</i> καὶ πτερύγεσσι <i>xp.</i>
	552	σεμναὶ <i>m</i> μοῖραι <i>xp.</i>
	563	πειρῶνται δ' ἤπειτα παρὲξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν <i>m xp.</i> ψεύδονται δ' ἤπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δεινέουσαι <i>y</i> .
<i>Apoll.</i>	18	πουλύχρυσά <i>m</i> καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε <i>xp.</i>
	67	ρίμφα <i>m</i> θοῶς <i>xp.</i>
	136	οὐ σφιν αἰκελίῃ νυδὸς ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα }
	136 <sup>a</sup>	εἴ τοι αἰκελίῃ γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί' } <i>m xp.</i>
	175	ἰοστεφάνου <i>m</i> εὐστεφάνου <i>xp.</i>
	204	ἐπιεινοχοεύειν <i>m</i> ἐπιεινοχοεῖν <i>xp.</i>
	205	τετιμένον <i>m</i> τετιμένος <i>xp.</i>
	206	ἀφύσσειν <i>m</i> ἀφύσσων <i>xp.</i>

- Apoll.* 214 ἴσα θεοῖσι *my* ἥματα πάντα *xp.*<sup>21</sup>  
*Apoll.* VI. 18 ἰοστεφάνου *me* εὐστεφάνου *γ.*  
*Dion.* VII. 37 φόβος *my* τάφος *xp.*  
*Ares* VIII. 9 εὐθαρσέος *my* εὐθαλέος *γ.*  
*Apoll.* X. 3 θέει *m* φέρει *xp.*  
                   4 μίκαιρα κυθήρης *m* θεὰ σαλαμῖνος *xp.*  
*Herod.* XV. 5 πημαίνεται' ἀεθλείων κραταιῶς *M* πομπῇσιν ὑπ' εὐρυσθ-  
                   ῆος ἄνακτος *γp.*  
                   6 ἔξοχα ἔργα *m* πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη *xp.*  
*Pan* XIX. 7 κάρηνα *x* κέλευθα *γp.*  
                   48 λίσομαι *γp* ἴλαμαι *γ.*

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

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<sup>21</sup> 274, 5 and 276, 7 are probably alternatives.

## AEGOSTHENA.

[PLATES IX., X.]

AEGOSTHENA, now more generally known as Porto Germano, lies on one of the easternmost bays of the Corinthian gulf, and on the northern frontier of the Megarid. Its remoteness from ordinary routes—for between it and Velia, itself an *ultima Thule*, rise 2,000 feet of pine-clad mountains—accounts for the fact that it is to this day practically unknown, and also perhaps for the very scanty mention of it in ancient literature. There was a shrine of Melampus there, the Spartans passed it in their retreat from Leuctra, and that is all. But the same remoteness has preserved for us a Greek fortified town in better condition and greater completeness than any other, not even excepting Messene.

The town was divided into two parts, the Acropolis defended on all sides by a line of walls and towers, and the lower town fortified on the north, from the Acropolis down to the sea, by a similar line, still remaining in good condition. We are, I think, both by the exigencies of its position and also by certain scanty remains bound to assume the existence of a corresponding south wall, of which mention will be made later. The style of building both in the Acropolis and the long wall is the same. The towers in either case are of quadrangular square-cut stones, averaging a metre in length, and half a metre in height and breadth. In the lower courses of the walls that join these towers, we come across that style of building usually known as 'fourth century polygonal.' Other scattered pieces of polygonal work occur here and there. The materials are a hard limestone of the district, and a less durable conglomerate rock.

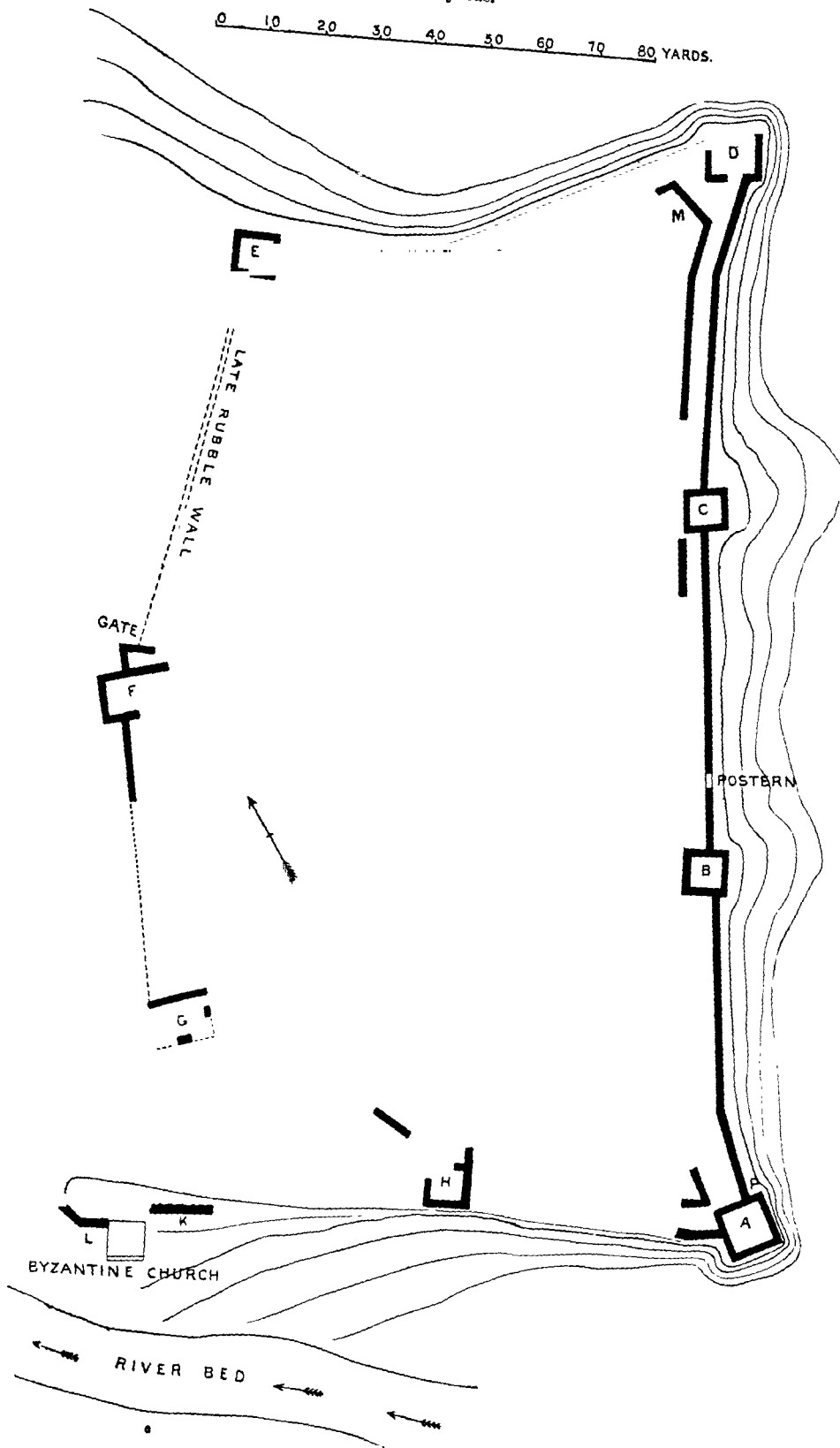
## THE ACROPOLIS (cf. Plan I.).

The Acropolis is oblong in shape, defended by a wall running all round it, and joining its eight towers. The east side is the most complete and most impressive, for there the wall stands *in situ* for nearly all its length, surmounting a steep rocky slope which descends to the valley. The towers stand at intervals of about 50 metres, four in number. On this side the only means of egress is the small postern defended by the tower *B*. The corner towers *D* and *E* are built solid for the space of some 10 feet from the rock, the interiors being filled up with stone rubble, and *A* is solid for

PLAN I.—THE ACROPOLIS.

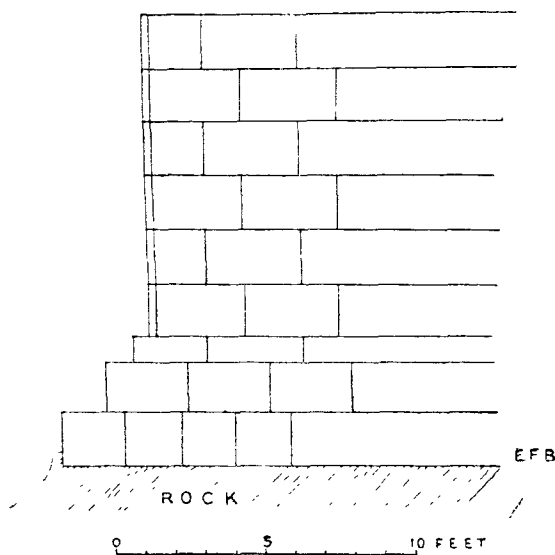
Scale of yards.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 YARDS.



nearly twice that distance. Of the fourth corner tower *G*, only the scantiest traces remain. *A* and *D* however are in excellent preservation, and from them we can get a very complete notion of the original arrangement.

The tower *A* is probably the finest existing specimen of Greek fortification work. It rises  $11\frac{1}{2}$  metres above the top of the adjoining wall, and from that point is built solid above for the space of about 10 feet, and below to the base of the wall itself. The stones are built in very regular lines, each course being half a metre in height. The entrance to the tower itself is thus 10 feet above the wall level, and is made through a narrow door, easily defensible. The height of the door above the wall suggests that it was reached by a ladder which could be drawn up if necessary. Thus, even if the Acropolis was taken, a few defenders might still hold this tower.



DETAIL OF TOWER B.

The chamber inside is rather less than 8 metres square, and is lighted by two very narrow oblong windows. Unfortunately it has been used, probably by monks or hermits, in later times, and the interior of the walls has been daubed over. Judging however from the corresponding tower *D*, we should assume that it contained two chambers, one above the other. It is complete on the south side from top to bottom, and is finished in a low flat gable. The east and west sides are also complete, but on the north the gable has gone.

The east wall here rises from the ground inside the Acropolis to the height of 8 feet, and is faced with large masonry on both sides and filled up solid with rubble. Outside it continues nearly perfect till the next tower *B*, but inside throughout the greater part of this section both the inside facing and the rubble filling have gone. The two intermediate towers *B*

and *C* have been built hollow to ground level, and there are traces in both of holes to receive wood flooring. The lowest chamber in each would thus be reached from the wall by a descending ladder, the upper story being on a level with the top of the solid filling of the wall.

The same solid filling of the wall extends to the corresponding corner tower *D*, the lowest story of which, as in the case of *A*, is built solid. Unlike *A* however, this tower is reached direct from the wall, part of one side of the door remaining. The upper part has fallen, but eight courses up is a complete row of holes for roof beams, and on the adjacent sides larger holes for the main rafters. The tower now rises only a few courses above these, but it is quite clear that there were two stories in it, and we may with fair probability assume the same for *A*. Similar holes for rafters appear high up on the wall itself between *C* and *D*, which here rises some feet above the solid filling, showing us that a covered passage passed between the towers.

Of the remaining towers, the corner tower *E*, like *A* and *D*, is built solid for the first story, up to the level of the solid filling of the wall, but beyond that nothing remains. *G* has vanished altogether with the exception of a few courses, enough to show that a tower once stood there, and a little rubble filling, which leads us to suppose that it, like the other corner tower, was built solid for one story. Similarly *H*, of which only a few courses remain, like the other intermediate towers *B* and *C*, was built hollow down to rock level.

North, east, and south of the Acropolis wall the ground slopes rapidly down, in many places almost precipitously, to the valley, and it is only on the west that it is of any use to look for the main gate. Here for the most part the wall has been rebuilt, in some cases with the original stones, in others with rough walls, chiefly to keep the soil from slipping. But there is sufficient evidence to enable us to place the main gate directly to the north of *F*. This tower, as will be seen, contains a double chamber, which suggests additional defence, the northern wall of the smaller chamber is built smooth and square, and no wall stories are bonded into it, as is the case with all the other towers. It is thus evident that the wall did not run up to it, and the only inference is that the gate communicating with the lower town lay here.

The lower courses of the walls, as I have stated, are largely built in the 'fourth century polygonal' style, while the towers themselves are purely rectangular. It is possible then that the walls were built first, and the towers as they stand a slightly later addition, and this is borne out by some slight evidence on the spot. Thus just inside *D* is a line of polygonal masonry *M*, which suggests that a tower, built in the same style as the wall, once stood, or was once begun there. Another piece of polygonal work occurs on the conjectural south wall of the lower city at *V*, and as this runs north and south it could not have been part of the wall itself, and it is hard to say what it is, unless we conjecture it to be one side of a tower built in the same style as the walls. It is moreover 6.20 metres long, or the exact length of several of the other towers.

Of the other Acropolis walls, the north wall is complete in all its length, and rises to the height of 7 metres in some places, and at its least



complete parts is upwards of 4. The west wall however is almost entirely rebuilt, probably in late times, to keep up the level of the soil. That it lies on the original site is however certain from its position with regard to the three towers in it. An original piece still adjoins the tower *E*, and again, south of the gate tower *F*, the original wall is still standing for the space of about 10 metres. Of the south wall only a few fragments remain, which are however enough to make its general line certain. For a few yards starting from *A* it is still complete to the top, and is strongly bonded into the tower.

In connection with the Acropolis we may also take a piece of early polygonal wall at *K*, and two caves faced with large roughly-cut masonry at *L* and *P*.

The wall *K* is built polygonally with large stones, and it seems impossible to assign to it a date later than the early sixth century. It runs along the edge of a steep rock for 9 metres, which descends to the river-bed, and from its position we must conclude, even without other evidence, which will be dealt with later, that it is defensive work of a very early date.

Close to this is the cave *L*, faced with large masonry on the south and, as was found by excavation, for several metres across its mouth to the west. On the south is a narrow slit cut in the masonry, with marks of a door or shutter to close it. There is a similar cave at *P*, on the east side of the Acropolis just outside the tower *A*. There are two theories about this cave, both of which appear tenable, but neither convincing:—

- (i.) That it was part of the system of fortifications.
- (ii.) That it had sacred associations.

(i.) A story is told by the peasants that cave *L* is the entrance to a passage leading up inside the Acropolis to the tower *A*. We spent some days in digging here, and found that the earth which came out of it had many fragments of Greek black-ware embedded in it, but as nothing of importance turned up, and it was obviously out of the question to dig up to tower *A*, we abandoned it. The excavations however showed that the cave went on for some considerable distance, and showed no signs of coming to an end. It sloped slightly upwards, and it seems possible that, as in so many cases, the modern Greek peasant has preserved an older belief often founded on fact. The rock which covers it in has broken away towards the mouth, but the discovery of foundations crossing the mouth of the cave makes it not impossible that it was once entirely closed in, and reached only from some point inside the Acropolis. Again, the great similarity of this cave to the cave at *P* makes it probable that they served similar purposes, and the juxtaposition of *P* to the tower *A* lends a certain weight to the tradition of the peasants. It has occurred to me that there may have been at *L*, which is close down to the river, some sort of water-gate, unapproachable because of the stream, which has now gone the way of most Greek streams, but from which secret sallies might once have been made. The one objection to this theory is that the small shutter closing the window opens not inwards but outwards. It is

however much too small to allow a man to pass through it, being only about 2 feet high and 9 inches across, and though we should have expected it to open inwards, the objection perhaps is not a very serious one.

(ii.) Again, it is impossible to prove that sacred associations are connected with the cave. It must however be remembered that Aegosthena was the cradle of the Melampus worship, and his worship, akin in many ways to that of Asclepius, Amphiaraus and Trophonios, centres, there is reason to think, in caves. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> mentions a shrine and statue to him here, though he does not describe their situation. Again there are adjoining the cave the remains of a Byzantine church, pointing not east and west, but north and south, which may perhaps be explained by the supposition that it was built, as often happens, on the lines of an old Greek shrine. The objection however to the whole theory, lies in the similarity of this cave to the cave at *P*, and it is hard not to suppose that they served the same purpose.

The long wall of the lower city starts from the north-west angle of the Acropolis, and extends down to the sea. Square towers, similar in building to those in the Acropolis, are placed at intervals of about 60 metres throughout its length. For the most part they do not present any special features, and only three are complete up to or above the first story. Of these *J* is solid in its lowest story, *T* hollow to its base. *O*, however, of which a detailed plan is given (Plan III.), presents some features of special interest.

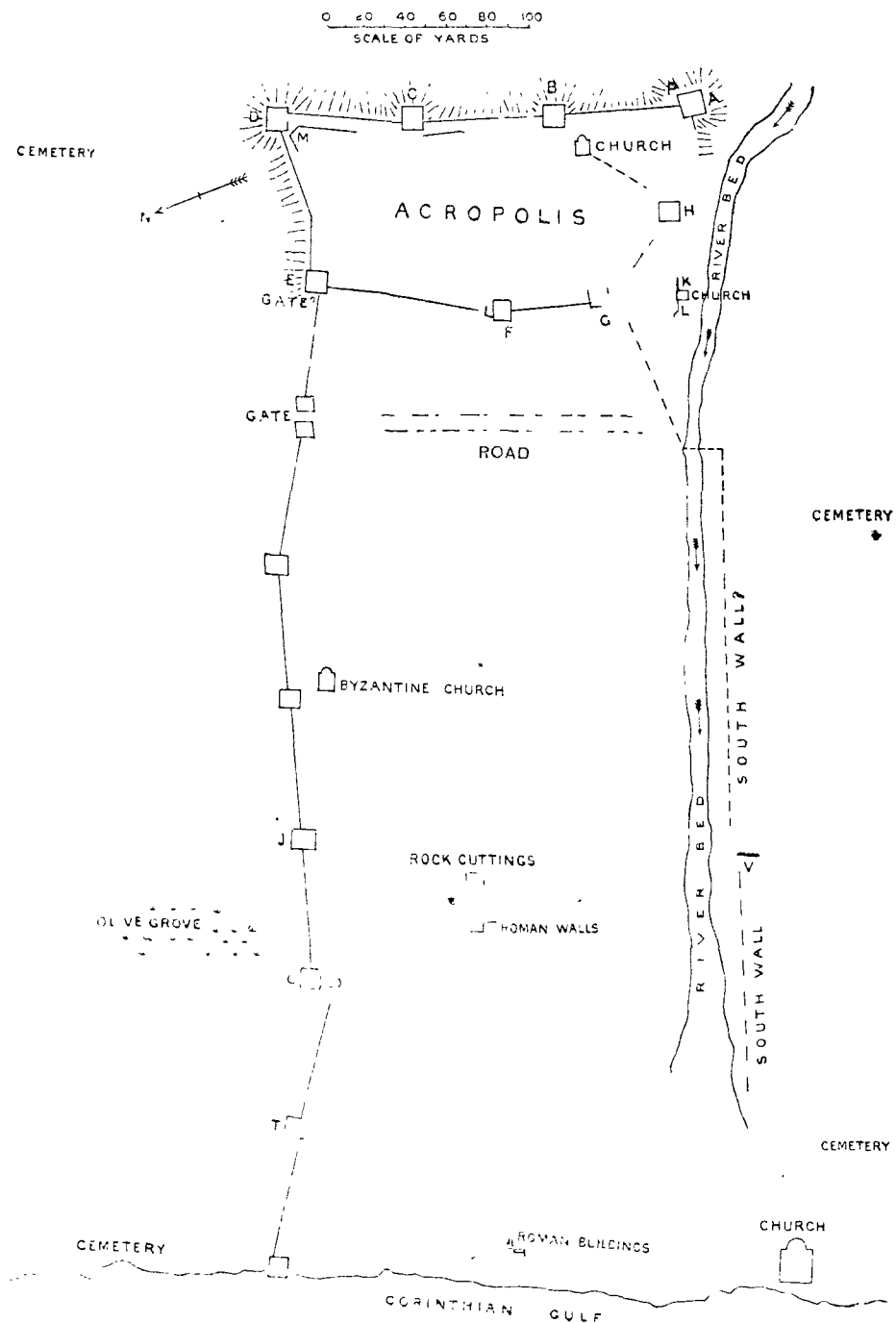
This tower guards a gate, and has been specially constructed with a view to its defence. It consists of three chambers, of which the outer chamber, or tower proper, projecting like the other towers beyond the main wall, is built solid in its lower story. The inner wall of the tower however has never been bonded either into its adjacent wall, or into the city wall which runs to meet it; and, as there must have been some means of access to the second story of the tower, I have ventured to restore a staircase at this point, necessary in itself, and accounting for the fact that the inner wall of the tower does not extend across to the adjacent wall. Additional evidence for this may be found in the fact that the solid filling of this tower does not extend right across to the inner face, but only to the point where I should restore the staircase.

The space between the tower and the rounded angle inside the gate consists of two chambers, separated by a wall at *A*, of which only a few stones, bonded into the adjacent wall, remain. Both these chambers were built on ground level, and the entrance seems certainly to have been at the rounded angle, where the wall, here three courses in height, presents a finished corner. No trace remains of any wall meeting this, but from its shape it seems probable that a similar curved angle completed this chamber. On the opposite side of the gate was another chamber, of which one wall and the start of its adjacent wall alone remain.

There was on this wall certainly one more gate and perhaps two. At *X* there are foundations showing two chambers, one on each side of a well-worn chariot track, traces of which appear inside the town, passing parallel to the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii. 44, 5.

PLAN II.—SKETCH PLAN OF ACROPOLIS AND LOWER TOWN



Acropolis wall across to the river-bed. It also seems probable that there was a gate just below the north-west angle of the Acropolis, though its vicinity to the gate just mentioned rather tends against it. But an examination of the piece of wall left at this point on the Acropolis shows that the wall of the lower tower was never bonded into it, which on the evidence of all the other meeting points of walls and towers can only be accounted for by the existence of a gate. There are also signs on the slope outside that the ground has been artificially levelled, and the steepness of the slope from the road below up to the gate in the west wall of the Acropolis makes it almost necessary to suppose that another road approached it. Such a road, coming as I suggest, would lie nearly on a level, its gate would be admirably defended by the tower at the north-west angle of the Acropolis, and its whole course by the west wall.

It seems unlikely that there was ever a sea-wall along the coast. There are, it is true, many hewn blocks lying about, but it is more natural to suppose that these belong rather to piers or jetties for ships, for the whole object of the long walls must have been to secure communication with the sea. The sea, it appears, from certain rock-cuttings below its present level, has encroached along the coast, and certain of these rock-cuttings, pointed out to me by Mr. E. H. Egerton, resemble very much the dry-docks round the Munychia harbour. They lie in parallel lines seawards, and though it is impossible to examine them closely, they seem beyond doubt to be slips for beached boats. If then the blocks lying about on the shore are remains of a sea-wall, the docks would be entirely cut off from the town, and be rendered perfectly futile in time of siege.

The evidence for the existence of a long south wall is fragmentary. Inwood<sup>2</sup> marks a piece of it still standing, but his plan, hastily made, is full of grave inaccuracies, and as the piece he has marked has disappeared without leaving any trace, his evidence is not conclusive.

Crossing the river-bed below the cave at *L*, we find on the opposite bank a long shrub-covered line of stones running down without break to the piece of polygonal wall mentioned above at *V*. *V* itself lies at right angles to this, and, as I have said, is just the length of other tower walls. Throughout the length of this mound of stones are many blocks which are lying identical with the ordinary wall stones, and the whole rampart exactly resembles those long lines of fallen walls which mark ruined Norman or mediaeval castles in England.

Again, continuing the same line below *V* towards the sea, we come across many wall stones lying half-buried in the earth, some of them looking as if still *in situ*.

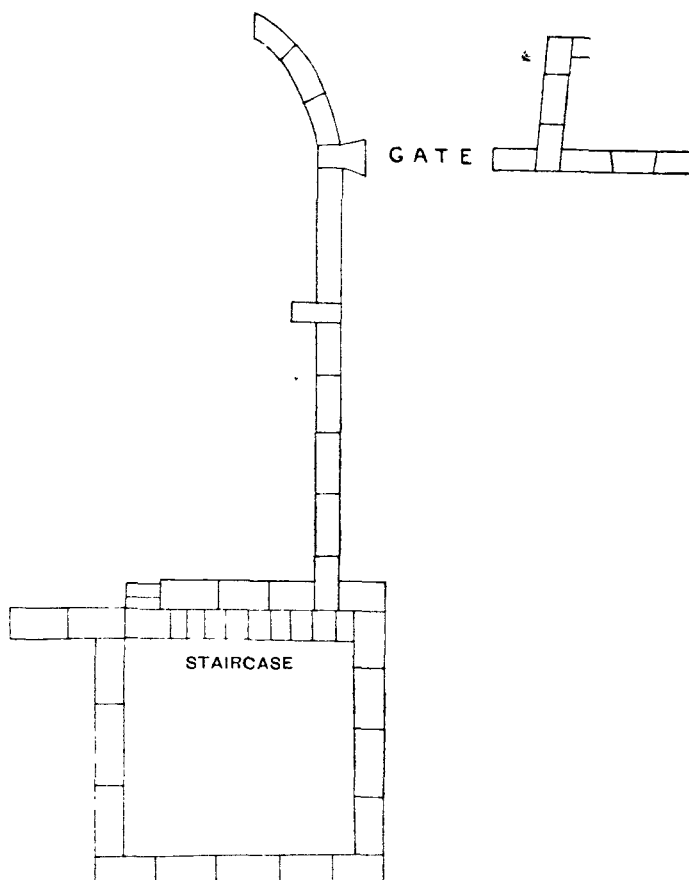
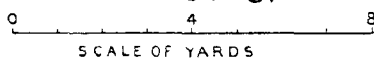
Thirdly, just below *L*, and on the north of the river-bed, there lies a long spur of rock, stretching east and west, with rough steps cut along it. It ends in a sharp edge towards the river, also, I think, artificially cut. This again seems to mark the line of wall which perhaps stood against this spur of rock,

<sup>2</sup> Inwood, *The Erechtheum*, pl. 39.

the steps in the rock leading up inside the wall from the level of the river. At this point, as the long rampart of stones is on the other side of the river, I imagine the wall crossed the stream which for the rest of its course lay inside the town, thus supplying it with water. The river, it may be noticed, descended from the hills in a steep incline shut in by high rocks, and could not be diverted.

PLAN III.

## DETAIL OF O.



Finally, it must be remembered that the very strong and massive north wall becomes unintelligible without a corresponding line of defence on the south. Gates, towers, and walls alike become quite useless unless they can be defended, and no defence is possible if the invading army has merely got to march round the citadel to occupy this wall on both sides. The use of

the north wall no doubt, as in the case of the long walls at Athens, was to insure communication with the sea, but it is hard to imagine anything more futile than a single long wall. It is no doubt strange that one wall should have remained while the other has disappeared, but against that we have the fact that in some places on the north the wall has disappeared with as absolute a completeness as on the south, leaving not even the rampart of stones we find there.

Roman occupation has left little trace in the town, though certain remains of it came to light during excavation. A few uninteresting imperial inscriptions, and the base of a bust of Hadrian, on which he is called the *οἰκιστής* of the city, were found among walls and foundations of Roman houses near the shore. Hadrian, as we know, made an extensive tour of Greece, and this bust very probably commemorates his visit to Aegosthena. Higher up in the town further excavations were made, but the slope of the rock is so steep that hardly any soil has accumulated on it, and nothing of value or interest was discovered.

Outside the town several tentative holes were dug in the four cemeteries which lie two to the north of the town and two to the south. In some respects the finds were interesting.

We here came upon a whole series of small seated terracotta figures, which give the development of the ordinary seated goddess figure which has been found in such numbers throughout Greece.

In the earliest of these the figure is a mere mask, very thin, and presenting no attempt at all in the way of modelling or even showing the limbs. The skirt falls in one uniform line from the knees, terminating in a straight line of drapery above the feet. The body in the same way is only a flat sketch of the front of the figure, and is exactly as thick as the skirt. The features are just indicated. The head-dress is the polos or the simple stephane. From the point where the hips would be in a solid figure, project two chair-legs set at an angle to the skirt, so that the whole thing rests on these and the skirt as on a tripod base. In this earliest type the figure has no arms or legs, but two rectangular projections by the side of the knees indicate the arms of the chair, which thus consists of two arms and two hind-legs.

The next type shows the figure solid, and there are attempts at modelling the arms and hands. The hind-legs of the chair, though still separate from the figure, are much thicker. The third and latest type shows the ordinary seated figure made in one piece, of which such numbers were found in the excavation of the Acropolis at Athens.

Earlier than any of these were a number of small idols from one to two inches high, of which we found about ten. They are merely little sticks of clay, pinched in to indicate the nose and hands, which are meant to be hanging by the sides. In each the top of the head was concave, as if perhaps they were copied from some rude early idol, on to the head of which libations were poured. They compare interestingly with the stone idols from Amorgos, with which the shops in Athens were flooded in 1893. These latter

were more fashioned to the human shape, but like the early seated figures mentioned above were mere masks of stone.

Mixed up with these were many fragments of pottery of all styles, from early Dipylon down to red-figure. Man-headed birds, rosettes, and stars, formed the chief ornaments on the earliest of these. The red-figured fragments were remarkable in *technique*, for the red, instead of being the natural colour of the clay, was produced by a thin and delicate slip laid on to it, over which were drawn the details of the figure. Several other pieces resembling Fikellura ware were also found, and bits of Boeotian geometric. The ground colour is yellow glaze laid on to pale clay, and the design painted in a curious lustreless red and brown. Finally we came upon a fourth century statuette of Kore carrying torches, about eighteen inches high. The head and feet were missing, but the rest was of respectable workmanship.

These finds were all loose in the earth, mixed up together, and at no great depth, in the middle of the south-west cemetery. They all lay just by the side of a late Roman wall, which I think accounts for the strange admixture of dates. The wall certainly belonged to a Roman villa superimposed over a Greek cemetery, and in digging for the foundations it is pretty clear that the builders cleared out the graves and their contents, and that we found them lying in the rubbish-heap where they had been thrown.

These early pieces of figures and vases are of interest in connexion with the early polygonal piece of wall and the rough cave masonry, as showing that there had been a settlement on the spot of great antiquity. This one had been already led to expect by the information given by Pausanias that Aegosthena was the cradle of the Melampus worship, a hero of whom the little we know takes us back to very primitive times. History however is altogether silent about the place until the beginning of the fourth century,<sup>3</sup> when, to judge by the massive and imposing fortifications erected there, it was expected to take rank as a military station of the first importance. Luckily and unluckily, to the modern traveller it is the end of a *cul-de-sac*; and thus while few have heard of it, and fewer visit it, it may remain undisturbed for many years—a place, for those who have seen it, to marvel at and return to.

E. F. BENSON.

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<sup>3</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 6. 4.

## TWO SEPULCHRAL LEKYTHI.

(PLATE XV.)

MR. ARTHUR EVANS kindly allows me to publish two interesting white lekythi recently acquired for the Ashmolean Museum. The first was said by the vendors to come from the excavations at Eretria, the second from excavations at Athens itself. The particular source of them, however, is not a matter of great importance, since as yet no satisfactory proof has been adduced that the white lekythi found at Eretria were made in Euboea or elsewhere than at Athens. Both of our vases appear to belong to the regular Attic series. The plate and the cut which pertain to this article were both produced from photographs taken with the help of Mr. A. H. Smith's ingenious invention, the cyclograph (see above, p. 192). The plate was made direct from a photograph, the cut drawn by Mr. F. Anderson on the basis of a photograph.

VASE No. I.—Height 15 inches (ctm. 38). (Pl. XV.)

On shoulder, three palmettes, leaves alternately red and black.

Over design, simple maeander.

Design in red: stele, bound with fillets and surmounted by a kind of capital which supports an elaborate double acanthus and palmette: two rosettes on face: at foot a box. On the right a youth clad in a red himation, extending his right arm. On the left, a winged Nike advancing towards the stele, clad in chiton with diplois, holding in both hands a flat tray containing wreaths.

The eyes of the figures are in profile, the eyelashes clearly marked; the style is of the latter part of the fifth century. On the surface of the vase is a hard yellow glaze.

The curious feature of the design is the presence of a winged figure, no doubt Victory, in place of the usual mourning woman. So far as I know, this is the only vase published with this peculiarity. It is true that in the Catalogue by M. Froehner of the vases and terracottas exhibited at the Burlington Club in 1888 it is stated that on the lekythus No. 124 a winged female figure appears on one side of a sepulchral stele. But those who turn to the photographic representation of that vase in the plates will easily convince themselves that this description is not altogether correct. There is on the shoulder of the girl by the tomb what appears at first sight to be



a butterfly wing, but on examination it is seen to be only the end of a small over-garment fluttering in the wind, like the flying chlamys so commonly represented in vase-paintings and sculptural reliefs. Mr. Bosanquet is good enough to inform me that among the vases from Eretria in the Museum at Athens is a small and conventionally drawn lekythus (No. 2013) on which a winged figure appears in the place of a female mourner. I know of no other instance.

We must briefly consider what meaning was probably attached to the design by the artist who painted it. I think we may decisively reject the notion which might suggest itself that the winged lady is the soul of the deceased. When souls are represented on these lekythi they are of very minute size. Moreover the winged figure is clearly bringing offerings, and can scarcely be the deceased person to whom offerings are brought. It is by no means impossible that the other attendant at the grave, the young man, may represent the occupant of the tomb. Several instances may be found in which the deceased is not seated on the steps of the stele, but standing beside it. But the winged figure is certainly not the soul of the dead.

It is in fact quite clear that she is, as I have described her, a Victory. Her attitude is charming, and her form well-drawn, in spite of a little clumsiness in the legs and feet. The position is not quite that of any of the Victories in the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike; and in fact the vase is probably of somewhat earlier date than that balustrade. But the vase-painting and the relief belong to kindred schools of design, and alike indicate a tendency of Athenian art at the time. This is the tendency to bring in, wherever it may suitably be done, figures of Victory engaged in a number of the offices really carried out by mortals. In the balustrade, Victories lead a bull to sacrifice and erect a trophy in honour of some Athenian victory. The instances in which Nike in vase-paintings and reliefs brings the wreath to an athletic victor are too numerous to mention. It need not therefore in any way surprise us to find Victory bringing wreaths also to the grave of some distinguished person, very probably a winner in the games.

We may illustrate the substitution of Nike for an ordinary female figure by the comparison of another set of vases. On two vases of Berlin, one red-figured and one white,<sup>1</sup> we have the same design, a woman at a fountain, stooping to lift a hydria. On a lekythus at Athens<sup>2</sup> a similar figure appears in the same attitude, but with wings.

Before quitting this vase I must remove the fears of those who may suspect that some part of the design may be due to the ever increasing skill of the modern Athenian dealer in antiquities. At my request Mr. Evans has had the vase washed with water, and even in some parts touched with diluted acid, in order to make sure of the antiquity of the drawing: and the vase has sustained this treatment without suffering any injury, or losing a line of the design.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Jahrb.* 1895, *Anzeiger*, p. 40, Nos. 44 and 45.

<sup>2</sup> Benndorf, *Griech. u. Siedl. Vasenb.* xxiii. 2.

VASE No. 2.—Height  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches (ctm. 28·4).

On shoulder, three palmettes with leaves alternately red and black.

Over design, simple maeander.

Stele, drawn aslant, surmounted by acanthus. On the right, a youth clad in himation, drawn only in outline; his right hand rests on some object, apparently a distaff, which rests on the step of the stele. On the left, a female figure clad in dark chiton bound with white girdle; she holds a small bier which contains the body of a dead child, the head disproportionately large, the eyes apparently closed. A fragment of the coverlet falls from the bier. A lyre hangs above in the background.



FIG. 1.

In several details of ornament this vase resembles the first, but the drawing is more careless. The date cannot be much later.

In this case also the interest of the vase arises from an unusual peculiarity of the design, the corpse of the child. The drawing of it is very unsuccessful, the head is too large, and the body unnaturally flattened. This latter peculiarity however may be seen in the drawing of many prothesis vases,<sup>3</sup> though in not so extreme a degree. In our vase the bier is but little larger or deeper than the flat tray in which wreaths and lekythi are commonly brought to the tomb; yet the artist has made his purpose quite clear. It is no tray turned into a bier by slight modifications, but a bier which the hand of the draughtsman, evidently a very unskilful and careless workman, has made nearly in the likeness of the usual tray.

The meaning of this picture also must be briefly considered, although in this case it is not easy to reach a definite opinion. Is the grave, like so many

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Dumont, *Cér. de la Grèce propre*, i. pl. 32; Benndorf, *Griech. und Sird. Vasenbilder*, pl. 33; *M.d.I.* viii. 4; Heydemann, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, xii. 11.

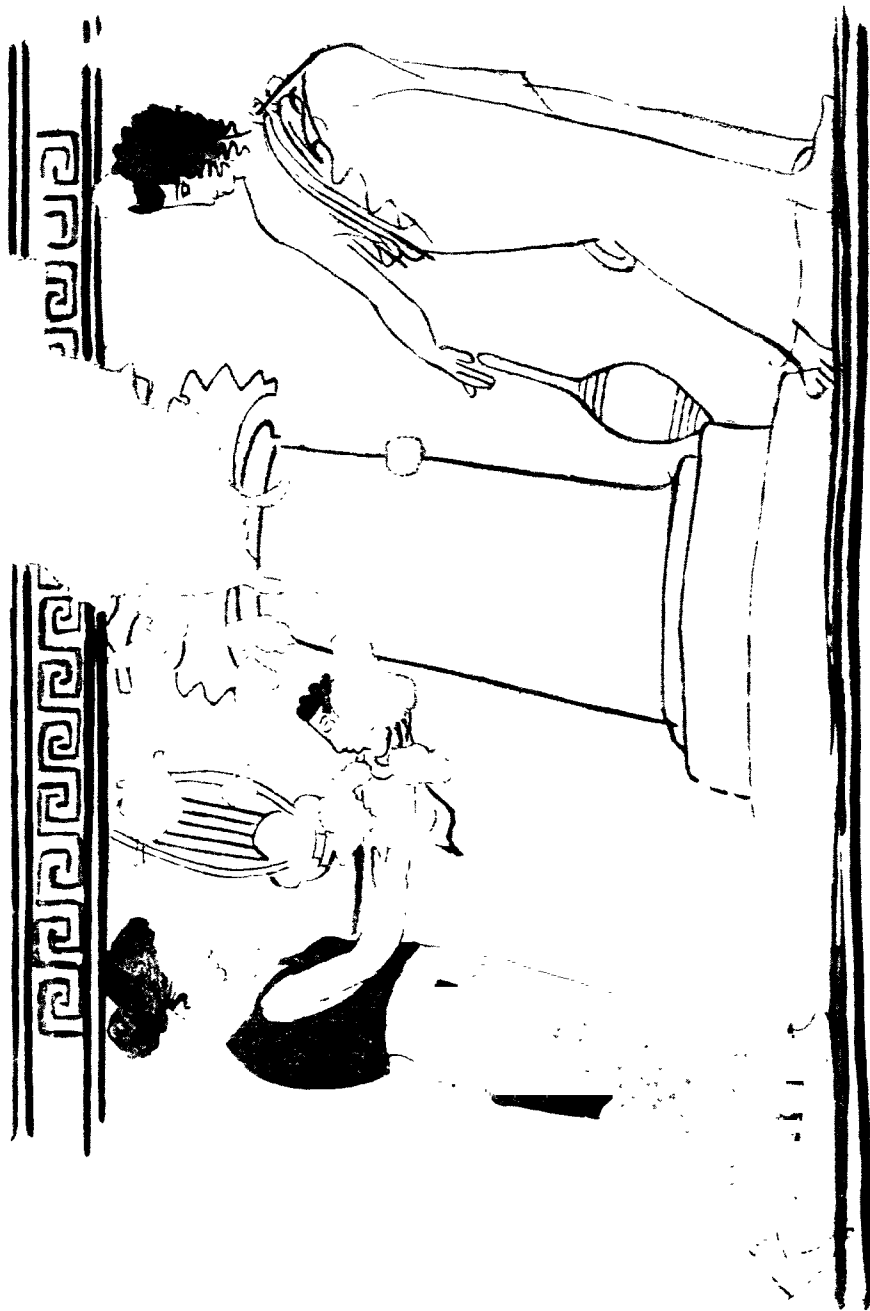


FIG. 2.

at Athens, that of a young mother who died in childbirth? In that case no doubt it would not be unnatural that the infant for which she gave her life should appear by the stele. It may be supposed that the child which did not long survive its mother is brought to the grave by the nurse, while the young husband brings the distaff of his lost wife. Both infant and distaff may well have found a place in the grave, the place of which is marked by the stele: very appropriately therefore they may figure with the lyre as dedications or offerings at the tomb. I can suggest no better interpretation than this; to which the main objection seems to be that it supposes in the painter of the lekythus a special reference to the circumstances of the particular death, a thing somewhat unusual at Athens even in the case of grave-reliefs, and still more unusual in the case of sepulchral vases. Such reference is out of the lines of the higher Attic art. But the painter of our vase is evidently an ill-trained or inexperienced man, as the defects in his drawing clearly show; and such a man would be more likely to violate the ordinary rules of Athenian convention than an artist of more experience.

It is in fact the narrow limits of received conventions which make the large series of Athenian lekythi with white ground somewhat uninteresting in spite of the beauty of the drawing and the charm of the designs. It is pleasant to find, as in the two vases before us, that even at Athens the strict rules of artistic precedent were occasionally violated, and interesting variations introduced. These variations are in our two vases in diametrically opposite directions. The artist of the second vase varies in the direction of the admission in his design of circumstances peculiar to an individual case; the very much more highly educated artist of the first vase varies in the direction of unusual generalization and ideality, a human mourner being replaced by a figure which embodies rather the general principle of mourning, and of offerings to the dead.

PERCY GARDNER.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,  
LONDON AND BUNGAY.

## MAP

(to illustrate paper on Ancient Routes.)  
taken from the French Survey of 1832.  
with additions and omissions  
by W. Loring.  
1894.

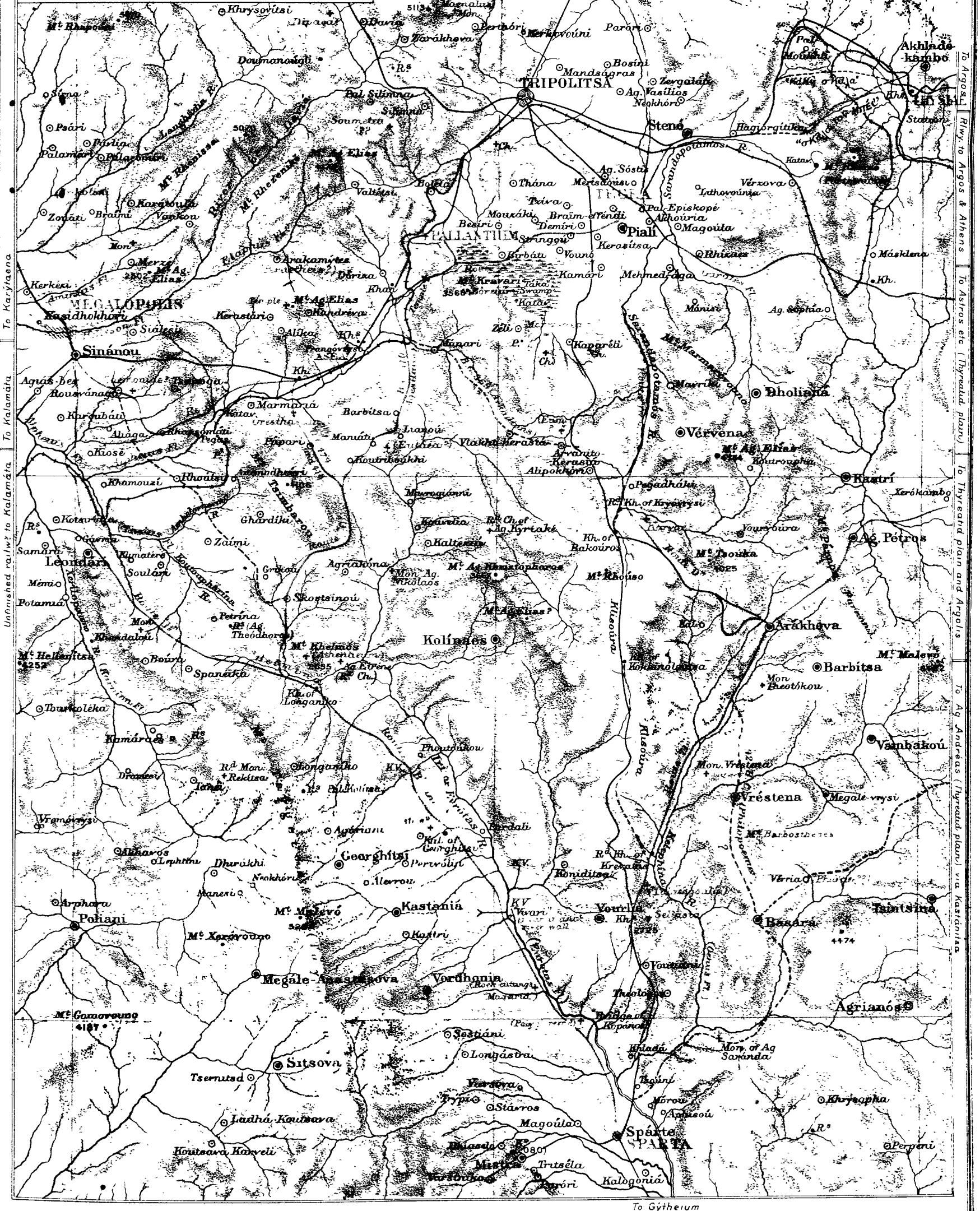
## Explanation.

Railway (unfinished W. of Tripolitsa). ————  
Carnage Roads. ————  
Ancient routes (where not coinciding with the last named). ————  
Mule and foot tracks (where not coinciding with ancient routes) omitted, or inserted thus, ————  
Ancient sites etc. shown in Red. Approximate Heights in feet.  
Kal. = "Kalyvia" (hamlet)  
Kh. = Khan.  
Ch. = Chapel.  
Mon. or Monast. = Monastery.  
K. = "Kastro" (Castle).  
P. = "Pyrgo" (Medieval or Turkish tower).

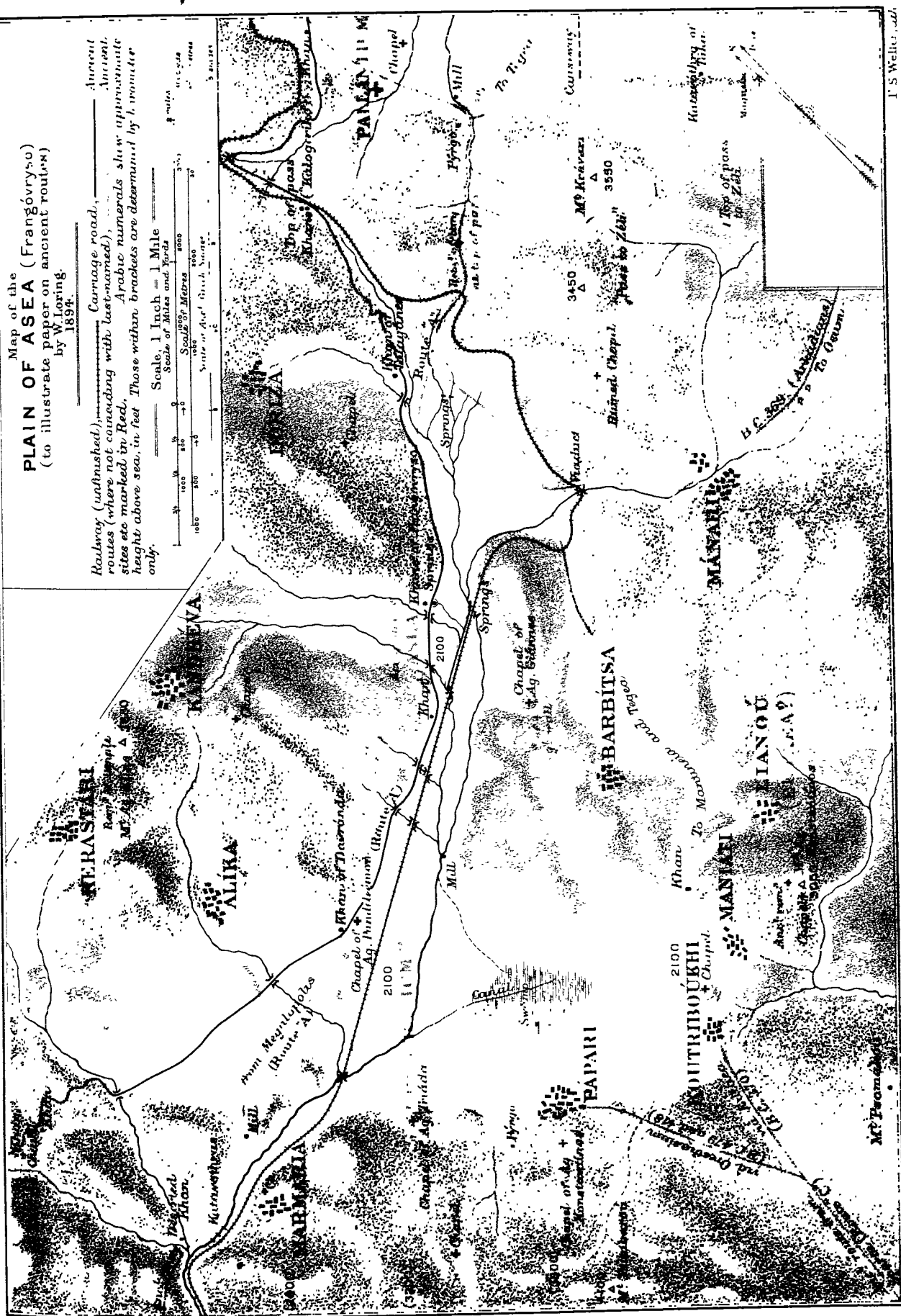
R. = Remains.  
Rd. = Ruined.  
K.V. = "Kephallivrysis" (headspring).  
Katav. = "Katarothra".  
Pal. = "Palaeo" or "Palaeo" (Old).  
Ag. = "Aghios", "Aghia" (S<sup>t</sup>).

## Scales.

Miles 0 1 2 3 4 5  
Kilometres 0 1 2 3 4 5  
Ancient Gk Stades 0 10 20 30 40 50







Map of the  
**PLAIN OF ASEA (Frangóvryso)**  
(to illustrate paper on ancient routes)  
by W. Loring  
1894.

Railway (unfurnished), ——— Carriage road, ———  
Ancient routes (where not connecting with last-named), ———  
sites etc marked in Red, in Red. Those within brackets are determined by barometer only.

Scale, 1 Inch = 1 Mile  
Scale of Miles and Yards  
Scale of Feet  
Scale of Metres  
Scale of Feet





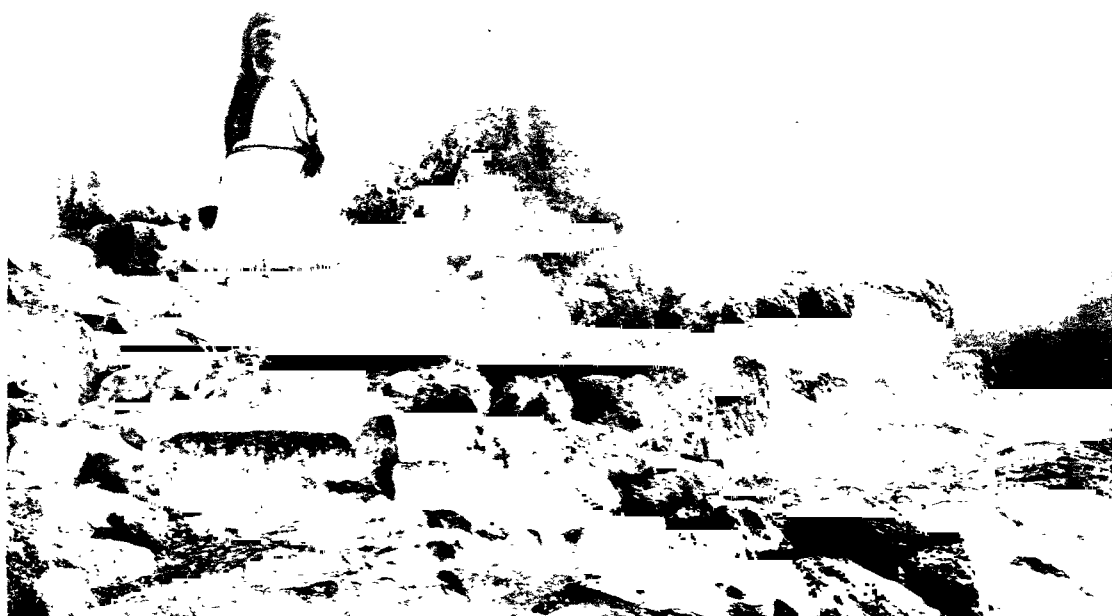


FIG. 1. TOWER ON MYTIKA (ANCIENT SKOPÉ).



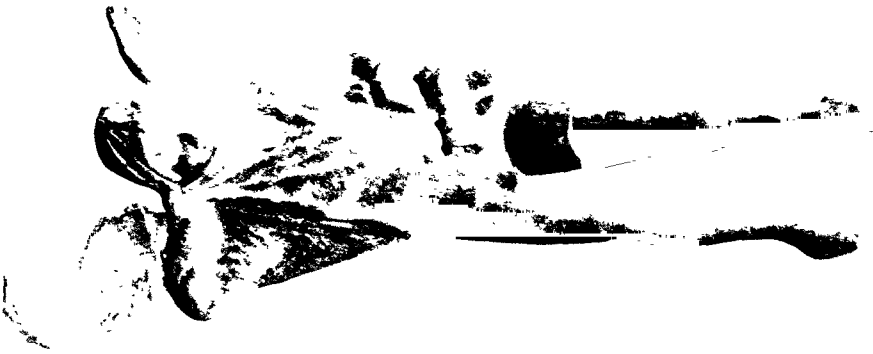
FIG. 2. RIVER-WALL OF THE EUROTAS.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 1



FIG. 2.



POLYCHROME VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM





HEAD FROM SUNIUM





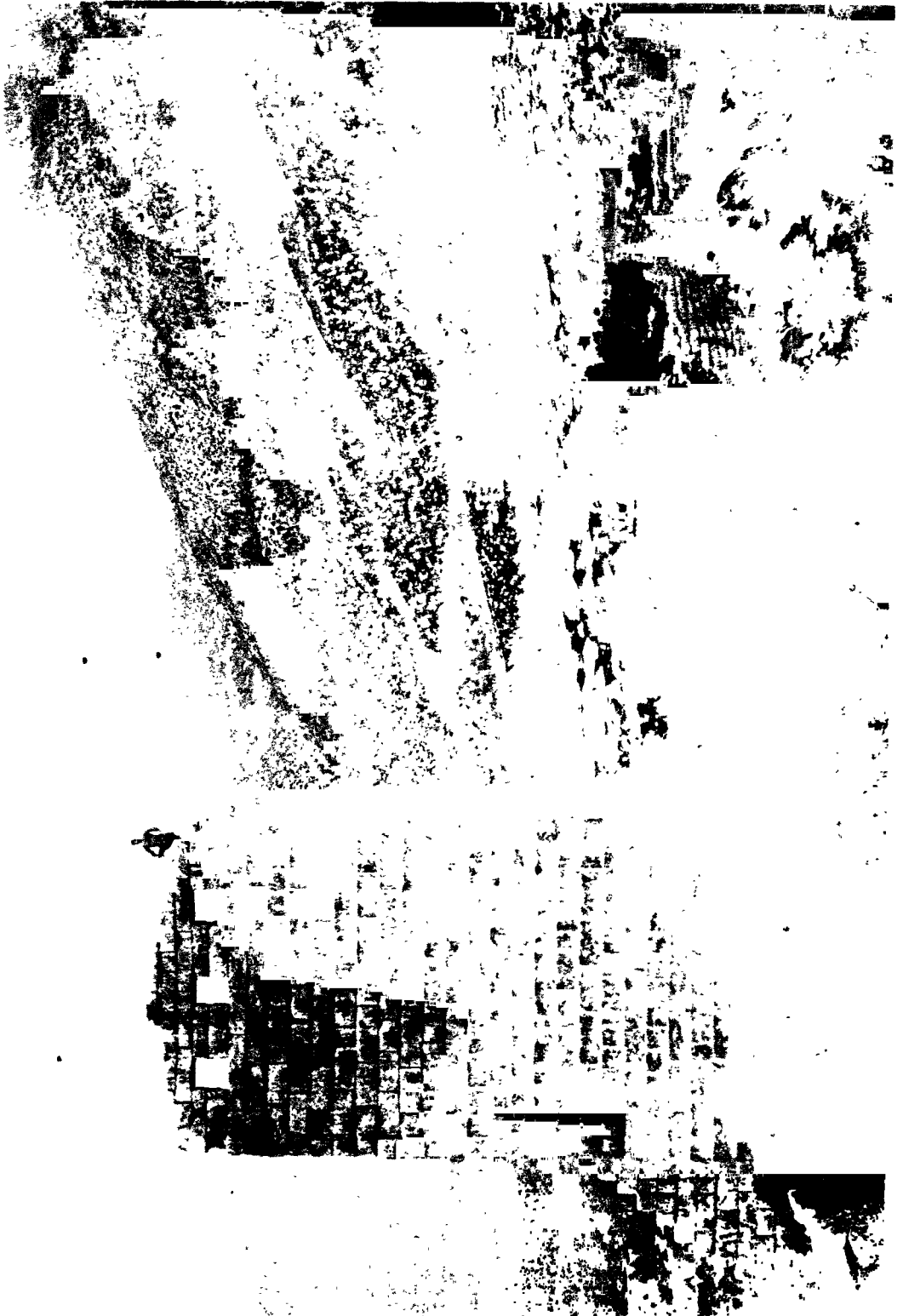


AN ATHENIAN LEKYTHOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM









EAST WALL, ACROPOLIS OF AEGOSTHENA.

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EAST WALL, ACROPOLIS OF AEGOSTHENA



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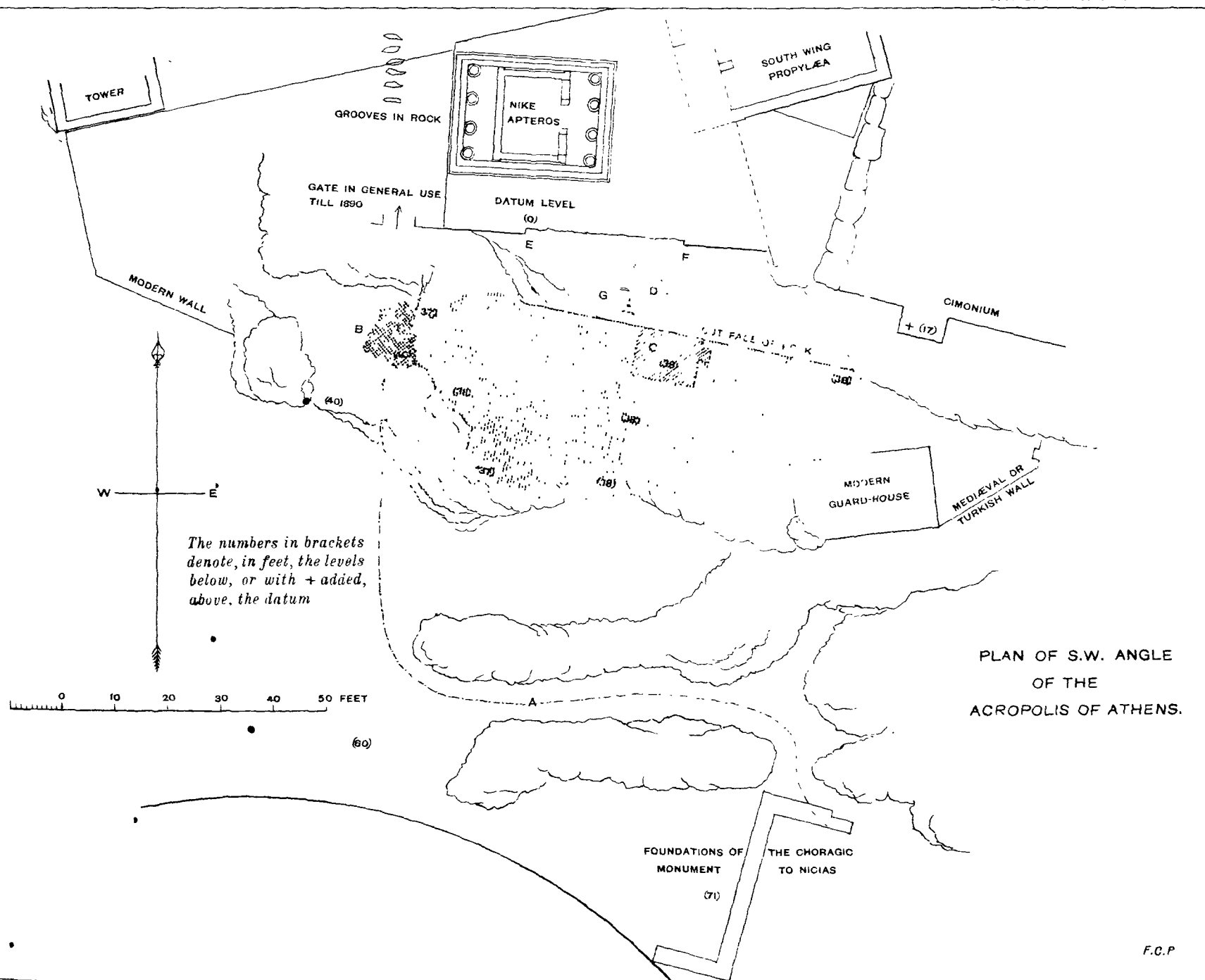
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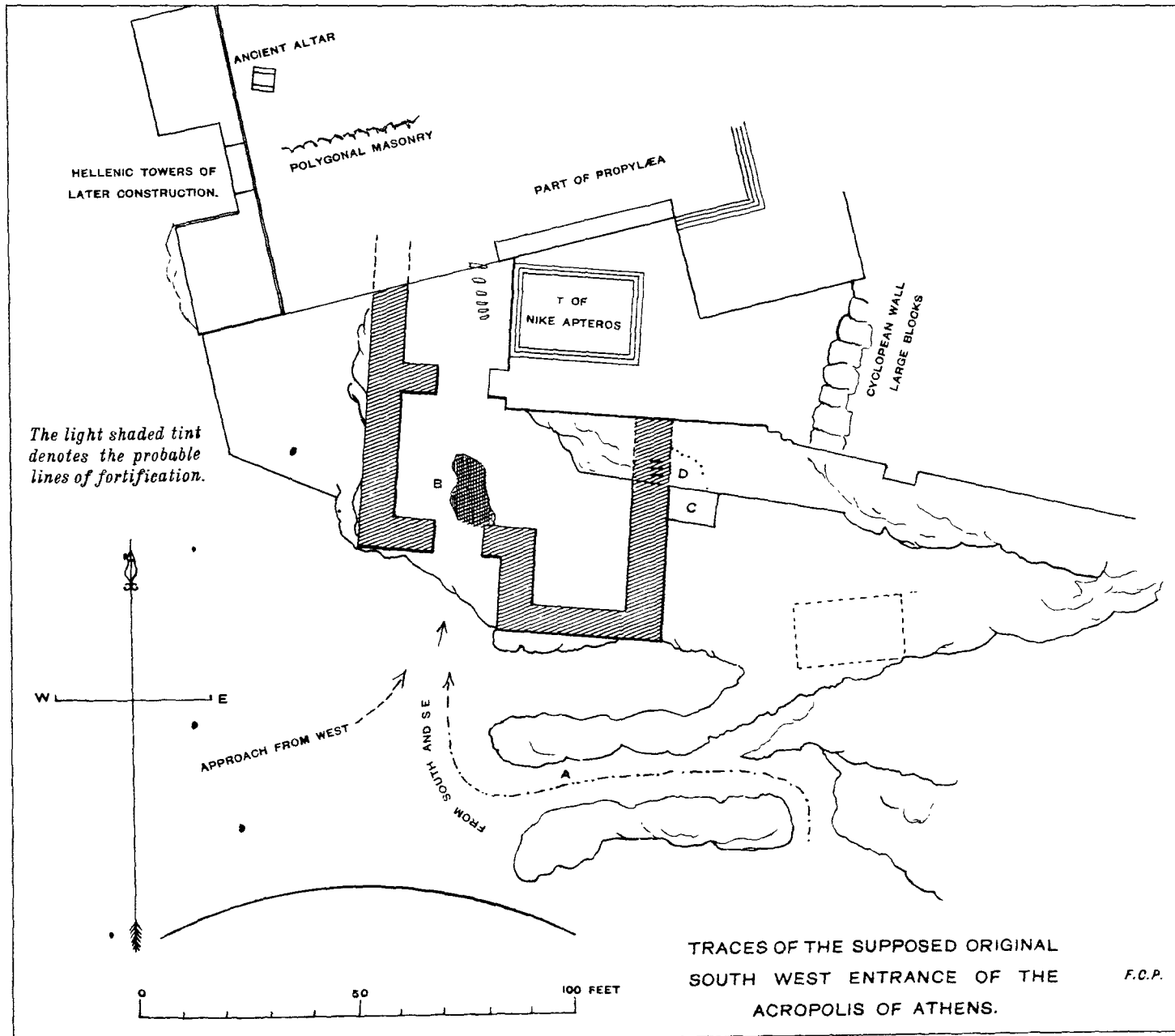


BASTION OF NIKE APTEROS, ATHENS



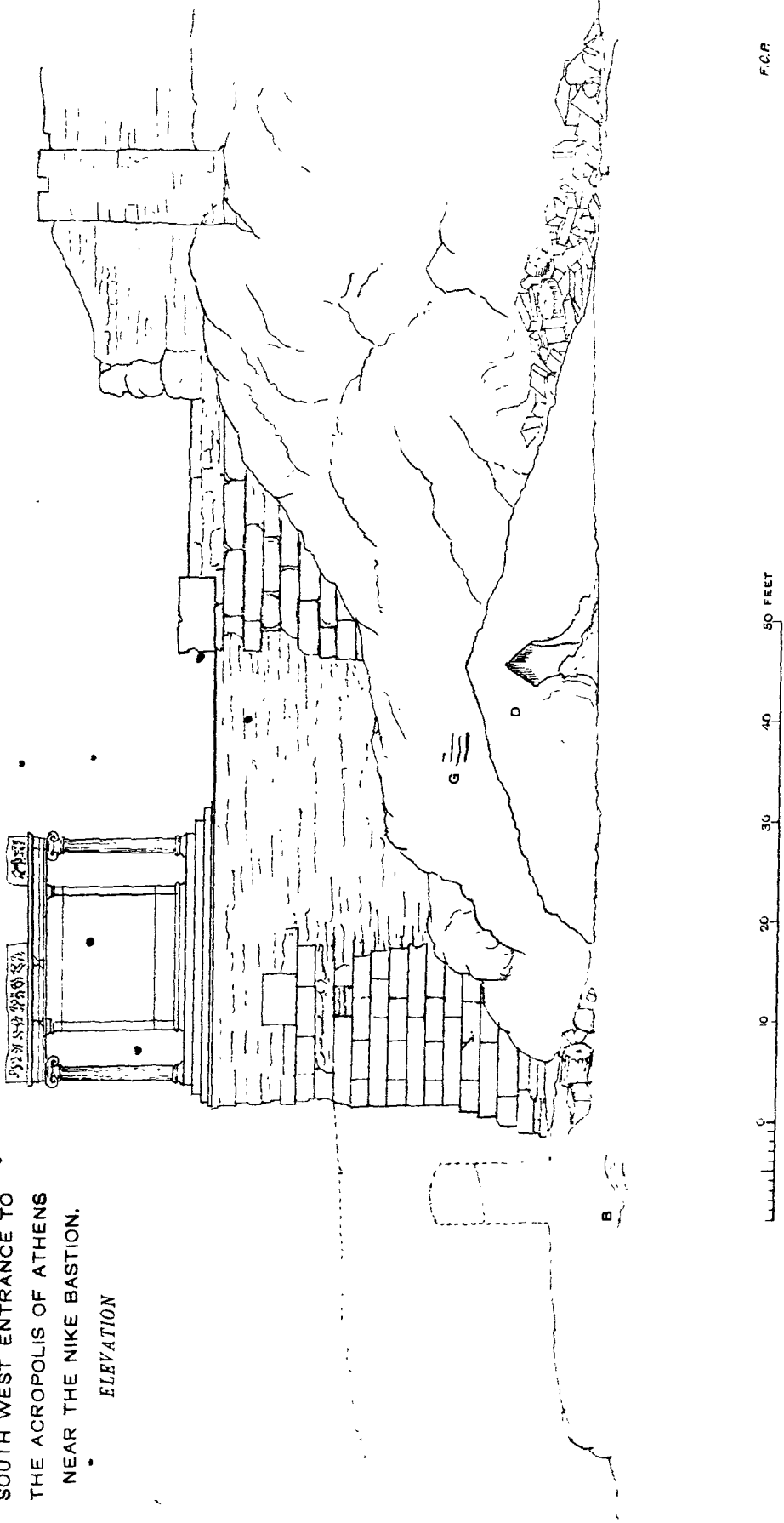








TRACES OF THE SUPPOSED  
SOUTH WEST ENTRANCE TO  
THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS  
NEAR THE NIKE BASTION.  
ELEVATION









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*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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